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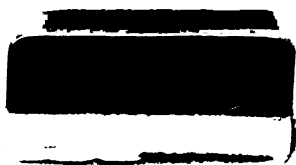
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AENEIDEA,

OR

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND AESTHETICAL REMARKS

ON THE

AENEIS,

WITH A PERSONAL COLLATION OF ALL THE FIRST CLASS MSS.,
UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED SECOND CLASS MSS., AND ALL THE
PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

BY

JAMES HENRY,

AUTHOR OF

NOTES OF A TWELVE YEARS' VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

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DUBLIN :
Printed at the University Press,
BY PONSONBY & WELDRICK.

AENEIDEA,

BOOK V.



AENEIDEA.

V.*

1-2.

INTEREA MEDIUM AENEAS IAM CLASSE TENEBAT
CERTUS ITER FLUCTUSQUE ATROS AQUILONE SECABAT

INTEREA MEDIUM AENEAS.—Contrary to the authority of the MSS., Voss reads INTEREA AENEAS MEDIUM. He is surely wrong. MEDIUM should precede AENEAS, it being less our author's object to show who it is is on his journey, than to show how much of the journey has been already performed. MEDIUM should therefore have the prominent position, and the MSS. are right. See Rem. on 2. 247.

* Montaigne says (*Essais*, 2. 10): "Le cinquième livre de l'Eneide me semble le plus parfait." The reader will be at no loss for the etiology of this, at first sight, somewhat strange opinion, if he reflect, first, that Montaigne was a Frenchman, and therefore, as may be presumed, imbued with his nation's taste (a taste which the French probably inherited from the Romans themselves) for public exhibitions; and secondly, that the celebrated *Essais*, from which I have quoted the above criticism, everywhere afford sufficient evidence that their author was a man wholly devoid of the elevation and tenderness of sentiment necessary for the perception and due appreciation of the nobler, grander and more pathetic parts of Virgil's writings.

CERTUS.—“Recta via,” Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*). “Tendens, uti decreverat, eo quo volebat, in Italiam, etsi Aquilo officiebat cursui,” Wagner (1861). The former explanation is erroneous, inasmuch as certus is never, not even when spoken of a spear or arrow (see below), “recta via,” but always *sure, certain, steady, determined, resolute, unwavering*; the latter, because (see next Rem.) Aquilo is so far from being an impediment to the voyage of Aeneas, that it is the very agent which carries him on, the very instrument he uses to get on (AQUILONE SECABAT). Certus is here, as commonly elsewhere (*ex. gr.*, Propert. 1. 19 :

“flectitur assiduis certa puella minis”),

determined, sure, unwavering. The reference is to the uncertainties and difficulties which had beset and almost hindered his journey. Dido had done everything she could to detain him, and had failed. He had overcome every difficulty and was pursuing his journey sure, certain, and determined. In precisely the same sense (*a*), the precisely similar flight of Ulysses from Circe is called “certa” by Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 265 :

“omnia fecisti, ne callidus hospes abiret :
ille dedit certae lintea plena fugae”

[sure, certain, and determined flight]. (*b*), the anger of the gods is called “certa” by Ovid, *Met.* 4. 573 :

“quem si cura deum tam certa vindicat ira”

[steady, determined anger]. (*c*), the wind is called “certus,” Caes. *Bell. Afric.* 1 : “vento certo, celerique navigio victus” [sure, certain, steady wind]. (*d*), the term is applied to Publius Scipio by Silius, 4. 448 : “stabat Fortunae non cedere certus” [determined not to yield to Fortune]. **And** (*e*), the well-aimed spear or arrow which goes straight to its mark is called “certa,” *Aen.* 12. 267 :

“sonitum dat stridula cornus, et auras
certa secat”

[sure, certain, unwavering, unerring spear]. So *sure and certain* the sense of the word in this application, that the expres-

sion "as sure as an arrow," and in more modern times "as sure as a gun," has passed into a bye-word. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 173 (the same Dido to the same Aeneas):

"tempus ut observem, manda mihi; certius ibis:
nec te, si cupias ipse, manere sinam"

[you will travel more surely and certainly; your voyage will be more safe, sure, and certain]; and especially Lucan, 8. 187 (Pompey, in answer to the question of his pilot, whither they should sail, on leaving Lesbos after the battle of Pharsalia):

"hoc solum toto . . . in aequore serva,
ut sit ab Aemathiis semper tua longius oris
puppis, et Hesperiam pelago caeloque relinquo;
cetera da ventis. comitem pignusque recepi
depositum; tunc certus eram, quae littora vellem;
nunc portum Fortuna dabit."

Contrast the uncertain, undetermined flight of undecided bees, *Georg.* 4. 103:

"at cum incerta volant, caeloque examina ludunt,
contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt,
instabiles animos ludo prohibebis inani."

FLUCTUSQUE ATROS AQUILONE SECABAT.—"ATROS AQUILONE," Servius, Wagner, and Conington. I think rather, with Forbiger and Thiel, AQUILONE SECABAT, as 2. 25, "vento petiisse." To join AQUILONE with ATROS is to insist on the badness of the weather, and consequently on the difficulty with which Aeneas makes his way. On the contrary, Aeneas is, as I think, represented as making his way easily, as in full sail, with fair weather, from Carthage. The MEDIUM, the IAM, and the CERTUS, no less than the SECABAT, all go to establish this view, not contradicted either by ATROS or AQUILONE, the former of which expresses no more than the ordinary dark colour of the sea when a fresh breeze, and particularly that of Aquilo [see Aul. Gell. 2. 30: "Id quoque a peritissimis rerum philosophis observatum est, Austris spirantibus mare fieri glaucum et caeruleum, Aquilonibus obscurius atriusque." *Alciph.* 1. 1: *ὡς γὰρ τριτην ταυτην ειχεν ο χειμων ημεραν και λαβρως κατα του πελαγους επεπνεον εκ των*

ακροτηριων οι βορεις και επεφρικει μεν ο ποντος μελαινο-μενος], is blowing, and the latter of which expresses that the wind was of that kind which was favourable for a voyage, Aquilo (Boreas) being precisely the wind which was attended with clear weather (and so Hom. *Od.* 5. 296 :

και Βορεης αιθρηγενετης μεγα κυμα κυλινδων),

and clear weather being the *sine-qua-non* to the sailor, when, the compass not having yet been invented, he had no means of directing his course except sun and stars, points of headlands, tops of distant mountains, and perhaps a solitary Pharos. Compare Hom. *Od.* 14. 299 :

η δ' εθεεν Βορεη ανεμω ακραϊ καλω.

Claud. *Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 185 : “*clarescunt puris Aquilonibus Alpes.*” Ovid, *Met.* 1. 262 :

“*protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris,
et quaecunque fugant inductas flamina nubes ;
emittitque Notum. madidis Notus evolat alis,
terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum.*”

And again, *ibid.* 1. 328 :

“*nubila disiecit. nimbisque Aquilone remotis,
et caelo terras ostendit et aethera terris.*”

Bibl. Sacr., Proverb. 25. 23 : “*ventus Aquilo dissipat pluvias.*”

And Virgil himself, *Georg.* 1. 460 :

“*et claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri.*”

And accordingly, *Aen.* 7. 361 (where see Rem.), Amata warns Latinus that Aeneas will desert Lavinia “*primo Aquilone,*” the first clear weather, as soon as ever the weather is such that it is possible for him to sail, exactly as in our text he is represented as sailing from Carthage with the Aquilo. It was possible by means of tacking to make way, even with a contrary wind, in clear weather (or when Aquilo was blowing), but it was absolutely impossible to make way at all, even with a fair wind, in thick, hazy weather (or when Notus was blowing).

If, in opposition to this view, and in support of the contrary

view of Wagner ("tendens in Italiam, etsi Aquilo officiebat cursui"), it be urged that the prevalence of Aquilo is put forward by Dido herself as an objection to his setting out, I reply, first, that there is no necessary inconsistency in the same winds being (viz., according to their greater or less violence) at one time favourable and at another time unfavourable to setting sail; and secondly, that if we are to insist on Virgil's being perfectly consistent with his own previous statements with respect to the winds actually blowing at the time of Aeneas's sailing, and favourable to his voyage, we should have here had the zephyrs (verse 562: "nec zephyros audis spirare secundos?") and not Aquilo at all.

FLUCTUS ATROS, without an ablative of the cause, as *Hor. Carm. 3. 27. 18*: "ego quid sit ater Hadriae, novi, sinus." *Id. Sat. 2. 2. 16*: "atrum defendens pisces hiemat mare."

5-20.

DURI—AER

AMORE POLLUTO (5, 6).—"Pollui dicitur res quae sacra putatur, aliquo modo laesa, ut hospitium, 3. 61; pax, 7. 467; h. l. amor, qui iam coniugium appellari poterat," Wagn. (*Praest.*). But we have "licentia polluta," *Sall. Jugurth. 15*: "Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta libidine continuit." As "polluta licentia" is here not *injured license*, but *abused license*, *license made a bad use of*, so "pollutum hospitium" is *abused hospitality*, "polluta pax," *abused peace*, and, in our text, AMORE POLLUTO, *abused love*, *love made a bad use of*, nearly equivalent to the *betrayed love*, *betrayed heart*, of modern times.

DURI MAGNO AMORE DOLORES, NOTUM FURENS QUID FEMINA POSSIT: not theme and variation, but cause and effect; cause, the greatness of the pain; effect, that a woman suffering such pain would stop at nothing.

INHORRUIT UNDA TENEBRIS (vs. 11).—TENEBRIS, not *with the darkness*, but *at the darkness*, the sense being not that the water grew dark, but that it shuddered, grew crisp at the darkness, viz., of the sky, the darkness which had overspread the sky. Compare Claudian, in *Prob. et Olybr. Cons.* 124:

“ ut stetit ante ducem discussas Romæ per umbras
conscia ter sonuit rupes, et inhorruit atrum
maiestate nemus,”

where “maiestate” denotes not the majesty of the wood, but the majesty of the goddess; and the clause means that the grove shuddered or was awe-stricken at the majestic presence of the goddess.

QUIDVE, PATER NEPTUNE, PARAS? (vs. 14).—So Lucan, 1. 660: “quid tantum, Gradive, *paras?*” Virg. *Georg.* 1. 462: “quid *cogitet* humidus Auster, sol tibi signa dabit.” Cluver. 4. 2: “Clanius est apud Acerras in Campania, qui cum creverit, *meditatur* pestem terrae.”

COLLIGERE ARMA (vs. 15).—“Contrahere vela,” La Cerdà, Heyne, Wagner, Ladewig. I disagree with this interpretation, because (as we have already seen, Rem. on 1. 5) arma being a generic term which expresses all sorts of instruments, implements, gear or tackling, cannot be understood in any particular place to indicate any particular sort of instrument except that which is clearly indicated by the context. In the present instance there is nothing to show that ARMA means *sails*: on the contrary, it is clear that it is not *sails*, because, firstly, Palinurus, having given his orders to the crew COLLIGERE ARMA VALIDISQUE INCUMBERE REMIS, takes the management of the sails on himself (verse 16), steering and at the same time managing the sails, in the same way as we find Aeneas, 10. 218, steering and managing the sails himself, and Charon, 6. 302, managing the sails, while at the same time “*conto ratem subigit*,” and secondly,

because we find that the sails are actually not taken in, but only slanted to the wind : OBLIQUATQUE SINUS IN VENTUM.

As it is plain from the context that ARMA does not here mean *sails*, so I think it is no less plain that it does mean *oars*, firstly, because it is according to Virgil's usual manner thus to limit and define in the latter part of his line the meaning of a general term used in the former part (compare *Georg.* 1. 497 :

“dii patrii indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater.”

Aen. 2. 627 : “ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus”); and secondly, because we find in Statius, *Theb.* 6. 21, “arma” explained to mean the *oars and rudder* :

“tranquillo prius arma lacu, clarumque levesque
explorant remos, atque ipsa pericula discunt,”

and because in Valerius Flaccus, 4. 647 :

“ipse per arma volans, et per iuga summa carinae
hortatur,”

the connexion of “iuga” with “arma” seems to show clearly that the latter term means the *oars*. In confirmation of this view, viz., that arma is a generic term (corresponding to the Greek *οπλα*, see *Hom. Od.* 2. 390, *et seqq.*; 6. 268, *et seqq.*), and where it has a particular and special sense always deriving that sense from the context, see *Aen.* 6. 353, where “arma” is proved by the preceding narrative to mean the rudder alone; and *Aen.* 4. 299 and *Georg.* 1. 255, where, not being defined or limited at all, the terms “armari” and “armatas” respectively comprehend, as in Manilius, 4. 274 :

“his erit in pontum studium, vitamque profundo
credent, et puppes, aut puppibus arma parabunt,
quidquid et in proprios pelagus desiderat usus,”

the entire rigging, viz., masts, yards, ropes, sails, oars, rudder, &c.

Palinurus's command, therefore, I understand to be simply this: *collect your oars (gather up your oars) and row as hard as you are able.* See 4. 290, and compare Val. Flacc. 4. 111, where in a verse modelled after our text, or at least founded on the same

model as our text, the expression "legere arma" in the forepart of the sentence is explained by the complementary "sumptisque occurrere caestibus" at the end :

. . . "sin forma viris praestantior adsit;
tum legere arma iubet, sumptisque occurrere contra
caestibus. haec miseri sors est aequissima leti."

Alter. COLLIGERE ARMA.—"Vela contrahere, non penitus deponere; nam dicit OBLIQUATQUE SINUS IN VENTUM," Servius, Pomponius Sabinus, Heyne, Wagner. No. It is impossible that colligere, the stronger term, can merely mean to shorten sail, while legere, the weaker term, is to furl sail, to take in sail entirely, as *Georg.* 1. 273; *Aen.* 3. 532. If ARMA mean the sails, COLLIGERE ARMA must be furl sail (compare *Stat. Sil.* 4. 4. 39 :

"Thebais optato collegit carbasa portu,")

but this interpretation is forbidden by the subsequent OBLIQUATQUE SINUS. ARMA therefore means not sails, but tackle, gear (see Rem. on "horrentia Martis arma," 1. 4); and COLLIGERE ARMA, nearly corresponding to the landsman's colligere vasa, is equivalent to gather up everything, make all tight, tidy up, clear decks, i. e., prepare for a squall. Compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 13. 51 (of the Argonauts) :

. . . ναυταις δὲ τις εἶπεν ἑταίροισ'
κουφοτέρ', ὦ παῖδες, ποιεῖσθ' ὄπλα, πλευστικός εὖρος,

where κουφοτέρα ποιεῖσθ' is the COLLIGERE of our text, and ὄπλα the ARMA, and where the directions given are to prepare for sailing, as in our text they are to prepare for a squall.

OBLIQUATQUE SINUS IN VENTUM (vs. 16) indicates that he shifts the sails which had previously been squared (recta), or at right angles with the keel, so that they are now sloping, or aslant, i. e., forming with the keel an acute angle in the direction in which the vessels are going. Compare Livy, 16. 39 (quoted by Conington) : "Aliae ad incertos ventos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes vela in altum evectae sunt."

IN NUBEM COGITUR AER (v. 20).—According to the physical philosophy of the Romans, clouds and mists consisted of con-

densed air. See Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2. 39 : “Exinde mari finitimus *aer* die et nocte distinguitur : isque tum fusus et extenuatus sublime fertur ; tum autem *concretus, in nubes cogitur.*” Ovid, *Met.* 15. 250 :

“ignis enim *densum* spissatus in *aera* transit ;
hic in *aquas.*”

28-52.

FLECTE—MYCENAE

FLECTE VIAM VELIS (28).—*Shift sail so as to change the direction of the vessel*; in English nautical language, “tack.” The word VELIS shows that they were using their sails, and therefore still at some distance from land. Had they been becalmed, and rowing, as at 7. 27, the command to change course would have been either “FLECTE VIAM remis,” or simply FLECTE VIAM, and so 7. 35 :

“*flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras*
imperat, et laetus fluvio succedit opaco.”

There is always some degree, however little, of the notion of turning out of the direct line in the Latin *flectere*, *ex. gr.*, 1. 158 :

. . . “*aequora postquam*
prospiciens genitor, caeloque invectus aperto,
flectit equos, curruque volans dat lora secundo.”

Neptune does not drive in a direct line onward, but bends or turns his course so as to take in a wide space of his domains. The same is true of the corresponding Greek term *καμπτειν*, as Eurip. *Hipp.* 87 (ed. Stokes) :

τελος δε *καμψαιμ'*, *ωσπερ ηρξαμην, βιου,*

“May I bend the course of my life,” *i. e.*, “incline the course of my life”—phrases which themselves indicate more or less of

deviation from the straight forward line. Compare Juv. 1. 19 :

“ cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
per quem magnus equos Auruncae *flectit* alumnus,
si vacat, et placidi rationem admittitis, edam,”

and see Rem. on “*flectit equos*,” 1. 160.

DEMITTERE (vs. 29), with Heyne, Wagner, and Conington, not, with the Heinsii and Ribbeck, DIMITTERE. Going to sea was always ascending; returning to land, always descending, and so 1. 385 :

“ bis denis Phrygium *consendi* navibus aequor.”

5. 212 :

“ *prona* petit maria et pelago *decurrit* aperto.”

6. 357 :

“ prospexi Italiam summa *sublimis* ab unda.”

HORRIDUS IN IACULIS ET PELLE LIBYSTIDIS URSÆ (vs. 37).

—No example having been yet adduced of the structure *horridus in*, I agree entirely with Heyne and Peerlkamp, against Wakefield, Wagner, Jahn, Thiel, Süpfle, Forbiger, Ribbeck, and Conington, that HORRIDUS is to be separated from IN IACULIS. HORRIDUS, so considered, is the general view, of which IN IACULIS, &c., is the subjoined explanation. It is, I own, not always safe to draw a conclusion from Servius's manner of treating a passage, but if a conclusion may be drawn at all from Servius's manner it may be concluded from the circumstance that he explains HORRIDUS separately from the sequel, and the sequel separately from HORRIDUS, that he separated HORRIDUS in the construction from IN IACULIS, &c. His words are : “HORRIDUS, *terribilis*; IN IACULIS, *in hastis*. Ennius : ‘*levesque sequuntur in hastis*.’” Horridus is also applied absolutely by Ovid to Polyphemus, *Met.* 1. 514 :

“ non ego sum pastor ; non hic armenta gregesve
horridus observo ; ”

and used absolutely by Horace, *Od.* 3. 21, when addressing his amphora he says of his friend Corvinus :

“ non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
sermonibus, te negliget *horridus* ; ”

also by our author himself, not rarely or by chance, but repeatedly, and especially in that so similar picture of Aventinus, 7. 666 :

“ ipse pedes tegumen torquens immane leonis
 terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
 indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat
horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu,”

where it will be observed “*horridus*” occupies the same position in the verse, and has the same relation to the rest of the description, as in our text.

ARGOLICOVE MARI DEPRENSUS, ET URBE MYCENAE (vs. 52). —“*DEPRENSUS occupatus*, et proprie navigantium est,” Servius (ed. Lion). “*Deprensus* solenne de procella, *Georg.* 4. 421. Nunc tamen simpliciter de eo cui importuna res alieno tempore supervenit; pro vulgari: ‘si versarer in navigatione aut in solo hostili,’” Heyne. “*DEPRENSUS*: ‘si is dies me deprehenderet,’” Wagner (*Praest.*). “Wenn ich . . . vom sturme verschlagen in dem feindseligen land und seegebiete Griechenland’s lebte,” Ladewig. “*Surprised*, not however by a storm, . . . but by the arrival of the day at an inopportune time,” Conington. Heyne, Wagner, and Conington are most undoubtedly wrong, the whole three of them. *Deprensus* is always *taken by surprise*, and it is impossible an anniversary, a stated returning day, especially the stated returning day of a father’s death, should, except owing to his own want of thought, catch or overtake anyone inadvertently or by surprise. *Deprensus* is *surprised*, and specially *surprised by a storm*, and that equally whether the person so surprised is at sea at the time, or in port and prevented from going out to sea, *storm-bound*, as we say. Therefore ARGOLICO MARI ET URBE MYCENAE, *caught in the Argolic sea, and detained in the city of Mycenae by a storm*, the term *deprensus* being alike applicable to the sailor or ship surprised at sea by bad weather, and to the sailor or ship storm-bound on land. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 11. 663 :

“ nubilus Aegeo *deprendit* in aequore navim
 Auster,”

where we have the same “*deprensus*” in the selfsame Argolic

sea; and Id. *Heroid.* 19. 77 (Hero to Leander):

“at cito mutata est iactati forma profundī:
tempore, cum properas, saepe minore venis.
hic, puto, *depressus* nil quod quereris haberes;
meque tibi amplexo nulla noceret hyems,”

where we have in “*depressus*” the *DEPRESSUS URBE MYCENAE* (*storm-bound in the city Mycenae*) of our text. Compare also the

“*depressis* olim statio tutissima nautis”

of the fourth Georgio.

58-60.

ERGO AGITE ET LAETUM CUNCTI CELEBREMUS HONOREM
POSCAMUS VENTOS ATQUE HAEC ME SACRA QUOTANNIS
URBE VELIT POSITA TEMPLIS SIBI FERRE DICATIS

“Factis inferiis deos POSCAMUS VENTOS secundos. . . Habent tamen venti aliquid a loco alienum: nam Anchisae fiunt inferiae, non sacra diis secundae navigationis expetendae causa,” Heyne. On the contrary, for the weather-bound to ask fair winds from the manes to whom they are paying *inferiae* is so far from being improper or out of place, that *inferiae* are actually offered, Eurip. *Hec.* 525, by weather-bound Pyrrhus and the Grecian army returning from Troy, to the manes of Achilles for the very purpose of obtaining fair winds from those manes:

. . . πληρες δ' εν χεροιν λαβων δεπας
παγχρυσον, ερρει χειρι παis Αχιλλεως
χοας θανοντι πατρι· σημαινει δ' εμοι
σιγην Αχαιων παντι κηρυξαι στρατω.
καγω παραστας ειπον εν μεσοis ταδε·
σιγατ' Αχαιοι, σιγα παs εστω λεως·
σιγα, σιωπα· νηνεμον δ' εστησ' οχλον.

ο δ' εἶπεν· ὦ παῖ Πηλεΐδης, πατήρ δ' ἐμός,
 δεῖξαι χῶρας μοι τασδε κλητήριους,
 νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς· εἰθε δ', ὡς πίης μελαν
 κορῆς ἀκραιφνὲς αἰμ', ὁ σοὶ δαρούμεθα
 στρατὸς τε καὶ πρηνέως δ' ἡμῖν γένου,
 λῦσαι τε πρυμνας, καὶ χαλινώτῃρια
 νείων δὸς ἡμῖν, πρηνέμενους τ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου
 νοστοῦ τυχόντας, πάντας εἰς πατρῶν μολεῖν.

If it was proper thus to apply for fair winds to the manes of Achilles, a mere man, how much more proper was it to apply for them to the manes of the deified Anchises, that Anchises who had not only a "lucus late sacer" but a "sacerdos" set apart for him (verse 760 of this book); that Anchises to whom worship is paid and prayers offered up, in company with Idaean Jove, and Cybele, with Tellus, the Nymphs and rivers, Nox and the rising constellations, and the "genius loci" (7. 133)? Even independently of this special divinity of Anchises (DIVINI PARENTIS, vs. 47), independently of the example of winds sought for and obtained from the manes of the hero Achilles, it was in perfect keeping with the religious opinions of the times that a favour should be sought for from the manes, considered merely as manes. All the manes were gods—*dii manes* (compare Cic. *de Legib.* 2. 22: "Nec vero tam denicales, quae a nece appellatae sunt, quia residentur mortui, quam ceterorum caelestium quieti dies, feriae nominarentur, nisi maiores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in *deorum numero* esse voluissent." Prudent. *Contra Symmach.* 1. 402:

"ecce *deos manes* cur inficiaris haberi?
 ipsa patrum monumenta probant; *dis manibus* illic
 marmora secta lego, quaecunque Latina vetustos
 custodit cineres, densisque Salaria bustis")—

and to the manes, especially if they were the manes of a person distinguished during life for eminent virtue, sacrifices were offered and vows were made by the relatives and other persons nearly connected, and prayers put up even by total strangers and mere passers-by: exactly as in Christian countries at the present day the wayfarer stops at a wayside chapel,

and, kneeling down, commends himself to the saint. Compare Eurip. *Alcest.* 1016 (of the dead Alcestis):

μηδε νεκρων ως φθιμενων
χωμα νομιζεσθω
τυμβος σας αλοχου·
θεοισι δ' ομοιος
τιμασθω, σεβας εμπορων.
και τις, δοχμιαν κελευθον
εκβαιων, τοδ' ερει·
αυτα ποτε προυθανεν ανδρος,
νυν δ' εστι μακαιρα δαιμων·
χαϊρ', ω ποτνι', ευ δε δοιης.
τοιαι νιν προσερουσι φημαι,

where the χαϊρ' ω ποτνια and the ευ δε δοιης, modified so as to suit the particular circumstances of Aeneas, who is not a mere passer-by, but a son come especially to visit the tomb and honour the memory of his sire—

NUNC ULTRO AD CINERES IPSIUS ET OSSA PARENTIS

ADSUMUS—

and who intends that the honours he is now paying shall be of perpetual annual celebration in the great settlement he is on his way to make in Italy—

HAEC ME SACRA QUOTANNIS

URBE VELIT POSITA TEMPLIS SIRI FERRE DICATIS—

correspond as nearly as possible with Aeneas's "salve, sancte parens" (verse 80) and his POSCAMUS VENTOS, ATQUE . . . VELIT, &c. But it is the *inferiae* of Pyrrhus, quoted above, which present a perfect parallelism with the *inferiae* of our text: first, because they are both *inferiae*; secondly, because they are both the offering of a son to a sire; thirdly, because they are presented respectively by a Greek and a Trojan chief (rivals, and heroes of rival poets and poems), each at the head of a large body of followers, and each on his way from Troy after the destruction of that city; and fourthly, because they both stand in direct relation with the journey of the travellers, the former as the sole means, the latter as a happy opportunity, of obtaining

fair winds for their onward voyage. So perfect indeed is the parallelism that it seems impossible to doubt either that POSCAMUS VENTOS is to be understood as meaning POSCAMUS *Anchisen* VENTOS or that Virgil, writing this account of the *inferiae* offered by Aeneas to Anchises, had in his mind the *inferiae* offered by Pyrrhus to Achilles, perhaps even this very description of them given in such full detail by Euripides.

An example of the readiness of the ancients (so much resembling our own readiness) to seize every opportunity of asking favours of their gods, and especially in relation to travelling (not facilitated at that time either by rails or steam), will be found at 4. 579, where Aeneas, summarily ordered out of Africa by Mercury, and very unwilling to go—nay, even “*exterritus*” at the *mal-à-propos* intervention of divinity—has presence of mind enough not to let the god off without at least begging a lift from him :

“*adsis o placidusque iuves, et sidera caelo
dextra feras.*”

Very much of the same nature is the POSCAMUS VENTOS of our text: “Let us try if we cannot kill two birds with one stone, and not only pay my sire the honours to which he is so justly entitled, but at the same time help ourselves forward on our journey by getting him, thus flattered and put into good humour, to give us fair winds for our voyage.” And very much of the same nature is the prayer for a prosperous voyage which Julius Caesar, whilst celebrating *inferiae* on the plain of Troy to the manes of the Trojan heroes fallen in defence of their country, takes the opportunity of offering up to the said manes, Lucan, 9. 990 :

“*di cinerum, Phrygias colitis quicunque ruinas,
Aeneaeque mei, quos nunc Lavinia sedes
servat et Alba Lares, et quorum lucet in aris
ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique adspecta virorum
Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo,
gentis Iuleae vestris clarissimus aris
dat pia tura nepos, et vos in sede priori
rite vocat; date felices in cetera cursus.
restituam populos; grata vice moenia reddent
Ausonidae Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent.*”

VENTOS is thus not the person of whom the favour is asked, but the favour itself, as Hom. *Od.* 10. 17:

αλλ' οτε δη και εγων οδον ητεον, ηδ' εκελευον
πεμπεμεν,

and so, I observe, the passage was understood by Lactantius, *Instit. Divin.* 1. 15: "Anne potest aliquis dubitare, quomodo religiones deorum sint institutae? cum apud Maronem legat Aeneae verba sociis imperantis:

'nunc pateras libate Iovi, precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem;'

cui non tantum immortalitatem verum etiam ventorum tribuit potestatem: POSCAMUS VENTOS," &c.

HAEC ME SACRA QUOTANNIS URBE VELIT POSITA TEMPLIS SIBI FERRE DICATIS.—Nobody, it is well known, need go into the presence either of god or man, especially if it is to ask a favour, without bringing something with him, either in his hand or mouth, or, better than either, in both. Aeneas comes with the double provision. In his hand he has the present, gift, the ready cash payment, down on the counter beforehand—

"hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
purpureosque iacit flores
.
. caedit quinas de more bidentes,
totque sues, totidem nigrantes terga iuencos,
vinaque fundebat pateris.
necnon et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt, onerantque aras, mactantque iuencos."

In his mouth he has the promise of more, which it was not convenient to bring with him, but which should be added in a few days to the present instalment—

"praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum
Aurora extulerit, radiisque retexerit orbem,
prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis," &c.;

honours which, as well as the more substantial gifts in hand, were to be repeated yearly, and to be crowned with a temple

datum, dicatum, and dedicatum in the land to which he begged the deity might in return be so kind as to blow him with a fair wind—

POSCAMUS VENTOS, ATQUE HANC ME SACRA QUOTANNIS
URBE VELIT POSITA TEMPLIS SIRI FERRE DICATIS.

In what mythology was there ever to be found deity capable of resisting so tempting an offer—"quis talia demens abnuat?" And as to cheating, taking the *quid* and not giving the *quo*, that was out of the question; the giving the *quo*, the fair winds sought, being the only means by which the *quid*, at least the most valuable part of the *quid*—the temple in Italy, and annual *SACRA in perpetuum* in Italy—could by possibility be obtained. Nor let it be supposed that it is by mere chance Aeneas makes the full payment of his *VOTA* dependent on his *vota* being granted, say rather makes the payment of his *VOTA* impossible if his *vota* are not granted. The same relation will be found to exist between the payment of his *vota* and the granting of his *vota* on that more important occasion on which, now arrived in his promised land, he makes his terms with Apollo. Being arrived, and having no winds to ask for, he asks for the kingdom which had been promised him—

"iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras.

.
. da—non indebita posco
regna meis fatis—Latio considerare Teucros,
errantesque deos, agitataque numina Troiae;"

and makes the similar *vota*, viz., of a temple of solid marble, and an annual festival in honour of Trivia and Phoebus—

. . . "Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templa
instituum, festosque dies de nomine Phoebi"—

to be similarly paid "tum," then, when Phoebus shall have established him in the promised kingdom, with the addition of a *mancia* for the priestess herself, of a special shrine and special ministers of her oracles "*regnis nostris*" in that kingdom of his in which she and the god she serves shall have established him; a principal sum and a *mancia* alike simply and in the very na-

ture of things impossible to be paid should heaven shirk its part of the engagement. Compare 8. 61-78, the still sharper bargain our knowing dealer strikes with Tiberinus, honest simple god, content with blarney beforehand—

“quo te cunque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenet, quocunque solo pulcherrimus exis,
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,
corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum”—

and not to receive one single doit until after value given and acknowledged: “mihi victor honorem persolves.” To whatsoever cause we may ascribe it—whether to Aeneas’s precaution not to speculate too deeply in the then funds, the oracles of the gods, and to be sure not to have his name subscribed to an undertaking the promoters of which were free to leave him in the lurch, or whether there was no need for such precaution, and both his father on this occasion, and Apollo and the Sibyl on his arrival in Cumae, meant honourably and disinterestedly towards him *ab initio*—the fact is, that on the present occasion he obtained the winds for which he had agreed to pay so high a price, and that at Cumae, he was put fairly on the way to establish himself in the new country, and on the throne of its lawful sovereign. It is with the so necessary and indispensable winds we have at present to do—those winds of whose importance in ancient and migratory expeditions on the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Pontus Euxinus we, living in the happy independence of steam, can hardly form an adequate conception. These winds he obtains instantly, and *bona fide*, as soon as all that can be paid beforehand of the honorarium has been paid. No sooner has the “tumulus” got its “lucus sacer,” the god his “sacerdos,” the god’s mistress her temple, and the nine days of festival and sacrificing have expired—

. . . “vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
et lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris
factus honos”—

than the tempest which has driven the adventurous bastard out

of his course subsides ("placidi straverunt aequora venti"), fair winds invite him to proceed—

"creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum"—

and after fresh sacrifices, viz., of three calves to Eryx and a lamb to the Tempests—

"tres Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
caedere deinde iubet"—

and the propitiation of the very waves themselves with special victims and wine—

"stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
porricit in fluctus, ac vina liquentia fundit"—

he sails before a fair wind—

"prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes"—

and, Neptune himself with all his court preceding and clearing the way for him—

"iungit equos auro geniter, spumantiaque addit
frena feris, manibusque omnes effundit habenas.
caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;
subsidunt undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti
sternitur aequor aquis, fugiuntque ex aethere nimbi.
tum variae oomitum facies, immania cete,
et senior Glauci chorus, Inousque Palaemon,
Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis;
laeva tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo,
Nesaeae, Spioque Thaliaque Cymodocēque"—

arrives with the loss only of one single man—

"unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres"

(there must always be one to suffer the punishment so well deserved by all, "unum pro multis dabitur caput")—safely and happily in Italy—

"et tandem Euboicis Cumarum allabitur oris."

ATQUE HAEC ME SACRA QUOTANNIS URBE VELIT POSITA TEM-
PLIS SIBI FERRE DICATIS.—It was to Aeneas the introduction of
the *parentalia* into Latium was due. See Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 543:

“hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor,
attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas :
ille patris genio solennia dona ferebat ;
hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.”

Klausen (*Aeneas und die Penaten*, vol. 1, p. 494), commenting on our text, observes: “Also Aeneas bringt fortwährend in der von ihm gegründeten Sicilischen stadt dem Anchises die jährlichen opfer.” No, no; on the contrary, the city spoken of is plainly not Acesta, the city founded by Aeneas in Sicily, of which at present, and up to the time of the burning of the ships, there appears to have been no notion, far less a determinate plan, in the mind of Aeneas, but Lavinium, the fated city he was to found in Italy—that city to found which was the end and goal of all his wanderings. Therefore *VELIT*; therefore *URBE POSITA*, exactly corresponding to 2. 294 :

. . . “moenia quaere,
magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto ;”

therefore, finally, *QUOTANNIS*.

VELIT.—It admits of a question whether this word is to be considered as dependent on *POSCAMUS*, *ut* being understood after *ATQUE*, or as independent and optative. Servius seems to have adopted the former view: “Petamus etiam hoc *ut VELIT*.” I am inclined to the latter, not only as affording the stronger, more dignified sense, but because while there is no example elsewhere in Virgil of *poscere* followed by *ut*, there is, if no other, at least one example of *velim* used optatively, viz., 7. 340 :

“arma *velit* poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.”

Velle expresses the absolute free will and pleasure of a person or persons having power and authority. See Cic. *pro Domo* (ed. Lamb. p. 410) : “*velitis, iubeatis ut M. Tullius in civitate ne sit, bonaque eius ut mea sint?*” and (*ibid.* p. 411) : “*velitis, iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdicatur?*” and (*ibid.* p. 416) : “*ut si tribuno plebis rogante ‘velitis, iubeatis,’ Sedulii centum se velle et iubere dixerint.*” And so in our text, as well as Ovid, *Met.* 15. 632 :

“utque salutifera miseris succurrere rebus
sorte *velit*, tantaeque urbis mala finiat, orant ;”

Quint. *Decl.* 323 : “deos immortales omnes quidem, præcipue tamen numen et mihi maxime familiare . . . invoco . . . ut . . . *velit* impunitum esse sacerdotis officium,” and elsewhere, “*velit*” is equivalent to *may be pleased, please, grant*.

Aliter. POSCAMUS VENTOS.—“Factis inferiis deos POSCAMUS VENTOS secundos,” Heyne, Wagner. I think not, for, as remarked by Heyne himself, “Habent venti aliquid a loco alienum, nam Anchisæ fiunt inferiæ, non sacra diis secundæ navigationi expetendæ.” Heyne, having arrived so far, should have gone a step further, and rejecting his interpretation, “factis inferiis deos POSCAMUS VENTOS secundos,” have separated the *inferiæ* from the POSCAMUS VENTOS, viz., by placing these latter words in a parenthesis (see Rem. on 6. 84) thus : “Let us institute a festival here in honour of Anchises, to be repeated annually in our new country”; the thought being interrupted in the middle (see Rem. on 6. 743) in order to answer the objection, “will you thus delay us on our journey for the long time necessary to establish a festival, and prepare for and perform games?”—an objection which is answered in the words POSCAMUS VENTOS : “we must wait whether or no, for the winds are contrary.” The commentators were misled by the frequent use of *poscere* in conjunction with *deos* to assume that it was used similarly here, and that the “venti” were to be begged of Anchises as of a god ; but (1) *poscere* is not always used so, does not always mean *begging, asking, or demanding something of another person*, but, on the contrary, quite as frequently means *seeking to obtain for one's self by any means*, as 11. 453 : “arma manu trepidi poscunt;” 11. 901 : “et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt;” 5. 707 : “quæ fatorum posceret ordo;” and so the parenthetic POSCAMUS VENTOS, *let us seek to obtain winds*, viz., by waiting for them ; in other words, *while we are waiting for a change of wind* ; and (2) if POSCAMUS does indeed require a person to be supposed of whom the winds are to be sought, that person need not be Anchises, but may as well and even better be Jupiter, or some other god.

71-73.

ORE FAVETE OMNES ET CINGITE TEMPORA RAMIS
 SIC FATUS VELAT MATERNA TEMPORA MYRTO
 HOC HELYMUS FACIT HOC AEVI MATURUS ACESTES

ORE FAVETE.—“Εφθυμείτε (i. q. ‘favete linguis,’ Hor. *Od.* 3. 1. 2), formula satis nota, qua ante sacra instituenda omnes a sacerdote silere et attendere iubentur,” Forbiger. The identity of the Latin with the Greek formula is indeed unquestionable, but that very identity serves to prove, not that the meaning is “silete, attendite,” but the contrary; for (1), *ευφημία*, being found in the very same sentence with *σιγή*, and connected with it by the conjunction *και*, Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 1563 :

στας δ' εν μεσω Ταλθυβιος, ω τοδ' ην μελον,
 ευφημιαν ανεπε και σιγην στρατω,

must mean something different from *σιγή*. (2), etymologically and analogically, *ευφημειν* can by no possibility be *to be silent*, can only be *to speak well*, i. e., *to speak verba bona, fausta*; exactly as *ευστομειν* is “suavem et concinnum ore cantum modulari” (Stephens); *ευγλωττειν*, “facundus seu disertus esse” (*ibid.*); and *ευεπης* and *ευεπεια*, “facundus” and “facundia” (*ibid.*). (3), in no other sense can the word be understood in such examples as the following, Aesch. *Agam.* 645 :

ευφημον ημαρ ου πρεπει κακαγγελω
 γλωσση μαινειν.

Id. *Suppl.* 512 (Pelagus to the Danaïdes) :

ευφημον ειη τούπος ευφμουμενη

[let her use civil words who is addressed civilly]. Soph. *Electr.* 1211 (ed. Brunck) :

ευφημα φωνει. προς δικης γαρ ου στενεις.

Compare Eurip. *Ion*, 94 (Ion speaking):

ἀλλ' ὦ Φοῖβον Δελφοὶ θεραπεύεις,
 τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς
 βαίνετε δύναις, καθάραις δὲ δροσίοις
 ἀφύδραναμένοι στείχετε ναοὺς,
 στόμα τ' εὐφημὸν φρουρεῖτ', ἀγαθῶν
 φήμας ἀγαθὰς τοῖς ἐθελουσὶν
 μαρτυρεσθαι
 γλώσσης ἰδίας ἀποφαινείν.

And (4), in no other sense than the opposite, viz., that of speaking *verba inopportuna, infausta, male ominata*, do we ever find *δυσφημεῖν*, the opposite of *εὐφημεῖν*, to be taken. See Eurip. *Hec.* 177:

POL.	ἰὼ
	ματὲρ, ματὲρ, τί βοᾷς; τί νεόν
	καρυξάσ' οἰκῶν μ', ὥστ' ὄρνιν,
	θαμβεῖ τῶδ' ἐξεπτάξας;
HEC.	ἰὼ μοι, τέκνον.
POL.	τί με δυσφημεῖς; φροῖμια μοι κακά.
HEC.	αἶαι πᾶς ψυχᾶς.

Ibid. 195 (Hecuba speaking):

αὐθῶ, παῖ, δυσφημοὺς φάμας·
 ἀγγελοῦσ' Ἀργείων δοῦξαι
 ψήφῳ τὰς σὰς περὶ μοι ψυχᾶς.

These arguments show, I think, sufficiently clearly, through the medium no less of its acknowledged synonym *εὐφημεῖν* than of its acknowledged opposite *δυσφημεῖν*, that “*ore favete*” is not “*silete et attendite*,” but “*bona verba dicite*.” If a more direct proof be required it is not far off, for we have, and from no less an authority than Ovid, *Met.* 15. 677:

“et ‘deus en, deus en; *linguisque animisque favete*,
 quisquis ades,’ dixit. ‘Sis, o pulcherrime, visus
 utiliter: *populosque iuves tua sacra colentes*.’
 quisquis adest iussum venerantur numen, et omnes
 verba sacerdotis referunt geminata, *piumque*
 Aeneadae praestant et mente et voce *favorem*,”

a precise definition if not of what “*ore favete*” is, at least of what “*linguisque animisque favete*” on the particular occasion spoken of by Ovid was. Compare Cic. *de Dirin.* 2. 41. 83: “*Iam illa*

favete linguis : et praerogativam, omen comitiorum : hoc est, ipsum esse contra se copiosum et disertum. . . . Si quis aliquid ex sua re atque ex suo sermone dixerit, et eius verbum aliquod apte ceciderit ad id quod ages aut cogitabis, ea res tibi aut timorem afferet aut alacritatem ?” Tibullus, 2. 2. 1 :

“dicamus bona verba ; venit natalis ; ad aras
quisquis ades lingua, vir mulierque, fave.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 71 :

“prospera lux oritur : linguis animisque favete ;
nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die.”

Id. *Amor.* 3. 2. 43 :

“sed iam pompa venit, linguis animisque favete.
tempus adest plausus : aurea pompa venit.”

Id. *ex Ponto*, 2. 5. 19 :

“tu tamen hic structos inter fera proelia versus
et legis, et lectos ore favente probas.”

Ennius (Vahlen's *Reliqq.*, Lips. 1854, p. 120) (of cocks crowing) :

. . . . “favet faucibus rursis
cantu, plausuque premunt alas.”

Soph. *Philoct.* 201 (chorus to Neoptolemus, hearing Philoctetes coming) : *ευστομ' εχε, παι*, confounded by the author of the Latin version and by Stephens (*Lexic.*) with *στομ' εχε*, and rendered by the former “comprime vocem,” by the latter “sile, tace,” but meaning “take care what you say ; say only what you are not afraid should be heard.”

Should I be required to reconcile the coexistence in the same sentence of two apparently so inconsistent commands as *εσφημειν*, interpreted as I have interpreted it, and *σιγαν* (see Eurip. quoted above, and, where the sense is still more clear and self-evident, *Σιωπα, εσφημει*, Lucian, *Dial. Mart. et Mercur.*), I beg to observe that these apparently inconsistent commands are really subordinate one to the other, the meaning being, not *be absolutely and wholly silent, and at the same time speak good words*, but *cease (be silent from) your idle, irreverent, lewd conversations, and*

speak only what is fitting to the occasion. A similar double command is frequently found in the Bible, particularly with respect to the sabbath day which the Jews were required to keep holy—holy in act, not merely by abstaining from evil acts, but by performing good acts; holy in word, not merely by abstaining from idle or irreverent speaking, but by speaking words suited to the solemnity of the day, *Test. Vet.*, Isaiah, 58. 13: Εαν αποστρεψης τον ποδα σου απο των σαββατων, του μη ποιειν τα θεληματα σου εν τη ημερα τη αγια, και καλεσεις τα σαββατα τρυφερα, αγια τω θεω' ουκ αρεις τον ποδα σου επ' εργω, ουδε λαλησεις λογον εν οργη εκ του στοματος σου.

ORE FAVETE.—*Favour with your mouths; use your mouths so as to further what I am about.* If the speaker is engaged in lamentation, "ore favete" thus becomes equivalent to *mourn with me*, as Ovid, *Ibis*, 95 :

"illum ego devoveo, quem mens intelligit, Ibin;
qui se scit factis has meruisse preces.
nulla mora est in me; peragam rata vota sacerdos:
quisquis ades sacris, ore favete, meis;
quisquis ades sacris, lugubria dicite verba,
et fletu madidis Ibin adite genis."

If, on the contrary, the speaker is, as Aeneas on the present occasion, engaged in rejoicings, "ore favete" is, as just shown, equivalent to *rejoice with me; signify with your voices that you participate in my feelings*, as Ammian. 20. 5? "Inferior miles . . . hastis feriendo clypeos, sonitu assurgens ingenti, uno propemodum ore dictis favebat et coeptis." Finally, if the matter in hand be an election, it can even mean *favour with your votes, vote for*, as Cassiodorus, *Variar.* 1. 43 (Theodoric, king of the Goths, recommending a candidate to the Roman senate): "Huic ergo, Patres Conscripti, tot ac talibus meritis praelucenti, favete linguis, favete collegiis [al. colloquiis]. Erit vestrae quoque benevolentiae laus, ut cum dignis caritatem impenditis ad exemplum ceteros incitetis."

ORE FAVETE, then, in our text, so far from being a command to be silent, is the very opposite—an invitation to rejoice—and that not in the sense in which we rejoice at our religious festi-

vals, i. e., with sighs and groans and solemn faces, but as the ancients rejoiced at theirs, viz., with laughing, joking, and every kind of merriment; in one word, it is an invitation to enjoy themselves and be merry, and as such has the additional invitation added to it to crown the heads with garlands (ET CINGITE TEMPORA RAMIS), it being the custom for those who met to eat, drink, and be merry, so to crown their heads. That this is the real meaning of ORE FAVETE OMNES ET CINGITE TEMPORA RAMIS appears further from the preparations made for the merry-making, verse 100 :

“nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt, onerantque aras, mactantque iuvenços;
ordine aena locant alii, fusique per herbam
subiiciunt verubus prunas et viscera torrent,”

and from the games themselves, no less than from the accounts we have so frequently elsewhere of similar religious rejoicings, *ex. gr.*, 8. 273 :

“quare agite, o iuvenes; tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
communemque vocate deum, et date vina volentes,”

where we have the similar worship of the deified man, the similar rejoicing, and the similar crowning of the heads of the worshippers and merry-makers with garlands, and where, if I need follow the parallelism further, the speaker (Evander) crowns his own head with the Herculean poplar, exactly as in our text the speaker (Aeneas) crowns his own head with Venus's myrtle, in honour not merely of his own mother, but of the spouse of the divus whose parentalia he was celebrating. For other accounts of similar religious festivals or merry-makings, see Callim. *Hymn. in Delum*, 323 (of the merriment at the festival of Delian Apollo) :

. . . α Δηλιας ευρετο νυμφη
παιγνια κουριζοντι και Απολλωνι γελαστων.

Apollon. Rhod. 4. 1723 (of the similar merriment at the feast of Apollo Aegletes) :

. . . ουκετ' επειτα
ισχειν εν στηθεσσι γελω σθενον.

Pausan. 7 (of the merriment at the feast of the Mysian Ceres in Achaëa): αφικομενων εις το ιερον των ανδρων, αι γυναικες τε εις αυτους, και ανα μερος εις τας γυναικας οι ανδρες, γελωτι τε εις αλληλους χρωνται και σκωμμασιν. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 295:

ευφημια 'στω,
 ευφημια 'στω.
 ευχεσθε ταιν Θεσμοφοροιν,
 τη Δημητρι και τη Κορη,

 ταυτ' ευχεσθε, και υμιν αυταις ταγαθα.
 ιη παιων, ιη παιων, ιη παιων· χαιρωμεν.

VELAT MATERNA TEMPORA MYRTO.—Why do Aeneas and his companions wreathe their heads with myrtle? No commentator, so far as I know, has ever informed us, for Servius's "vel quasi [qu. *quia*?] filius vel quasi [qu. *quia*?] Veneris sacrificaturus marito" gives us no more information than has been already conveyed by the words themselves, viz., that being about to commemorate the death of Anchises, Aeneas and his followers wreathe their heads with the boughs of the tree which was sacred to Venus, the mother of Aeneas. The question is: why do they do so? In honour of Venus? No, for it is not the parentalia of Venus they are celebrating, but of Anchises. Why, then, the myrtle? No doubt, on account of the common use of that shrub in honour of the dead. Compare Eurip. *Electr.* 323:

Αγαμεμνονος δε τυμβος ητιμασμενος
 ουπω χοας ποτ' ουδε κλωνα μυρσινης
 ελαβε, πυρα δε χερσος αγλαισματος.

Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 85 (ed. Dissen):

και δευτερον αμαρ ετειων τερμ' αεθλων
 γιγνεται, ισχυος εργον.
 ενθα λευκωθεις καρα
 μυρτοις οδ' ανηρ διπλοαν
 νικαν ανεφανατο, παιδων τε τριταν προσθεν, κυβερνατηρος οιακοστροφου
 γνωμα πεπιθων πολυβουλω,

where the Scholiast: μυρσινη γαρ στεφανουνται δια το ειναι των νεκρων στεφος.

ÆVI MATORUS ACESTES.—Exactly the English “mature of age,” as in Sir W. Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, l. 29 :

“the mistress of the mansion came,
mature of age, a graceful dame”

—a poet who, whatever else he may have been, was at least no imitator of Virgil.

80-114.

SALVE—PARES

ITERUM (vs. 80).—“Quia salutaverat quum ad sepulturam mitteret,” Schol. ad *Veron. Palimps.* (Keil’s ed. p. 94, l. 13). “Pro secundo ; hic distinguendum, nam quo tempore sepeliit eum dixit sine dubio ‘salve et vale,’” Servius, and so Heyne, Wagner, and Conington, incorrectly as I think. The pause at ITERUM wholly destroys the cadence of the line. The voice must fall at PARENS, and, after a pause, rise at ITERUM ; and ITERUM expresses not the repetition now of the salutation bestowed on his parent when formerly in Sicily, but the repetition in SALVETE of the salutation just bestowed in SALVE ; SALVE and SALVETE being (as shown by the subsequent TECUM) salutations of the same individual, his father, addressed in SALVE as his father (PARENS), and in SALVETE as his *dead* father (CINERES ANIMAEQUE UMBRAEQUE). Compare Ovid, *ad Liviam*, 219 :

“te clamore vocant iterumque iterumque supremo.”

Aesch. *Eumen.* 1012 (Schütz) :

χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ’ αὐθις, ἐπιδιπλοῖς.

Callim. *Hymn. in Iovem*, 94 : Χαίρει, πατερ, χαίρ’ αὐθι. Eurip. *Troad.* 629 (ed. Musgr.) :

αἱ, αἱ, τέκνον, σὺν ἀνοσίῳν προσφάγματων
αἱ, αἱ, μάλ’ αὐθις, ὡς κακῶς διόλλυσαι,

and Id. *Hec. 1035* (ed. Musgr.):

POLYM. Ωμοι, τυφλουμαι φεγγος ομματος ταλας.

SEMICH. Ηκουσατ' ανδρος Θρηκος οιμαγην, φιλαι;

POLYM. Ωμοι μαλ' αυθις, τεκνα, δυστηνου σφαγης.

in both which places *μαλ' αυθις* is *again and again*.

RECEPTI (vs. 80).—"It would be very harsh to make RECEPTI agree with CINERES; so that we shall probably do well to make RECEPTI the genitive singular, combined with PATERNAE, like 'mea unius opera,' 'vestram omnium caedem,' and similar expressions," Conington. I think not. RECEPTI must be understood to be the predicate of CINERES, else the SALVETE is addressed to the ashes of his father (SALVETE CINERES), not to his father himself regarded as dead (SALVETE CINERES RECEPTI). Besides, the sentence—easy and flowing so long as SALVETE is immediately followed by its nominative—becomes intricate and disappointing as soon the reader learns in the next line that the *prima facie* nominative is not a nominative at all, but a mere genitive dependence of the postponed, almost relegated nominative. See Rem. on "iustior," 1. 548.

RECEPTI.—"RECEPTI indicat respici hic ad id quod tum secunda fiebat vice," Wagner, who, in his *Praestabilior*, again observes: "*Receptos dicit, ad quos rediit.*" I disagree: RECEPTI here, as "recepti," 6. 111, applied to the same Anchises, is *saved, recovered*, Germ. *gerettet*, and so the ancient commentator of the Gudian, in which MS. I find over the word RECEPTI the gloss "liberati a Troia." Compare 1. 182, 557, 587.

RECEPTI NEQUICQUAM (as 3. 711, "nequicquam erepti"), *umsonst gerettet*. Both verbs are applied in the same verse to the same Anchises, 6. 111. Compare also 1. 182: "fruges receptas." RECEPTI NEQUICQUAM CINERES, i. e., CINERES NEQUICQUAM RECEPTI *patris*.

SEPTEM INGENS GYROS, SEPTENA VOLUMINA TRAXIT (vs. 85).—This passage has fared indifferently in the hands of the commentators, Servius taking no notice whatever of VOLUMINA, and only leaving us to gather, if we can, from his comment that he understands GYROS of the circuits made by the serpent; Heyne limiting his explanation to AMPLEXUS, which he consi-

ders to be equivalent to "gyris ambiens;" and Wagner, anxious that his author should not talk nonsense ("ne tinnire inania poetam putes"), explaining *GYROS* by "gyros," and *VOLUMINA* by "in se replicatos:" "SEPTEM GYROS, SEPTENA VOLUMINA, i.e., SEPTEM GYROS in se replicatos;" of which Forbiger approves ("recte hunc locum explicat Wagner"), without, however, informing us either how "gyros" explains *GYROS*, or how "replicatos" explains *VOLUMINA*. Lastly, Conington's short observation, "Gyri and volumina are probably the same," shows rather that he perceived than that he applied his mind to solve the difficulty. Let us see if what our author has said is not both explicit and graphic; whether he does not describe the serpent as making seven circuits not merely round but on the tumulus, coiling himself all the time as he goes. In order to arrive at this picture, we have only to understand *GYROS* as spoken of the circuits (Italian, *giri*) made by the serpent, *VOLUMINA* as signifying the coils which the serpent makes upon itself during its motion forwards, and *AMPLEXUS* the embrace which the serpent gives the tumulus, viz., by being actually on it while it goes round it. I find no instance of *gyrus* used in any other sense than that of the circuit or sweep which a moving body makes when it deviates from the straight onward line, and turns round about more or less in the direction of the point from which it has set out. On the other hand, I find no instance of *volumen* used in the sense of *gyrus*, or in any other sense than that of a body either coiling or coiled upon itself. *Amplexus* always means embracing or encompassing in such a manner as to be at the same time in actual contact. *AMPLEXUS* then completes the notion expressed by *GYROS*, informing us that the serpent was actually on the tumulus while it made its gyrations round it, and *VOLUMINA* explains that the serpent during its gyrations was not extended to its entire length, but went along coiling itself or curling as it went. *SEPTEM* informs us that the gyrations made by the serpent were seven in number, and *SEPTENA* that the coils which the serpent made in one gyration were repeated seven times, there being seven gyrations. Compare *Georg.* 3. 191:

“carpere mox *gyrum* incipiat gradibusque sonare
compositis, sinuetque alterna *volumina* crurum,”

where we have again “*gyrum*” and “*volumina*” together, the former being as here the circuit, technically (the subject being the training of a young horse) the ring, and “*volumina*” the bend, bow, or circular shape taken by the leg when lifted up by the horse from the ground, and bent or flexed on itself during the forward motion of the animal; and “*crurum*” being added to “*volumina*” in order to show that the bow or bend was of the leg only, while in our text the same word has no defining or limiting adjunct, the bending, bowing, or coiling being not of a part, but of the whole body.

ADYTIS . . . TRAXIT (vv. 84, 85).—The structure is *ANGUIS AB ADYTIS IMIS TRAXIT*, not *ANGUIS TRAXIT AB ADYTIS IMIS*.

SEPTEM GYROS.—In the sense no less than in the strict construction these words depend not on *TRAXIT*, but on some verb (*egit* for instance, or *flexit*) understood. We may presume that this going round of the tumulus precisely *seven* times was because it was usual in the chariot race to go round the goal seven times. See *Propert.* 2. 19. 65:

“an prius infecto deposcit præmia cursu,
septima quam metam triverit ante rota?”

Ovid, *Halieut.* 68:

“*seu septem spatiiis circo meruere coronam.*”

SQUAMAM INCENDERAT (vs. 88).—*Fired the scales, i. e., made the scales appear as if they were on fire.* See Sir W. Scott, *Lord of the Isles* (Bertrand Risingham speaking):

“my noontide India may declare,
like her bright sun I *fired* the air.”

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 1. 41:

“*deque triumphato quod sol incenderit auro
aurea Romani tecta fuisse fori.*”

See also *Rem.* on “*incendentem luctus*,” 9. 500; and on “*incendant clamoribus urbem*,” 11. 147.

MACULOSUS ET AURO SQUAMAM INCENDEBAT FULGOR.—Compare Liv. 41. 21 (ed. Walker): “anguem . . . aureis maculis sparsum.”

ILLE AGMINE LONGO . . . LIQUIT (vv. 90-93).—Compare Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 13. 11:

“per tua sinistra, precor, per Anubidis ora verendi,
sic tua sacra plus semper Osiris amet,
pigraque labatur circa donaria serpens,
et comes in pompam corniger Apis eat.”

FAMULUM PARENTIS (vs. 95).—That is, FAMULUM *umbræ* PARENTIS. Compare Val. Flacc. 3. 457:

“libavitque dapes; placidi quas protenus angues,
umbrarum famuli, linguis rapuere coruscis.”

In our ancient language of demonology, *familiar*, i. e., constant, attendant, domestic. The word is still used in certain institutions in France. See *Le Siècle* newspaper, August 25th, 1864 (trial of Latour for murder), where M. l'abbé Peyrou, librarian of Toulouse, one of the witnesses examined, says: “J'ai cherchée cette cachette avec le *famulus* de la bibliothèque, et je n'ai pas réussi à la trouver.”

ÆENA LOCANT ALII (vs. 102).—See Rem. on 1. 217.

SUBICIUNT VERUBUS PRUNAS (vs. 103).—“*Put the live coals under the spits* is probably a way of saying *hang the spits before the live coals*,” Conington. The *SUB* is explicit, and can only signify the relation of under and over. And such was the ancient mode of roasting: the fire was under, the meat to be roasted not before, but over.

EXSPECTATA DIES ADERAT, &c., . . . PARATI (vv. 104-8).—Embellished details happily raising a lively expectation of the important events, viz., the games which are to follow, and of which the description occupies the book almost to the end. Contrast Plaut. *Menaechmi*, prol. 30:

“mortales multi, ut ad *ludos*, convenerant,”

where, the games being mentioned merely to account for the great crowd assembled, and not being themselves described in the sequel, the absence of embellished introductory detail is as

fit and proper as in our text is Virgil's always so charming, never unreasonable exuberance.

VISURI AENEADAS, PARS ET CERTARE PARATI (vs. 108).—Exactly as to the Consualia celebrated for the rape of the Sabine women some came to see or take part in the games, some to see the new city, Liv. 1. 9: "multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis."

TRIPODES (vs. 110).—Compare Paus. *Eliacor.* 1. 17 (of the funeral games of Pelias): *κεινται δε και τριποδες, αθλα δη τοις νικωσι.*

PARES (vs. 114).—*Matched*, as we say of horses "matches." Nothing can be plainer than the meaning.

116-120.

VELOCEM MNESTHEUS AGIT ACRI REMIGE PRISTIN
MOX ITALUS MNESTHEUS GENUS A QUO NOMINE MEMMI
INGENTEMQUE GYAS INGENTI MOLE CHIMAERAM
URBIS OPUS TRIPlici PUBES QUAM DARDANA VERSU
IMPELLUNT TERNO CONSURGUNT ORDINE REMI

AGIT, *commands*; see Rem. on 4. 245.

INGENTEM INGENTI MOLE CHIMAERAM.—"INGENTEM INGENTI MOLE ne forte displiceat ita accipio, ut prius INGENTEM navis magnitudinem in universum declaret, illud vero INGENTI MOLE ad altitudinem referatur," Wagner (ed. Heyn.). "Duplicato adiectivo magnitudo navis extollitur," Gossrau, approved by Conington. "INGENTEM ist mit INGENTI MOLE zu verbinden; die zusammenstellung verschiedener formen desselben wortes dient zur nachdrücklichen hervorhebung des damit bezeichnerten begriffes," Ladewig. These interpretations, however variously expressed, are essentially one and the same, viz., that each of the three terms, INGENTEM, INGENTI, and MOLE, expresses the great magnitude of the Chimaera, in other words, that the great magnitude of the Chimaera, expressed by INGENTEM, is

magnified by MOLE, and the great magnitude of the Chimaera, expressed by INGENTEM and magnified by MOLE, is magnified again by INGENTI. I cannot agree, cannot persuade myself, that Virgil had so little of our Falconer in him as not to know that in a great vessel actually under weigh—

TRIPLICI PUBES QUAM DARDANA VERSU
IMPELLUNT, TERMO CONSURGUNT ORDINE REMI—

there was something more to be described as striking the eye at first sight than its mere magnitude, however great that magnitude might be; that the way it was making, the molimen, the effort, the momentum with which it moved, raised the admiration of the beholder no less than its magnitude, and should no less than its magnitude enter into its description by the poet. **Comparing** his master's "*magnam magno molimine navem*," Lucr. 4. 902 :

"quippe etenim ventus, subtili corpore tenuis,
trudit agens *magnam magno molimine navem* ;
et manus una regit quantovis impete euntem ;
atque gubernaculum contorquet quolubet unum,"

in which both magnitude and movement of the vessel are described not only in similar words, but in similar words in similar construction, and occupying the same position in the verse—words, too, of no one of which the meaning can by any possibility be doubted, and of which, if there could be any doubt, those most important and most illustrative of our text are actually paraphrased in this sense in the very next verse,—**I perceive** at once that our author, in the words in question, has not omitted that which most strikes us when we look at a ship at sea, viz., its majestic movement, bearing, or carriage, but having in INGENTEM (Lucretius's "*magnam*") expressed the majestic size of his Chimaera (Lucretius's "*magnam navem*"), has in INGENTI MOLE (Lucretius's "*magno molimine*") expressed the majestic motion, the great sway, impulse, momentum, "*impete*" (compare Lucr. 5. 911 :

"aut hominem tanto membrorum esse *impete* natum,
trans maria alta pedum nixus ut pandere posset,
et manibus totum circum se vortere caelum"),

with which his Chimaera, like the Chimaera from which it had its name, is borne along, not merely *μεγαλη*, but *δεινη*, *ποδωκης*, and *κρατερη*, to use the words of Hesiod, *Theog.* 319 :

η δε Χιμαιραν ενικτε, πρηνεσαν αμαμακετον πυρ,
δεινην τε, μεγαλην τε, ποδωκεα τε, κρατερην τε

(with which compare Eurip. *Ion*, 201, where *τρισωματον αλκαν* refers to the Chimaera :

και μαν τονδ' αθησον
πτερουτος εφεδρον ιππον
ταν πυρπνεουσιν εναιρει
τρισωματο / αλκαν),

exactly as Attius (quoted by Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2 [ed. Lamb. p. 227]), having first described the magnitude of the Argo by the same term "moles," proceeds to describe its stately carriage and impetus by "*ingenti sonitu et spiritu*" (i.e., *INGENTI MOLE*) :

. . . "tanta moles labitur
fremebunda ex alto *ingenti sonitu et spiritu* ;
prae se undas volvit, vertices vi suscitât,
ruit prolapsa, pelagus respergit, reflât."

Nor are examples of moles used in this sense at all rare. Applied in this sense, it is joined (*α*) with "*tarda*" by Stat. *Theb.* 5. 441 :

"audet iter magnique sequens vestigia mutat
Herculis, et *tarda* quamvis se *mole* ferentem
vix cursu temer aequat Hylas."

(*β*) with "*lenta*" by the same author, *ibid.* 6. 265 :

"centum ibi nigrantes, armenti robora, tauros
lenta mole trahunt."

(*γ*) with "*magna*" by the same, *ibid.* 7. 675 :

"sic tunc congressu Capaneus gavisus iniquo
librabat *magna* venturam *mole* cupressum"

[with a great momentum, a great impulse, a great movement].

(*δ*) with "*acris*" by Sil. 4. 450 :

"stabat Fortunae non cedere certus, et *acri*
mole retorquebat, crudescens caedibus, hastas"

[threw back the spears with sharp vigorous effort, exertion, to-do]. (e) with "tota" by the same, 16. 184 :

"audito, pariter populorum in regna duorum
advenisse duces ; qui *tota mole* laborent,
disceptantque armis, terrarum uter imperet orbi,
celsus mente Syphax acciri in tecta benigne
imperat, et tanto regni se tollit honore"

[labour with all their might]. (f) with "nova" by the same, 9. 416 :

"atque his fulta viris acies repararet ademtum
mole nova campum, subito ni turbine Poenus
agmina frenasset iam procurentia ductor"

[with a new exertion, with a new effort]. (g) with "pavenda" by the same, 7. 680 :

"iamque in palantes ac versos terga feroces
pugnabant Itali, subitus cum *mole pavenda*
terrificis Maurus prorumpit Tunga in armis"

["bursts in among them with an awful to-do, a tremendous work, or coil"—his object being, as fully explained in the following lines, to frighten]. And (h) with this very "ingenti" itself by Lucan, 3. 114 :

. . . "pugnaxque Metellus,
ut videt *ingenti* Saturnia templa revelli
mole, rapit gressus"

[with immense work], in all which places, no less than in Sil. 14. 327 :

. . . "quin saepe triremem
belligerae rapuere trabes, cum desuper actum
incuterent puppi chalybem morsusque tenaces ;
qui simul affixo vicina in robora ferro
sustulerant sublime ratem (miserabile visu !)
per subitum rursus laxatis arte catenis
tanta praecipitem reddebant *mole* profundo
ut totam haurirent undae cum milite puppem ;"

and Id. 12. 37 :

"haec pone aggressus (nam frontem clauserat aequor)
moenia, non ullas valuit perfringere Poenus
tota mole vias,"

it can by no possibility mean anything else than *exertion, effort, impetus, to-do*.

Nor is it less certain, though perhaps it is less susceptible of logical proof, that it is in this sense and not at all in the sense of magnitude the word has been used **not only** by Virgil himself, 3. 656 :

“ipsum inter pecudes vasta se *mole* moventem
pastorem Polyphemum ”

(interpreted by Servius “molitione, agitatione,” and cited by him as proof that *MOLE* in our text signifies “motu”), and 8. 199 (of Cacus): “magna se *mole* ferebat” [carried himself with great momentum], **but** by Statius, *Theb.* 9. 125 :

“ventum erat ad fluvium; solito tunc plenior alveo,
signa mali, magna se *mole* Ismenos agebat ”

[with the great impetus, the great momentum of a flooded river], **and** by Sil. 12. 143 :

“tradunt Herculea prostratos *mole* Gigantas
tellurem iniectam quatere ”

[the Herculean impetus, βίη Ηρακλεια]. Compare Hom. *II.* 17. 233 :

οἱ δ' ἴθυσ Δαναῶν βρισαντες ἐβησαν,
δουρατ' ἀνατχομενοι

[Lat. transl.: “illi vero recta in Danaos magna *mole* ferebantur”].

I have been the more explicit in the above argumentation, and adduced examples in the greater number, because *moles* is **so** often used, as well by other writers as by our author himself, in the sense of *mass* or *weight*, entirely apart from the notion of impetus, molitio, or molimen—contrast the “ingenti *mole*” (the *mighty mass*) of Misenus’s sepulchre with the “tanta *mole*” (the *so great momentum* or *impetus*) with which the combatants in the battle of Actium “turritis turribus instant;” and this “tanta *mole*,” this *so great momentum* or *impetus* with which the combatants in the battle of Actium drive their ships at each other, with the “ipsa *moles*,” the bulk, magnitude, the unwieldiness which was the destruction of the ships of Antony in the same battle, Flor. 4. 11 (of Antony and Cleopatra’s ships at the battle of Actium): “Quippe a senis in novenos remorum ordinibus, ad hoc

turribus, atque tabulatis allevatae, castellorum et urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris, et labore ventorum ferebantur, quae quidem *ipsa moles* exitio fuit. Caesaris naves a triremibus in senos non amplius ordines creverant. Itaque habiles in omnia, quae usus poscebat, ad impetus et recursus flexusque capiendos, illas graves, et ad omnia praepeditas, singulas plures adortae, missilibus simul, tum rostris, ad haec ignibus iactis, ad arbitrium dissipavere"—that the meaning of the word in the particular case before us was not to be arrived at unless by a very wide induction. If it is (as it undoubtedly is) a defect of style to use one and the same word in so very different senses in two so similar positions and constructions as *INGENTI MOLE CHIMAERAM* and "*ingenti mole sepulchrum*," the defect of style is no greater, however less, than the use of one and the same word, within the limits of one and the same sentence, in senses so different as the literal and metaphorical, 12. 684 :

"ac veluti *montis* saxum de vertice praeceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
fertur in abruptum magno *mons* improbus actu,
exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque
involvans secum."

The sense of *MOLE* in our text having been thus, as I think, satisfactorily determined, let us now see whether we cannot in an equally satisfactory manner determine the construction—settle definitively whether the construction is *INGENTI MOLE (AGIT)*—"aut *AGIT INGENTI MOLE*, i. e., *motu*, *CHIMAERAM INGENTEM*, i. e., *valde magnam*," Ascensius.

"Gyas zunächst lenkt mächtig den mächtigen bau der Chimaera." (Voss).

—OR *CHIMAERAM INGENTI MOLE*. And happily nothing is less difficult. The construction is not *AGIT INGENTI MOLE*, if it were only because of the un-Virgilian monotony and mal-adroitness of *GYAS (AGIT) INGENTI MOLE CHIMAERAM*, succeeding, next verse but one, to *MNESTHEUS AGIT ACRI REMIGE PRISTIN*; and the construction is *INGENTI MOLE CHIMAERAM* because of Lucretius's "*magnam magno molimine navem*," quoted above; because of our author's own (verse 401) "*immani pondere caestus*;"

and because of the repetition of the words themselves at verse 223 :

“ inde Gyan ipsamque *ingenti mole Chimaeram*
consequitur,”

where (see Rem. *in loc.*) the construction “*ingenti mole Chimaeram*” alone affords a suitable sense.

INGENTEM, INGENTI.—Ingens is our author's maid of all work—cook, slut, and butler at once. No sooner has Ingens put her hand to CHIMAERAM, than she has to turn and give a lift to MOLE; hardly has she despatched “*Lausum*,” 10. 842, or “*Murranum*,” 12. 639, when she has to attend to “*vulnere*” of each. It is Ingens who is put in requisition, 11. 641, for Herminius's “*animis*,” Ingens for Herminius's “*corpore et armis*.” Aeneas's fame is nothing without Ingens; without Ingens Aeneas's arms, nothing, 11. 124: “*O fama ingens ingentior armis*.” Seville's famous barber was never busier: it is Ingens here, Ingens there, everywhere Ingens. Scarce a hero in the Aeneid but has something for Ingens to do. Sarpedon calls Ingens, 1. 133, “*ubi ingens Sarpedon*”; Periphas calls Ingens, 2. 476, “*una ingens Periphas*”; Polyphemus calls Ingens, 3. 658, “*monstrum informe ingens*”; Entellus calls Ingens, 5. 423, “*atque ingens media consistit arena*”; Bitias calls Ingens, 9. 709, “*clipeum super intonat ingens*”; Pandarus calls Ingens, 9. 735, “*tum Pandarus ingens*”; and repeats the call, 11. 369, “*et Pandarus ingens*”; Turnus calls Ingens, 12. 926 :

. . . “*incidit ictus*
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.”

Aeneas calls Ingens until both he and she may well be tired, as 10. 578 :

“*haud tulit Aeneas tanto fervore furentes*;
irruit, adversaque ingens apparuit hasta.”

12. 441 :

“*haec ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit ingens*.”

6. 412: “*simul accipit alveo ingentem Aenean*.” 8. 366 :

. . . “*angusti subter fastigia tecti*
ingentem Aenean duxit.”

Nor is it only amongst articulating men *Ingens* is thus in demand. Serpents hiss *Ingens*, 5. 84 :

. . . "lubricus anguis ab imis
septem *ingens* gyros, septena volumina traxit"

7. 351 :

. . . "fit tortile collo
aurum *ingens* coluber, fit longae taenia vittae."

Swine grunt *Ingens*, 3. 390 ; 8. 43 :

"littoreis *ingens* inventa sub ilicibus sus."

Bulls bellow *Ingens*, 8. 203 :

"Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat
ingentes."

Not only the whole body, the *integrum corpus*, but parts and sections of bodies, no matter whether of men or animals, no matter whether alive or dead, hands, horns, mouths, eyes, beards, breasts, ring the bell for *Ingens*, as 10. 446 : "corpusque per *ingens* lumina volvit"; 11. 556 : "quam dextra *ingenti* librans"; 7. 483 :

"cervus erat forma praestanti et cornibus *ingens*";

11. 680 :

. . . "caput *ingens* oris hiatus
et malae texere lupi";

3. 635 : "et telo lumen terebramus acuto *ingens*"; 12. 300 : "olli *ingens* barba reluxit"; 10. 485 : "pectus perforat *ingens*." Even the headless trunk shouts *Ingens*, 2. 557 :

. . . "iacet *ingens* littore truncus,
avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus."

The same unhappy overworked *Ingens* has to be ever at the service not merely of (æ) the sacred grove, as 8. 597 :

"est *ingens* gelidum *lucus* prope Caeritis amnem";

7. 29 :

"atque hic Aeneas *ingentem* ex aequore *lucum*
prospicit";

8. 342 :

"hinc *lucum ingentem*, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal";

but (**b**) of the savage profane wood, as 7. 676: "dat euntibus *ingens silva* locum"; and (**e**), its commonest oak and manna-ash, as 11. 5:

"*ingentem quercum* decisis undique ramis
constituit tumulo";

6. 182: "advolvunt *ingentes* montibus ornos"; not merely (**d**) of temples, altars, and palaces, the august dwellings of gods and kings, as 1. 450:

"hic *templum* Iunoni *ingens* Sidonia Dido
condebatur";

1. 457:

"namque sub *ingenti* lustrat dum singula templo";

2. 513: "*ingens* ara fuit"; 7. 170: "tectum augustum *ingens*;"

2. 489:

"tum pavidæ *tectis* matres *ingentibus* errant";

but (**e**), of eaves, holes, pits, and every manner of hiding-place of rogue, robber, and rapparee, as 3. 618:

. . . "*domus* sanie dapibusque cruentis
intus opaca *ingens*";

8. 241:

"at *specus* et Caci detecta apparuit *ingens*
regia";

7. 569: "ruptoque *ingens* Acheronte vorago"; 2. 19: "cavernas *ingentes* utrumque"; not only (**f**) of the heroes themselves, as we have so abundantly seen above, but (**g**) of the heroes' armour and arms, their cuirasses and shields, and especially their spears, as 8. 621:

. . . "*loricam* ex aere rigentem
sanguineam, *ingentem*";

8. 447: "*ingentem* clypeum informant"; 2. 50: "*validis* *ingentem* viribus hastam . . . contorsit"; 10. 762: "*ingentem* quatens Mezentius hastam"; 12. 398: "*ingentem* nixus in hastam"; 12. 888: "*telumque* coruscat *ingens*, arboreum"; not only (**h**) of mountains, rocks, and stones, as 3. 579: "*ingentemque* insuper Aetnam"; 12. 715: "ac velut *ingenti* Sila"; 12. 896: "*saxum* circumspicit *ingens*"; 12. 531: "in-

gentis turbine saxi"; 10. 127 :

"fert *ingens* toto connixus corpore *saxum*";

but (§) of weights, burthens, heaps, masses, concourses, and gatherings of all possible kinds, as 9. 752: "*ingenti concoussa est pondere tellus*"; 10. 553: "*clipeique ingens onus impedit hasta*"; 4. 402 :

"ac veluti *ingentem* formicae farris *acervum*
cum populant";

11. 207: "*ingentem caedis acervum*"; 10. 245 :

"*ingentes* Rutulae spectabit caedis *acervos*";

10. 509: "*ingentes* Rutulorum linquis *acervos*"; 6. 232: "*ingenti mole sepulchrum*"; 9. 454: "*ingens concursus ad ipsa corpora*"; 9. 710: "*una ingens Amiterna cohors*"; 5. 487 :

"*ingentique manu* malum de nave Seresti
erigit";

2. 796 :

"atque hic *ingentem* comitum affluxisse novorum
invenio admirans *numerus*";

5. 611: "*conspicit ingentem consessum*"; 9. 515: "*globus imminet ingens*." *Ingens* must answer not only (§) to every command and shout, as 7. 241: "*iussisque ingentibus urget Apollo*"; 12. 268, "*simul ingens clamor*"; 9. 38 :

. . . "*ingenti clamore* per omnes
condunt se Teuceri portas, et moenia complent";

but (¶) to every groan, as 1. 489: "*ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*"; 11. 37 :

"*ingentem gemitum* tunsis ad sidera tollunt
pectoribus";

every roar, crash, and noise, as 3. 455, "*gemitum ingentem pelagi*"; 8. 527: "*fragor increpat ingens*"; 7. 65, "*stridore ingenti*"; 11. 614, "*sonitu ingenti*." Fire and smoke must be attended by *Ingens*, as 6. 518: "*flamman* media ipsa tenebat *ingentem*"; 8. 252 :

"faucibus *ingentem fumum*, mirabile dictu,
evomit."

Ingens has to go up into the clouds to minister to the rainbow,
5. 658 :

“*ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum*”;

and down to Hades to attend to the gate-dog, never not in want
of her, 6. 417 :

“*Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
personat*”;

6. 423 : “*totoque ingens extenditur antro*” ; 6. 400 :

. . . “*licet ingens ianitor antro
aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras*” ;

to the crying of the children, 6. 426 :

“*continuo auditaæ voces vagitus et ingens,
infantumque animæ flentes*” ;

to the shady elm stuck full of silly dreams, 6. 283 :

“*ulmus opaca ingens quam sedem somnia vulgo
vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent*” ;

to the gate of Tartarus, 6. 552 : “*porta adversa ingens*” ; and
even to Sisyphus’s trundling-stone, 6. 616 : “*saxum ingens vol-
vunt alii.*”

But all this were tolerable, and so “*ingens*” is the activity
and readiness on the one hand, and the patience on the other,
of this veritable “*serva servarum*,” that I doubt if one word of
complaint had even to this hour reached my ears, however quick,
as ears go, of hearing, if it had not been for the perpetual worry-
ing she has to endure from the merest abstractions, airy nothings,
buzzing about her, teasing her, and pricking her like myriads of
midges to no good or purpose whatever, but out of mere wanton-
ness and love of mischief. I could not tell you the names of a
thousandth part of them, but *gloria* is one of them, as 2. 325 :
“*ingens gloria Teucrorum.*” *Pavor* is another of them, 7. 458 :
“*olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor.*” *Argumentum*, another,
7. 791 : “*argumentum ingens.*” *Pudor*, another, 10. 870 :

. . . “*aestuant ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu.*”

Luctus, another, 11. 62: "solutia luctus exigua ingentis"; 11. 231:

"deficit *ingenti luctu* rex ipse Latinus";

6. 869: "ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum." Metus is another, 6. 491: "ingenti trepidare metu." Minae, another, 4. 88: "minaeque murorum ingentes." Curae, another, 5. 701:

"nunc huc *ingentes*, nunc illuc pectore *curas*
mutabat";

1. 212: "curisque ingentibus aeger." Coepta, another, 9. 296:

"spondeo digna tuis *ingentibus omnia coeptis*";

10. 461: "coeptis ingentibus adsis." Genus, another, 12. 224:

. . . "formam assimilata Camerti,
cui *genus* a proavis *ingens*."

None but a heart of adamant had worked any unfortunate biped in such a manner. Many a time I have pitied her, but small good to her a pity of which she knew nothing, which was not to come till two thousand years after; her only consolation, if tears and sighs deserve the name of consolation, was the sympathy of her fellow-servant Contra, who "non ignara mali miseris succurrere didicit"; poor Contra **who**—never required by previous master to do coarse, common, every-day work, but allowed to live at ease, only lending a helping hand when the ordinary household was insufficient, and hired by her present master on those terms; and as long as he was himself strong and hale and alert only employed in such manner, viz., in his first book three times; in his second book, twice; in his third, three times; in his fourth, where he was in his full prime and vigour, only once; in his fifth, six times; in his sixth, twice; in his seventh, four times; in his eighth, three times—**has** to put to her hand in his ninth book, where her master first begins to show signs of fatigue, no less than ten times; in his tenth book, where his fatigue is greater, seventeen times; and even in his eleventh and twelfth books, where he seems to have become conscious how unfairly he had been treating a faithful servant, and shows a praiseworthy desire to spare her in future as much as his own in-

creasing infirmities might allow, as often as twelve times in the eleventh, and seven times in the twelfth book. Poor Contra and poor Ingens! as honest and kind-hearted as ye were overwrought, ye never complained, never thought either of giving warning or going off without giving warning, but stuck faithful and steady to your employer from the day ye first entered his service (1. 13: "*Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia*"; 1. 103: "*ubi ingens Sarpedon*") to the very end of your engagement, when ye are still found hand in hand helping alike, and at one and the same moment, your master and each other, 12. 887:

"Aeneas instat *contra* telumque coruscat
ingens, arboreum";

896: "*saxum circumspicit ingens*"; 897: "*saxum antiquum, ingens*"; 926:

. . . "incidit ictus
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus."

Farewell! hard-working, faithful creatures, farewell!

"fortunatae ambae, si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aevo:
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit."

URBIS OPUS.—"Ita magna, ut urbem putares," Servius, Pomp. Sab., Cynth. Cenet., La Cerda, Voss, Heyne, Wakefield (in a letter to C. J. Fox, Russell's *Mem. of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 312), Wagner, Conington—all, as I think, incorrectly. The ship is compared with a city not in respect of size but in respect of OPUS, *work*, or *workmanship*. It is the OPUS, the work or workmanship, which is that of a city, not the ship itself. URBIS OPUS is the compendium of *opus par urbi*, the longer form of expression used by Statius, *Silv.* 5. 3. 47, for a similar thought: "*aras par templis opus*," where the meaning is not *aras pares templis* (if such were the meaning "opus" were added to no purpose), but *aras quarum opus erat par operi templorum*; not *altars equal to temples in magnitude*, but the very contrary, *altars which were temples in miniature*, indicating altars which, although not comparable to temples in magnitude, were yet comparable to temples in their workmanship—"opus" being used in both passages, both in the

longer and the more abbreviated form, in its proper sense of *work* or *workmanship*, exactly as by Ovid, *Met.* 2. 5: "*materiam superabat opus.*" The meaning, therefore, of *URBIS OPUS*, as applied to the ship of Gyas, is not that the ship was as large as a city, but the very contrary, viz., that the ship was a city in miniature, a work as curious, manifold, and complicated as a city; a work resembling a city in its composition; a vast work like that of a city, not at all a ship as large as a city. Compare an inscription formerly in the Church of St. Agnese fuori le mura, Rome:

"Constantina Deum venerans Christoque dicata,

 sacrauit templum victricis virginis Agnes,
templorum quod vincit opus,"

where the meaning is not that the temple of Agnes was larger than other temples, but that the temple of Agnes was a greater work than other temples, that there was more work in making the temple of Agnes than in making other temples, so exquisitely was it wrought, so highly was it finished. The comparison of the temple of Agnes with other temples was not in respect of size (for St. Agnese was and is but a small building), but in respect of workmanship, in respect of the labour of building, finishing, ornamenting, etc., as the above quoted inscription itself goes on to say:

"aurea nam rutilant summi fastigia tecti," &c.

And so in our text, *the ship of Mnestheus was as complicated and difficult a work as a city*, not at all *the ship of Mnestheus was as large as a city*. And such precisely is the impression made upon a visitor by one of our own great ironclad steamers, the "Warrior," *ex. gr.*, or the "Black Prince." The visitor going from deck to deck, from cabin to cabin, from gallery to gallery, from staircase to staircase of one of these great vessels, exclaims: "why, this is a city," not at all meaning that it is as large as a city, but meaning that it is as intricate, with as many passages, floors, as much apparatus, as much work, as a city; cost as much labour and money, required as much skill and time to build as a city—*URBIS OPUS*.

That this is the true explanation of the expression *URBIS OPUS* appears further from Ovid's description of the palace of Livia, *Fasti*, 6. 641 :

“ *urbis opus* domus una fuit ; spatiumque tenebat
quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent,”

where if “*urbis opus*” be *as large as a city*, we have the strange anticlimax *as large as a city* (“*urbs*”), and many towns (“*oppida*”) are smaller ; but where, if “*urbis opus*” be *a work as complicated as a city, of as difficult execution as a city*, we have the graphic picture *a city in miniature, as difficult and complicated a work as a city, a work resembling that of a city, and actually covering more space than many a town*. Compare also Stat. *Silv.* 2. 2. 30 :

“ inde per obliquas erepit porticus arces,
urbis opus, longoque domat saxa aspera dorso”

[not by any means *as large as a city*, but *built after the manner of a city, reminding you of a city, a little city*]. Florus, 4. 11 : “*Turribus atque tabulatis allevatae castellorum et urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris et labore ventorum ferebantur*,” where the ships of Mark Antony are compared to castles and cities, not in respect of magnitude, but in respect of their number of storeys, and of the towers erected on them. Also Lyell, *Geol.* 2. 2. : “The gilded steamboat like a moving city [not at all meaning *as large as a city*, but the very contrary, *the miniature of a city*, having, like a city, numerous decks and cabins, corresponding to houses, and storeys, and rooms ; numerous passages and gangways, corresponding to streets and lanes ; having masts, corresponding to pillars and steeples ; and charged with men walking, talking, sleeping, drinking, eating, and following their various occupations as in a city, and full of furniture and conveniences of all kinds resembling those of a city], now stems the current [viz., of the Mississippi] with a steady pace, now shoots rapidly down the descending stream through the solitudes of the forests and prairies.” For the contrary comparison, viz., that of a city to a ship, of the elaborate build of a city to the elaborate build of a ship, see that beautiful passage in Ezekiel (27. 3), thus rendered in the Vulgate : “O Tyre, tu dixisti : ‘perfecti decoris ego sum,

et in corde maris sita.' Finitimi tui qui te aedificaverunt impleverunt decorem tuum. Abietibus de Sanir extruxerunt te cum omnibus tabulatis maris; cedrum de Libano tulerunt, ut facerent tibi malum; quercus de Basan dolaverunt in remos tuos; et transtra tua fecerunt tibi ex ebore Indico et praetoriola de insulis Italiae."

TRIPLICI PUBES QUAM DARDANA VERSU IMPELLUNT, theme; TERNO CONSURGUNT ORDINE REMI, variation. Ribbeck includes TERNO CONSURGUNT ORDINE REMI between crotchets, and observes: "cum mera sit antecedentium interpretatio, vereor ut poeta scripserit." On the contrary, because it is the mere interpretation of the preceding—say, rather, what editors regard as the mere interpretation of the preceding—it is precisely on that account the more surely Virgil's. Compare 12. 318:

"has inter voces, media inter talia verba";

1. 550:

"quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura
aethera, neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris";

5. 304:

"accipite haec animis, laetasque advertite mentes"

—all examples of the same kind as our text, and in which the after clauses are to be included with the same right within crotchets; that right being that the after clauses are in all these cases, as they are in the text, unnecessary to the sense, all mere interpretations of their respective preceding clauses! But they are not interpretations of those preceding clauses, they are repetitions, varied repetitions, of them for the sake of emphasis, for the sake of the delight afforded by holding the picture up in various lights—in a word, for the sake of poetry. Theseus is not content, Eurip. *Suppl.* 513, to order Adrastus to be silent, he repeats the command twice, each time in a different form:

σιγ', Ἀδραστ', εἴχε στόμα,
καὶ μὴ 'πιπροσθε τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς σούς λόγους
θῆς.

Byblis soliloquizing, Ovid, *Met.* 9. 513, asks herself not only will she be able to speak, but will she be able to confess: "poterisne loqui? poterisne fateri?" Jeremiah, 13. 15, calls upon

his auditors not merely to hear, but to perceive with their ears :
 “ audite, et auribus percipite,” exactly Dido’s

“ accipite hæc, meritumque malis advertite numen,
 et nostras audite preces.”

Paris, Hom. *Il.* 3. 59, acknowledges to Hector that Hector has chidden him reasonably and not unreasonably :

Εκτορ, επει με κατ' αισαν ενεκεσας ουδ' υπερ αισαν.

And even the nurse to the child in the cradle alternates “hush” with “hush O.” Take away from the poet, nay, take away from the prose writer, the liberty thus to repeat, thus to dwell upon his words, thus to play them before the eyes and ears of the spectator, and you reduce his story to a statistical table, to a dry skeleton of rattling bones, without flesh or lineament, or colour—a scarecrow at which the blood of the reader curdles as at the *varia lectio* of Ribbeck.

VERSU, ORDINE (vv. 119, 120).—Commentators have made no attempt to distinguish between the meaning of these two words, or of the two clauses in which they are found. The two words, however, refer to two totally distinct objects, and the two clauses describe two totally distinct actions. VERSU is the line, bank, or bench of rowers seated along the side of the vessel, and ORDINE is the row, series of oars, as they rise out of the water. That such are the distinct meanings of the words is plainly shown by the context in which they stand respectively. VERSU, the line, the rowers as they sit, is placed in connexion not only with the rowers themselves (DARDANA PUBES), but with their action, viz., that of pulling the oars, and so impelling the vessel (IMPELLUNT) : ORDINE, the row of oars, is placed in connexion with the oars (REMI) and their rising out of the water (CONSURGUNT). The action depicted in the second clause, being the consequence of the action depicted in the first, is placed apart from it, but immediately after it, properly as dependent on and the immediate result of the first action. It is as if Virgil had said : “ tres versus remigum IMPELLUNT, tres ordines remorum CONSURGUNT.” The second clause is, therefore, not with Ribbeck,

a mere interpretation of the first, and therefore to be ejected as the gloss of some scholiast, but is our author's usual variation, the picture presented by the first clause turned about as it were and seen under an opposite light.

124-158.

EST—CARINA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 136).

CONSIDENT **■** *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* **■■■** P. Manut.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

CONSISTUNT **■■■** D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670).

VAR. LECT. (vv. 136-7) [*punct., &c.*].

INTENTAQUE **■** *Rom.*

INTENTAQUE BRACHIA REMIS INTENTI EX. **■■■** N. Heins. (1670).

INTENTAQUE BRACHIA : REMIS INTENTI, EX. **■■■** P. Manut.; D. Heins:

INTENTAQUE BRACHIA [OR BRACCHIA] REMIS INTENTI EX. **■** *Vat., Pal., Med.* **■■■** Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

NUDATAQUE BRACHIA REMIS INTENTI **■** "In odd. aliquot antiquis," Pierius.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 158).

LONGAE . . . CARINAE **■■■** Serv. ad *Aen.* 3. 495; Rob. Steph.; D. Heins.

LONGE . . . CARINAE **■■■** Voss.

LONGA . . . CARINA **■** *Vat.* (CARINAE), *Rom., Pal.* (the SV of SYLCANT and the final A of CARINA both on erasures, the alteration being a *pr. m.*), *Med.* ("In Mediceo CARINA prius fuerat, sed aliena manu et atramento CARINAE factum," Pierius). **■■■** P. Manut.; N. Heins.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

EST PROCUL IN PELAGO SAXUM, &c. (vs. 124).—Compare Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* 2. 2: "In medio profundi brevis insula, ubi supra

molares naturaliter aggeratos, per impactorum puncta remorum navalibus trita gyris meta protuberat, ad quam se iocunda ludentum naufragia collidunt. Nam moris istic fuit senioribus nostris agonem Drepanitanum Troianae superstitionis imitare."

OLIM (vs. 125).—"Tunc fere cum Cori," &c., Servius, correctly, and assigning to OLIM the meaning not of *formerly*, but of *at times*, *at certain times*. Assigning the same meaning to the same word, at *Georg. 4. 421*:

. . . "est specus ingens
exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento
cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,
deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis,"

we arrive at once at the true meaning of a passage which like our text is wholly unintelligible so long as "olim" is understood to mean *formerly*. The cave of Proteus opens on a bay into which a great sea rolls, sc. from the offing, when the wind blows direct into the bay, "quo plurima vento cogitur . . . unda," but which "olim," *at times (other times)*, viz., when the wind blows from either side (the bay being formed by mountainous projections on either side: "exesi latere in montis"), makes a good roadstead in which ships may shelter from the violence of such winds. Thus in the passage in the *Georgic* there are two different times or seasons spoken of, in one of which, referred to by "olim," the bay is, and in the other of which the bay is not a safe shelter for ships, exactly as in our text there are two times or seasons spoken of, in one of which (referred to by OLIM) the rock does, and in the other of which the rock does not afford a proper goal for a regatta.

SIDERA (vs. 126), not the stars, but the sky, the heavens. See Rem. on "sidera," 5. 628.

PATER (vs. 130).—"It is difficult to give the force of PATER, which, doubtless, is intended to characterise the act, like 'dederat heros,' 'dea fudit,' 'dea tollit.' Perhaps on a comparison of vv. 358, 424, we may say that it denotes Aeneas' acting as the president and patron of the games, directing the sports of those who are mostly younger than himself. In vs. 521 it indicates Acestes' display of his prowess as a veteran," Conington.

Virgil has indeed occasionally thus used his epithets and with the happiest effect; see Rem. on “*deas supereminet omnes*,” 1. 505. At other times, attempting to make such use of them, he has (to our conception at least) been equally unfortunate, as for instance in the case of “*dederat heros*,” far oftener the added epithet has no force peculiarly adapted to the occasion, and is a mere title of ordinary respect. This I imagine to be the case on the present occasion, the identical term being continued on into Christian use, and existing at this moment in the Catholic Church, where it signifies no more than that respect which is due generally to seniors and persons of learning, merit, and influence.

INTENTAQUE BRACHIA REMIS INTENTI EXPECTANT SIGNUM (vv. 136-7).—Neither with D. Heinsius: INTENTAQUE BRACHIA: REMIS INTENTI, EXPECTANT SIGNUM, nor with N. Heinsius: INTENTAQUE BRACHIA REMIS INTENTI EXPECTANT SIGNUM, but with the Medicean MS. and editors generally: (Haupt, Wagn., (*Praest.*), Ribb.): INTENTAQUE BRACHIA REMIS; INTENTI EXPECTANT SIGNUM, equivalent to: *intenti quoad BRACHIA, ad remos; INTENTI quoad mentem, ad SIGNUM*. The picture is that of the rowers, with their arms stretched to their oars, waiting in intense expectation for the signal; or—if I may be allowed to use a corresponding English term exactly in the same manner in which our author has used the Latin; that is to say, first in a physical and then in a moral sense—the picture is that of the rowers with their arms intent on their oars and their minds intent on the signal, or the picture is that of the rowers with their arms stretched to their oars and their minds on the stretch for the signal.

INTENTA, INTENTI.—*Intentus*, applied to the arms, expresses that state of the muscle which is neither perfect repose nor full action, but which, intermediate between the two, may be called the state of tension or stretching, exactly as applied to the mind it expresses that similar intermediate state between repose and action, which is not unfrequently designated by the very same terms. The *IN* in INTENTA points the tension or stretching of the muscle to the oars, as the *IN* in INTENTI points the tension or stretching of the mind to the signal. The *in-*

tension or stretching of the arms to the oars may be seen represented in a sculpture discovered in the Acropolis of Athens, in 1852, and sketched in Jal's *Flotte de César* (Paris, 1861), page 229. Exactly similar to the stretching of the arms to the oars is the stretching of the arms to embrace a loved person or object, a similar intermediate state between the repose or total inactivity of the arms and the active embrace, as Ovid, *Met.* 10. 58 (of Orpheus stretching out his arms to embrace Eurydice):

“*brachiaque intendens, prendique et prendere captans,
nil nisi cedentes infelix arripit auras.*”

As we have here arms intent, *i.e.*, applied to, so in the same manner we say eyes intent, *i.e.*, applied to (as *Aen.* 7. 251: “*intentos volvens oculos;*” Prudent. *contra Symm.* 2. 99:

“*quippe minor natura, aciem si intendere temptet
acrius, ac penetrare Dei secreta supremi*”),

ears intent, faces intent (as *Aen.* 2. 1: “*intentique ora tenebant*”).

IMMISSIS IUGIS (vv. 146, 7).—“IMMISSIS is here joined with IUGIS as the yoke would move as the horses' necks moved, while the yoke naturally occurs in connexion with the reins,” Conington. I think not. IUGIS is taken altogether in its secondary sense of a pair or pairs of horses drawing a chariot. It is the horses, not the actual yoking or harnessing, which are put to their speed, and any notion at all of the literal yoke or iugum only confuses and spoils what is clear, graphic, and elegant.

PRONIQUE IN VERBERA PENDENT (vs. 147).—“IN VERBERA may mean either as Forbiger thinks ‘*ut VERBERA dent,*’ or literally and physically *over the blows they give*, which is the same thing as saying *over the horses.*” The former is, as I think, certainly the meaning. The latter is a bad picture, and is confirmed by no parallel, while IN VERBERA in the sense of “*ut VERBERA dent*” is a structure of the very commonest, and affords at the same time a perfectly correct picture.

TUM PLAUSU FREMITUQUE VIRUM STUDIISQUE FAVENTUM (vs. 148).—“FAVENTUM may be taken either with VIRUM or separately,” Conington. Not with VIRUM, but separately. First, be-

cause it is according to Virgil's usual manner first to generalize, only afterwards to particularize; and secondly, because the rhythm is very much better, a pause being at VIRUM; and thirdly, because VIRUM FAVENTUM is weaker not merely than the aggregate of the two expressions VIRUM and FAVENTUM, but than either of those expressions taken singly.

PRIMUS UNDIS (vs. 151).—Not *the first, front, or foremost waters*, but *first on the waters, first away from the starting place and out on the waters*.

LOCUM SUPERARE PRIOREM (vs. 155).—"LOCUM SUPERARE PRIOREM seems to be a mixture of two notions, overcoming each other, and overcoming the difficulty of gaining the better place," Conington. There is, I think, no mixture. Overcoming each other and overcoming the difficulty of getting the better place are identical. There is therefore only the one conquest, viz., that of getting the better place, of outstripping his competitor; each strives to *conquer* this place, exactly as Mnestheus exhorts his men to conquer *not to be last*, verse 196:

"extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc rincite, cives."

NUNC UNA AMBAE IUNCTISQUE FERUNTUR FRONTIBUS, ET LONGA SULCANT VADA SALSA CARINA (vv. 157-8).—The simple idea, stripped of its ornament, is that of the two vessels moving on, *abreast in front, and side by side in their length*; and so, no doubt, it would have been expressed by an inferior poet; but Virgil, for the sake of variety, and according to his usual custom (see Rem. on vs. 73 of this book), alters the latter clause, and instead of saying *with bows abreast and hulls side by side*, says *with bows abreast, and furrow the salt waters with their long keels*. Thus used, the epithet LONGA is, not only not "otiosum," as it has appeared to Peerlkamp, Wagner, and Heyne ("est LONGA prorsus otiosa vox"), but in the highest degree useful and ornamental; first, because it serves to place before the mind not only the length of the vessels (with their consequent size and stateliness), but their parallel position with respect to their length (which latter sense appears more evidently on our supplying UNA from the preceding clause, as suggested by Wagner);

and secondly, because it thus prepares for the succeeding account (verse 186) of the one vessel passing the other, not by the whole, but only by part of its length :

“ nec tota tamen ille prior praeunte carina,” &c.

That such is really the use and effect of the epithet *LONGA* will readily appear on suppressing the term and reading the passage without it: *SULCANT VADA SALSA CARINA*. Compare 10. 197, where the same term is applied to the keel of a vessel with the same happy effect; that of suggesting the idea not merely of a long keel, but of a large and stately vessel. Compare also the similar use, by another faithful observer of nature, of the same “epitheton otiosum” (!), Falconer, *Shipwreck*, c. 3 :

“ the *long keel* trembles and the timbers groan.”

Although nautical men of the present day invariably connect the idea of speed with length of keel (“The length of fast ships must be great, 200 feet of keel being requisite to insure with least power a speed of 18 miles an hour; 300 feet of keel to attain 23 miles an hour,” etc.—see a paper read by Mr. Scott Russell in the Royal Institution, June 2, 1848, and quoted in the *Athenæum* of June 24)—it is unnecessary to claim a knowledge of this relation for Virgil, the more obvious relation between length of keel and size and stateliness of vessel affording a sufficient answer to the charge brought against him, that in applying the term *LONGA* to a vessel’s keel he was guilty of a truism.

Vessels of war (of course the largest, finest, and most stately vessels) were specially and technically denominated *longae* by the ancients; no doubt because proportionally longer than transports, or merchant vessels. Speaking of the fleet with which Xerxes invaded Greece, Cornelius Nepos says (*Themist.* 2. 5, where see Bremi’s annot.): “Huius enim classis mille et ducentarum navium *longarum* fuit, quam duo millia *onerariarum* sequebantur.” So also the same author in *Dion*, 5. 3: “Imperium munitum quingentis *longis* navibus” [i. e. *ships of war*]; and Justin, 2. 4: “Eo igitur profectus *longis* novem navibus, comitante principum Graeciae iuventute, inopinantes aggredi-

tur." And Caesar, *de Bell. Gall.* 4. 22, opposes "naves longas" to "onerarias." Compare also *Epist. Bruti ad Bithyn.* in the *Epist. Mut. Graecan.* : Ακυλιν . . . ἐπιμψα πρὸς υμᾶς κατασκευάζοντα μοι ναυς ατρογγυλὰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ μακρὰς διακοσίας. Aesch. *Pers.* 378 (Schütz) :

ταῖς δὲ ταῖς παρακαλεῖ νῆας μακράς.

Pherecr. *Fragm.* 2. 4 (*Comic. Graec. Fragm.* a Bailey, Cambr. 1811) :

φασὶ δ' αὐταῖσιν βαθείας κυλικὰς ὥσπερ οὐκαδ' ας,
οἰναγωγούς, περιφέρεις, λεπτάς, μέσας, γαστρούδας.

See the account in the "Times" (May, 1864) of the "cigar-ship": "It is so at variance with all our generally received notions of nautical beauty of form, that one can only stare at it in mute surprise, though there is something about its long tapering lines so suggestive of immense speed, that one feels rather ashamed such a simple idea should never have occurred to anyone before."

162-193.

DEXTER—UNDIS

DEXTER (vs. 162).—*To the right*, i. e., away from the meta, which lay on the left, and was to be turned in that direction (vs. 163: LAEVAS STRINGAT CAUTES), the course being always towards the left, i. e., from right to left, as in the chariot race. Compare Manil. 5. 82 :

"vel medium turbae dextros nunc ire per orbes
fidentem campo, nunc meta currere acuta"

[sometimes keeping out from the goal and towards the right hand, so as to have the advantage of the open space to move in rapidly and free from all obstruction and danger, and sometimes

keeping close to the goal on the left and turning sharp round it, encountering the danger of collision with the goal itself in order to have the shorter way to go].

LITTUS AMA (vs. 163).—Not *love the shore*, but *keep close to the shore*, in English sailor phrase *hug the land* (Fr. *serrer la terre*), the word which properly signifies an affection of the mind being used according to a natural instinct to express the act which is the consequence of the affection, just as the cognate Greek verb φιλεῖν is so often used in the sense of *to kiss*, as Matth. 26. 48: οὐκ ἀν φιλήσω, αὐτὸς ἐστὶ. On the other hand the Greek verb ἀσπαζεσθαι and the English verb *hug* itself afford examples of the operation of the converse and no less natural instinct or principle in obedience to which a word signifying an action of the body is used to express the mental affection whence the bodily action arises. See Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1. 4. 26 (Hutch. p. 27): τέλος δὲ καὶ ἡν εἶχε στολὴν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκδύντα δοῦναι τινὶ, δηλοῦν ὅτι τοῦτον μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο. Shakespeare, *Timon*, 4. 6:

“thy flatterers yet wear silk, drink wine, lie soft,
hug their diseased perfumes.”

PRORAM PELAGI DETORQUET AD UNDAS (vs. 165), Fr. *porte le cap au large; prend le large*.

CLAVUMQUE AD LITTORA TORQUET (vs. 177).—*Turns the helm shoreward*, and so turns the prow of the vessel, and therefore the vessel's course, shoreward—the exact opposite of the course given to the vessel, verse 165, by Menoetes, who, by turning the helm seaward, turned the prow, and with the prow the course of the vessel, seaward. Clavus = *barre de gouvernail*; tiller, handle of the helm; καμαξ (as Lucian, in *Navigio*, 6: Ὑπο λεπτῇ καμακί τα τηλικαῦτα πηδαλία περιστρεφῶν), then by extension the helm itself. It is in this last-mentioned sense the word is taken in our text, for to have turned the tiller towards the shore would have turned the vessel's course towards the sea, i.e., in a direction exactly the opposite to the direction required.

AT MEDIA SOCIOS INCEDENS NAVE PER IPSOS HORTATUR MNES-
THEUS (vv. 188-9).—I.e., *walking along the agea*, or *agiavia*.

See Isod. *Orig.* 19. 2 : “*Agea* [legitur quoque *agiavia*] viae sunt vel loca in navi, per quae ad remiges hortator accedit;” and compare Val. Flacc. 4. 647 :

“ ipse per arma volans et per iuga summa carinae.”

NUNC, NUNC INSURGITE REMIS, HECTOREI SOCII (vv. 189-190).—Not merely *pull, pull*, but *rise from your seats and pull*; according to the practice of rowers when making a great exertion, especially in a race, to raise themselves up from the benches in order that the weight of their bodies returning to their places may be added to the force with which they pull the oars. This is the picture intended to be presented by our author. See Remm. on “*verberat assurgens*,” 10. 208, and “*intenta brachia remis*,” 5. 136; and compare Sir W. Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, 2. 20 :

“ row, vassals, row, for the pride of the Highlands!
stretch to your oars for the evergreen pine.”

SEQUACIBUS UNDIS (vs. 193).—“*Alio fluctu alium trudente*,” Wagner (*Praestab.*). No, not *one wave following another*, but *one wave after another following you*; therefore *teasing, pestering, troublesome*; *sticking to you*, as we say in English. Compare Senec. *Hipp.* 1085 :

“ praeceps in ora fusus implicuit cadens
laqueo tenaci corpus ; et quanto magis
pugnat, *sequaces* hoc magis nodos ligat.”

The Latin termination *ax*, like its Italian derivative *accio*, generally, if not always, denotes badness, something disagreeable, something not to be praised or admired. See Remm. on “*sternacis equi*,” 12. 364; “*fugax*,” 11. 713; also on “*audentior*,” 6. 95. This meaning accompanies *sequax* into the Italian, as Metast. *Issipile*, 2. 1 :

“ voi, solitarj orrori,
da' *sequaci* rimorsi
difendete il mio cor.”

196-197.

EXTREMOS PUDEAT REDIISSSE HOC VINCITE CIVES
ET PROHIBETE NEFAS

“Das wendet, o bürger, wendet das gräuel durch sieg,” J. H. Voss. “Iungendum HOC NEFAS,” Wagner (1832). “Hoc detestabile dedecus effugite nitendo,” Id. (1845 and 1849). “In hoc cernatur victoria vestra, ut ne extremi redeamus, quod est ingentis dedecoris,” Id. (1861). “HOC NEFAS VINCITE ET PROHIBETE,” Thiel. “Hanc ignominiam, hoc opprobrium, sciz. EXTREMOS REDIISSSE, nitendo effugite,” Forb. (ed. 4). To which construction of the passage I object—First, that no example has yet been adduced of the conjunction of the verb *vincere* with the object *nefas*. Secondly, that the only known meanings of *vincere* being *to conquer*, *to exceed*, *to achieve*, and *to prove*, the meaning of VINCITE NEFAS, if such expression were possible, must be either *conquer the sin*, or *exceed the sin*, or *achieve the sin*, or *prove the sin*, not one of which meanings affords any sense in the context in which the words here stand. And thirdly, that it is little probable that the poet who has but just now, viz. at the end of the fourth book, won our admiration by the strength, brevity, and clearness of the expressions in which a highly excited Dido gives vent to her passion, should here so soon afterwards, viz. in the beginning of the fifth, put into the mouth of his scarcely less excited Mnestheus a sentence consisting of two clauses so implicated together as to be, both of them, absolutely unintelligible until the last word of the second of them has been uttered. For these reasons I reject the construction HOC NEFAS VINCITE ET PROHIBETE, and adopt the alternative construction HOC VINCITE ET NEFAS PROHIBETE; the HOC VINCITE of this construction having its parallel no less in the “*primum hoc vincat, servasse parentem*” of Silius, 4. 429, than in the “*nec vincet ratio hoc*” of Horace, *Sat. 1. 3. 115*; and the PROHIBETE NEFAS

of this construction having its parallel no less in the “*nefas averte*” of Silius, 3. 126 :

“*sed tu bellorum, genitor, miserere, nefasque
averte*”

(where, moreover, the “*nefas averte*” is intimately connected with and depends on the preceding “*genitor, miserere*,” exactly as the PROHIBETE NEFAS of our text is intimately connected with and depends on the HOC VINCITE, CIVES), than in the “*compressit nefas*” of Corippus, *Johann.* 6. 256 :

“*distulit ille tamen alterna parte furentes,
compressitque nefas, et pactum gentibus auxit
arte nova*”

(where also the “*compressit nefas*” is intimately connected with and depends on the “*distulit ille furentes*,” exactly as the PROHIBETE NEFAS of our text is intimately connected with and depends on the HOC VINCITE, CIVES).

Now what is the meaning of HOC VINCITE thus separated from NEFAS ? If we ask the commentators who adopt this construction of the passage, they reply : “Let this triumph be yours not to have been last,” Conington in his edition of Virgil ; while in his translation he has :

“not to be last, make that your aim,
and triumph by averting shame.”

“Servius : ‘*loco victoriae sit, ultimos non redire.*’ Reote puto. Et sic accepit Silius, 4. 42, ubi Iupiter ad Martem loquitur :

‘*te duce primitias pugnae, te magna magistro
audeat, et primum hoc vincat, servasse parentem :*’

‘*haec prima Scipionis sit victoria, ut patrem servet.*’ NEFAS non necessario pronomen requirit. PROHIBETE ne aliquid accedat, quod NEFAS sit, nobisque dedecori vertatur. Dubitari fortasse potest an *vincere nefas* hac sententia Latinum sit. Significat enim *maius committere nefas*,” Peerlkamp, not only misunderstanding both Servius and Silius, but uncertain and at variance with himself ; and neither of the two commentators, as it would seem, at all conscious how little adroit it had been in Virgil to

put into the mouth of Mnestheus an exhortation to strive for victory, so close upon a disclaimer of all hope or thought of victory, that it was hardly possible the one should not jostle the other. Unless I greatly mistake, however, Virgil is guilty of no such incongruity, and his HOC VINCITE not only does not mean "haec sit victoria vestra" or *let this be your triumph*, but does mean something essentially different—a something which has hitherto, so far as I know, entirely escaped the commentators. To find out what this something is, let us take a route different from that which the commentators have taken, and first inform ourselves what is the HOC which Mnestheus calls upon his comrades "vincere." We are told it is "non ultimos redire" ("In hoc cernatur victoria vestra, ut ne extremi redeamus," Wagner (1861); "Let this triumph be yours, not to have been last," Conington), and herein consists the primary, the fundamental error of the commentators—Mnestheus's immediately preceding words [it is only to immediately preceding or immediately following words hoc ever refers; compare in the preceding verse: SUPERENT QUIBUS HOC, NEPTUNE, DEDISTI, where HOC is superare; and Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 115:

"nec vincet ratio hoc, tantumdem ut peccet idemque,"

where "hoc" is "tantumdem ut peccet idemque"] concerning not *not returning last*, but *returning last*, EXTREMOS REDIISSSE. EXTREMOS PUDEAT REDIISSSE, says Mnestheus, and then immediately adds HOC VINCITE, *i. e.*, VINCITE EXTREMOS REDIISSSE, *excel, surpass, exceed returning last, i. e., do better than return last*. Not one word of victory, or triumph; nothing but a passionate exhortation to do better than return last. "Be ashamed," he says, "of returning last; do better than that, be not guilty of that NEFAS, that sin." For vincere in this sense of *to exceed, surpass, excel, do better than*, compare Ovid, Met. 4. 178:

. . . "non illud opus tenuissima vincant
stamina, non summo quae pendet aranea tigno."

Cic. Famil. 14. 4: "Sallustius officio vincet omnes spes." Hor. Epod. 11. 34:

"nunc gloriantis quamlibet muliereulam
cincere mollitia amor Lycisci me tenet."

Val. Flacc. 1. 404 :

. . . "at prora splendet tua cuspis ab alta,
Aeacide ; tantum haec aliis excelsior hastis,
quantum Peliacas in vertice *ricerat* ornos."

Senec. *Thyest.* 652 :

"sed taxus et cupressus, et nigra ilice
obscura nutat silva, quam supra eminens
despectat alte quercus, et *vincit* nemus."

To which examples if I add one more, it is not at all because my argument requires such assistance, but solely because the same mistake has been made respecting the passage affording the example as has been made respecting our text itself ; namely, the *vincere* of the passage, while really used in the sense of exceeding, excelling, surpassing, doing better than, is assumed to mean conquering, triumphing. The passage in Silius, 4. 428, where Jupiter looking down from heaven and seeing young Africanus hastening to the rescue of his father, pressed on all sides round by the enemy, is so pleased with the heroism of the youth as not merely to send Mars to his assistance, but in these words place him from that moment forward under the immediate tutelage of Mars :

"te duce primitias pugnae, te magna magistro
audeat, et primum *hoc vincat, servasse parentem,*"

meaning, **not** with the commentators : "Haec prima Scipionis sit victoria, ut patrem servet" (Peerlkamp) [for (a) to bear such meaning the words should be not "primum hoc" but hoc primum, not "servasse" but servare ; and (b) Mars himself plainly refers to these words of Jupiter, to greater deeds than even the saving a father's life, when he says, verse 476 : "adhuc maiora supersunt"], **but** meaning : "efficiat aliquid etiam maius quam hoc, viz., quam servasse parentem," the "aliquid etiam maius" being the "excidium Carthaginis," exploit paramount in reserve for the young hero, and foretold to him in the most explicit terms by Mars himself in his parting words just before he leaves for heaven, 4. 472 :

“ tum celso e curru Mavors ‘ *Carthaginiæ arces
excindes,*’ inquit, ‘ Tyriosque ad foedera coges ;
nulla tamen longo tanta exorietur in ævo
lux tibi, care puer, et adhuc maiora supersunt,
sed nequeunt meliora dari.’ Tum nubila Mavors
aetheraque, omenso terras iam sole, capessit.”

If this be, as I think it is, the true construction and meaning of the passage, we have not only Mnestheus’s HOC VINCITE, CIVES, in the most perfect harmony with Mnestheus’s

NON IAM PRIMA PETO MNESTHEUS, NEQUE VINCERE CERTO,
QUANQUAM O! SED SUPERENT QUIBUS HOC, NEPTUNE, DEDISTI,

but Mnestheus himself scarcely less rapid than Dido—his HOC VINCITE, CIVES, ET PROHIBETE NEFAS scarcely less brief and impassioned than her

. “ ite,
ferre citi flammæ, date vela, impellite remos,”

the first half of Mnestheus’s sentence complete in three words, the second in as few, and Mnestheus’s rowers as well as Virgil’s readers relieved from all necessity of waiting for CIVES and ET and PROHIBETE and NEFAS in order to understand HOC VINCITE. It will be said no doubt that this is to attribute to Mnestheus the use of one and the same word in different senses in two immediately adjoining sentences, and I do not deny that it is, and shall only observe in reply, first, that if we deny this liberty to Mnestheus, and insist on keeping our “ bonus Virgilius ” always to his trumps, we shall be in imminent danger when we come to 12. 684, if we ever come so far, of imagining that the picture there set before us is that of a mountain so desperately wicked as to break off and tumble down from its own top :

“ ac veluti *montis* saxum de vertice præceps
cum ruit, avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas ;
fertur in abruptum magno *mons* improbus actu,
exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque
involvens secum ; ”

and secondly, that if there be one word in the Latin language used more frequently than another in two different senses, and

that, not merely in the same passage, but in the same sentence and same breath, it is this very *vincere*. The following is one example out of a thousand, Justin. 12. 1: "*Agis rex, cum suos terga dantes videret, dimissis satellitibus, ut Alexandro felicitate non virtute inferior videretur, tantam stragem hostium edidit, ut agmina interdum fugaret. Ad postremum, etsi a multitudine victus, gloria tamen omnes vicit,*" where, although the second *vincere* has even more the appearance of being used in the same sense as the first than the second *vincere* of Mnestheus has, few will be found hardy enough to maintain that it is actually so used, and not rather in the cognate sense of exceeding, excelling, surpassing.

NEFAS.—"Modo opprobrium, [quod] est viro forti, in quocunque certamine perdere," Servius (ed. Lion). "NEFAS, magna cum vi pro *opprobrio* ut et Servius notavit," Heyne. "In hoc cernatur victoria vestra, ut ne extremi redeamus, quod est ingentis dedecoris," Wagner. "Hanc ignominiam, hoc opprobrium, sciz. EXTREMOS REDIISSSE, nitendo effugite," Forbiger (ed. 4). "A disgrace not to be named," Conington; and in his translation the same commentator:

"not to be last, make that your aim,
and triumph by averting shame."

As if there were any instance known of *nefas* signifying either "disgrace" or "shame," "ignominia" or "opprobrium;" or as if any one of these commentators themselves, on the question being put to him without reference to Virgil, as to the meaning of *nefas*, would not have answered unhesitatingly: *sin, offence against heaven*. There is as much difference between PROHIBETE NEFAS interpreted to mean *bar the shame*, and PROHIBETE NEFAS interpreted to mean *bar the sin*, as there is between *to commit murder, it were a shame*, and *to commit murder, it were a sin*; or as there is between *offend not against public opinion*, and *offend not against heaven*. It seems almost as if commentators were in tacit league to emascuate Virgil.

198-211.

PROCUMBUNT—AGMINE

PROCUMBUNT (vs. 198).—See Rem. on “intentaque brachia remis,” verse 136.

PUPPIS (vs. 198).—Not, with Jal (*Virg. Naut.* pp. 315 and 403), *the poop, par excellence*, but (by synechdoche) *the whole vessel*, first, because there is no reason either why the poop should tremble especially, or why the whole vessel should not tremble; secondly, because this meaning, viz., *the whole vessel*, is most commonly the meaning of *puppis* as used by our author; thirdly, because the immediately following words, SUBTRAHITURQUE SOLUM, show that not a part of the vessel, but the whole vessel, is spoken of, inasmuch as it is not a part of the vessel, but the whole vessel, which would seem at each stroke of the oars to have the ground taken from under it, i. e., to be raised out of the water; and fourthly, because such is necessarily the meaning of the term where it is joined with the exactly similar epithet, viz., *aerata*, by Ovid, *Met.* 8. 102:

. . . “classis retinacula solvi
iussit; et *aeratas* impelli remige *puppis*.”

AEREA (vs. 198).—Neither, with Servius, “*fortis . . . nam PUPPIS AEREA non est sed prora*,” nor with Jal (p. 403), “*retentissante comme l’airain*,” but simply and literally *bronze*, i. e., having bronze rostra. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 102, quoted above.

SUBTRAHITURQUE SOLUM (vs. 199).—“SUBTRAHITUR, sulco facto,” Heyne, Thiel, Forbiger. “Sulco facto dehiscit mare,” Wagner (1861). Not the meaning; nor, as I believe, has any commentator had even an inkling of the meaning. The speed of a row-boat is *ceteris paribus* in proportion to the force impressed on the water by the blade of the oar, in the opposite direction to that in which the boat is going, which force again

is *ceteris paribus* in proportion to the force applied by the rower to the oar's other end or handle. Let us take our simplest notion of rowing, viz., that of rowing in such manner that each successive stroke is made only after the preceding stroke has ceased to operate. In this mode of rowing there is no loss of rowing force—the water receives at every stroke the whole force both of oar and rower—but there is loss of time, the rower remaining idle as long as the effect of each last inflicted stroke continues. This loss of time (and therefore of velocity) is only to be avoided by a repetition of the stroke while the boat is still under the influence of the former stroke, *i. e.*, while the boat is still in motion. But while the boat is still in motion the oar, too, is in motion, carried forward by the boat in the point-blank opposite direction to that which its blade must take in order to strike the water. There is therefore in this, the usual mode of rowing, a loss of rowing force, a loss which increases in proportion to the increasing velocity of the boat, and which we can imagine to increase until the blade of the oar is carried forward or away from the water, at the same instant in which it touches and even before it touches it. In such case the sensation communicated to the rower is not that of being carried, himself and his oar, forward and onward from the water, but that of the water having been drawn away backwards from his oar, and it is this sensation which our author has described in the words *SUBTRAHITUR SOLUM*. To say that the ground is subtracted from the oars (or rowers) is therefore equivalent to saying that the boat is going at the greatest speed at which it is possible for oars to make it go. The oars can no longer catch the *SOLUM* or water, are carried away from it by the already acquired impetus before they can strike it, and further rowing becomes impossible until the already acquired impetus slackens of itself, so as no longer to carry away the oars and make the attempt to strike useless. In other words, *SOLUM* denotes the sea, regarded as the ground or basis on which the boat by means of its feet or footsoles (*i. e.*, its oars) is running (see verse 235: "*quorum aequora curro*"); and this ground or basis is withdrawn (*SUBTRAHITUR*) from under the feet or footsoles (*i. e.*, the oars) of the

boat; that is to say, the boat runs so fast that its feet or foot-soles (its oars) have no longer a *SOLUM* or *point d'appui* in the water. Compare Ovid, *Ibis*, 423 :

“ utque per alternos unda labente recursus
subtrahitur presso mollis arena pedi ”

[the soft sand is withdrawn from the pressure of the foot, *i. e.*, affords no *point d'appui* to the foot]. This *SUBTRAHITUR SOLUM*, this impetus of Mneestheus's boat so great that it is impossible for the rowers to get a stroke at the water, or that if they do get a stroke at it they are already going too fast for the stroke to be of any use, is exactly the “*celeres nec tingeret aequore plantas*” and the “*nec teneras cursu laessisset aristas*” of Camilla, with this difference only, that the former is as much less of an hyperbole (as much more conformable to the nature of things than the latter) as it is **easier** to conceive a rowed boat moving with such acquired impetus that the rowers can no longer get a stroke at the water, or that if they do get a stroke at it they are already going too fast for the stroke to be effectual, **than** it is to conceive a woman running with such speed over the surface of the sea as not to wet her feet, or over the ears of standing corn as not to damage them. Ovid's picture, *Ep. 6. 65* (Ariadne to Theseus) :

“ ultimus e sociis sacram conscendis in Argo.
illa volat : ventus concava vela tenet.
caerula propulse subducitur unda carinae,”

being that of a sailing, not a rowing vessel, has no *subtraction* of the *solum*, only the more gradual, less forcible *subduction* of the “*caerula unda*” which the ship sails away from and leaves behind.

SUBTRAHITUR SOLUM is the acme, climax, or greatest effect of the “*certamen summum*” with which the sailors *PROCUMBUNT*, lean forward from their seats, in the direction of the stern, so as to throw the end of the oars in their hands as far as they can in that direction, and by so doing bring the blades of the oars as far as possible in the opposite direction, or towards the bow, in order, by suddenly and forcibly throwing back their bodies, and

pulling the end of the oar in their hands with their whole strength and weight, to cause the other end or blade of the oar to strike the SOLUM with as vast an "ictus" as possible. The success of their exertions is so great, so "vast" are their "ictuses," that each one of them makes the AEREA PUPPIS tremble. But this is not all; their "ictuses" not only make the AEREA PUPPIS tremble, but make the vessel move so fast that even the SOLUM SUBTRAHITUR (Fr. *se dérobe*) from the strokes, and more strokes become not only useless but impossible, and the vessel is carried on down the sloping sea (PRONA PETIT MARIA ET PELAGO DECURRIT APERTO) by its already acquired impetus alone—ILLAM FERT IMPETUS IPSE VOLANTEM. Compare Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 155:

"see the bold youth strain up the threatening steep,
rush through the thickets, down the valleys sweep,
hang o'er their coursers' heads with eager speed,
and earth rolls back beneath the flying steed."

Thomson, *Autumn*:

"him [the fox], from his craggy winding haunts unearthed,
let all the thunder of the chace pursue.
Throw the broad ditch behind you; o'er the hedge
high bound resistless."

ILLISAQUE PRORA PENDIT (vs. 206).—The identical nautical term is used at the present day. See letter from Capt. Paton, of the "Great Eastern," to Mr. J. H. Yates, secretary to the Great Ship Company, dated New York, August 29, 1862, and inserted in the "Times" newspaper, Sept. 12, 1862: "It is my duty also to inform you of the ship [the "Great Eastern"] having touched a sunken rock off Montauk Point, which is not laid down in the charts. . . . The ship did not *hang* on the ground a moment. We felt her touch slightly once or twice, when she careened over a little."

MORANTUR (vs. 207).—"Servius, 'retro agunt'; est igitur verbum nauticum; et quo id efficiant, SUDES CONTOSQUE EXPEDIUNT," Wagner (*Praest.*), a most unwarrantable conclusion from the words of Servius, not to say that Servius himself is so often a most fallacious guide. Further still, MORANTUR, if it

had the meaning assigned to it by Servius, should have come after, not before, the next two lines, inasmuch as the pushing back of the vessel must have been consequent on, not anterior to, the providing of instruments wherewith to push, a difficulty not to be got over by a *ὑστερον προτερον*, the second limb of the sentence being too long for such transposition of thought. MORANTUR is therefore to be understood simply to mean *remain behind* (viz., in the spot where the accident happened) while their competitors push on. The term is thus nearly equivalent to *relinquuntur*, but not quite equivalent, because, firstly, *relinquuntur* would mean *left entirely behind* (see Rem. on “*ambiguumque relinquat*,” verse 326); whereas MORANTUR means *only temporarily left behind, delayed*, but not without hopes of proceeding again immediately (with which hope, and not yet giving up the contest, *FERRATAS SUDES ET ACUTA CUSPIDE CONTOS EXPEDIUNT, FRACTOSQUE LEGUNT IN GURGITE REMOS*); and secondly, *clamore relinquuntur* would mean *left behind with shouts of those leaving them behind* (see “*colles clamore relinqui*,” 8. 216, and Rem.), while CLAMORE MORANTUR is *left behind, they themselves shouting*, viz., because left behind. MORANTUR is thus used in no extraordinary, technical, or nautical (and wholly unproved and unsupported) sense, but in its ordinary and legitimate sense of *delay, linger, loiter, lose time*, the very sense in which it is applied only twenty-three lines previously to another of the competing vessels, viz., that of Gyas—“*Gyan superare morantem*” [Gyas not “*retro agentem*,” but Gyas delaying, losing ground, and temporarily left behind by Cloanthus]. MORANTUR is thus the exact equivalent of *mora fit*, *there is a stop* (compare Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 349: “*mora fit, si cetera quaeram*” [there is a stop, we sha’n’t get on, we shall lose time]); and CLAMORE MORANTUR equivalent to *mora fit clamore*, *there is a stop accompanied with shouting*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 15. 667 (of the Epidaurian serpent):

. . . “*quaque ipse morari
sede velit, signis caelestibus indicet, orant*,”

where a much longer stop or stay than that of the ship

on the rock is meant—nay, even a residence for some length of time.

CLAMORE (vs. 207).—Shouting, not on account of the danger of being drowned, for there was none, and they were not alarmed; but on account of the danger they were in of losing the race.

AGMINE REMORUM CELERI (vs. 211).—A question has been raised here whether AGMINE is to be understood of the number of oars, the *ordo remorum* ("totis remis," Heyne. "Possibly, however, 'agmen' may be = *ordo*, as in Stat. *Theb.* 5. 509, where 'terna agmina adunci dentis' seems to mean three rows of teeth," Conington), or of the march or forward motion of the oars, "CELERI REMORUM agitatu," Forcell., Conington, Wagner (*Praest.*), who compare 2. 782: "leni fluit agmine Thybris." I do not at all doubt but that it is to be understood of the march or motion forward of the oars, first, on account of the adjunct CELERI; and secondly, because *petere* PRONA MARIA *cursu* REMORUM is a better sense, affords a livelier picture than *petere* PRONA MARIA *ordine* REMORUM.

212.

PRONA PETIT MARIA ET PELAGO DECURRIT APERTO

"PRONA MARIA, ad littus tendentia, navis igitur cursum suo adiuvantia," Wagner (1861). Not the meaning; or at best a very lame and imperfect expression of it. Pronus, always and invariably, *sloping downwards and forwards*, is, by implication, in the case of a liquid, *running, flowing downwards and forwards*, as 8. 548:

. . . "pars cetera prona
fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni."

Georg. 1. 201:

"non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni."

Ovid, *Heroid.* 18. 121 (Leander to Hero) :

“ hoc quoque si credas ; ad te via *prona* videtur ;
a te cum redeo, clivus inertis aquae.”

Id. *Fast.* 5. 498 :

“ et *prorum* saturae *lae* bibit agnus ovis.”

Anson. *Mosell.* 27 (of the Moselle) :

“ naviger ut pelagus ; devexas *pronus* in undas,
ut fluvius ; vitreoque lacus imitate profundo.”

Prudent. *Perist.* 7. 56 :

“ ‘ Iesu cunctipotens,’ ait,
haudquaquam tibi gloria
haec est insolita aut nova,
calcare fremitum maris,
prona et *flumina* sistere.”

—**in all** which cases a downward and forward inclination, and, consequently, the cases being all of liquids, a stream or current flowing downwards, is meant. Nay, so inseparable from *pronus* is the notion of downwards and forwards, that a river flowing preternaturally upwards towards its source is said not to flow in the direction in which it is *pronus*, *i. e.*, not to flow in the direction of its slope, Lucan, 6. 473 : “ *amnisque occurrit non qua pronus erat.*” The sea on which Mnestheus is sailing is therefore not merely going or tending (“*tendentia*”) towards the shore, it is going downwards and forwards towards the shore. This downward and forward inclination, so essential to the picture, so essential to present to the mind of the reader the ease, smoothness, and celerity of motion of the vessel, is dwelt upon with emphasis. Expressed first in *PRONA*, it is repeated in *DECURRIT*; and then illustrated by the smooth sailing downward flight of the dove, with outspread, unmoved wings, from its nest in the rock to the field. The course outwards to the goal has been all up-sea work. The goal turned, the return to port is all down-sea, as smooth, rapid, and easy as the outward course was slow and difficult. Every word expresses smoothness and

easiness: PRONA PETIT MARIA—PELAGO DECURRIT APERTO—
 QUALIS COLUMBA FERTUR IN ARVA VOLANS—AERE LAPSA QUIETO
 —RADIT ITER LIQUIDUM—CELERES NEQUE COMMOVET ALAS—
 FUGA SECAT ULTIMA PRISTIS AEQUORA—ILLAM FERT IMPETUS
 IPSE VOLANTEM. Compare Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. 29 :

“ pars demittat aquis curvae moderamina puppis ;
 sint quibus exploret rupes gravis arte molybdia,
 quaeque secuturam religent post terga phaselon,
 uncaeque submersae penitus retinacula vellant.
 temperet haec aestus, *pelagusque inclinet ad ortus* ;
 officio careat glaucarum nulla sororum ”

[slope the sea towards the east, *i. e.*, make the sea prone in the direction in which Metius is going]. Contrast Claud. 6 *Cons. Honor.* 141 (ed. Burm.) (of Alaric's flight out of Italy, as difficult as his invasion of Italy had been “pronus,” downward or easy like the course of flowing water) :

“ talis ab Urbe minas retro flectebat inanes
 Italiam fugiens, et quae venientibus ante
prona fuit, iam difficilis, iam dura reversis.”

But why is the way out to the goal so steep and difficult, the way back to port so smooth, sloping, and easy ? No doubt on account of the flow of the tide, being at the time landwards, and so increasing that natural fall of the sea towards the land (see Rem. on “conscendi aequor,” 1. 385) to which an ebb tide constitutes the sole exception, as Lucan, 4. 429 :

“ iamque relabenti crescebant littora ponto ;
missa ratis prono defertur lapsa *profundo*,”

where the water is exceptionally prone in the opposite direction, or from the land. A precisely similar application is made of obliquus by Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 87 (of Medea) :

“ illa refrænat aquas, *obliquaque flumina* sistit ;
 illa loco sylvas vivaque saxa movet ”

[“ stops the *slope* rivers,” *i. e.*, the downward and forward flowing rivers, exactly as in our text, “ seeks the slope seas,” *i. e.*,

the sea flowing downwards and forwards towards the shore]. Supinus, the opposite of pronus, is applied to the same slope of running water regarded in the opposite direction, or from below upwards and backwards, Ovid, *Medic. Fac.* 40:

“nec redit in fontes unda supina suos.”

Heyne's explanation, “PRONA MARIA, in quibus cursus *pronus* ac celer sine impedimento fit,” is a mere blinking of the difficulty, an explanation of “pronus” by pronus.

PRONA PETIT MARIA.—To have gone on further beyond the goal in the same direction would have been to go out towards the altum, or high sea (see Rem. on “altum,” l. 38, and on “conscendi navibus aequor,” l. 385). Mnestheus does not do so, but, following the course appointed for the race, turns and DECURRIT, *runs down*, PRONA MARIA, *the sloping sea*, towards land and the port.

PELAGO APERTO, *the open sea*, i. e., the sea between the goal and the port, called *apertum*, because unobstructed by the dangerous rocky goal, now happily rounded and cleared. The terms PRONA MARIA, PELAGO APERTO, ULTIMA AEQUORA (vs. 218) indicate neither new parts of the sea not mentioned before, nor parts of the sea different from each other, but one and the same part, that very part over which the vessels had passed on their way outward, considered now in relation to their return, and called “pronum” as inclining downwards in the direction of the shore (see above), “apertum” as being free from obstruction (see below), and “ultimum” as forming the last part of the course.

213-242.

QUALIS—IMPULIT

QUALIS SPELUNCA, &c., . . . ALAS (vv. 213-217).—Birds fly upwards with exertion and difficulty, and much motion and flap-

ping of the wings; downwards with ease and outstretched motionless wings. The ship of Mnestheus, after its exertion to arrive at the goal, slides down the slope sea shorewards, like a bird descending smoothly towards the ground with outstretched, almost motionless wings. Dante, *Inferno*, 5. 82 :

“quali colombe dal disio chiamate
con l'ali aperte e ferme al dolce nido
volan per l'aer dal voler portate,”

where Biagioli: “‘Con l'ali aperte e ferme:’ tale si e l'atto degli angelli volanti d'alto in basso.” Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, act 1 :

“behold'st thou not two shapes from the east and west
come as two doves to one beloved nest,
twin nurslings of the all-sustaining air,
on swift, still wings, glide down the atmosphere.”

CUI DOMUS ET DULCES NIDI (vs. 214).—“DULCES, propter liberos,” Wagner (*Praest.*). Near, but not exactly, the truth. NIDI is (metaphorically of course) the “*liberi*,” the *young themselves*; first, because otherwise it were a mere repetition of DOMUS; secondly, because it is used in this sense not only by other writers, but by Virgil himself elsewhere (as “*queruli nidi*,” Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 148; “*nidis loquacibus*,” *Aen.* 12. 475; “*dulcem nidis immitibus escam*,” *Georg.* 4. 17; “*implumes nidos*,” Claud. 3 *Cons. Honor.* praef. vs. 5. See also Nonius Marcellus, in *voc.*); thirdly, because mention of the young is required to complete and vivify the picture, and render the dove's extreme terror natural. Statius's (*Theb.* 7. 718)

. . . “cui circum stagna Carysti
et domus, et coniux, et amantes littora nati”

is nearly parallel.

TECTO (vs. 216).—The SPELUNCA of verse 213. Compare 4. 164 :

“*tecta metu petiere: ruunt de montibus amnes.
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
deveniunt.*”

SCOPULO ALTO (vs. 220).—"ALTO SCOPULO nihil aliud quam 'saxa procurentia,'" Wagner (ed. Heyn.), Forbiger. "Ex fundo maris ad eam altitudinem assurgente, ut prope superficiem maris tangat," Wagner (*Praest.*). "It is more probable that Virgil took ALTO as an ordinary epithet of SCOPULO without considering its special propriety here," Conington. I adhere to the opinion expressed in my "Twelve Years' Voyage," and to which Conington's expression, "It is more probable," refers, that ALTO is the height of the rock from the bottom of the sea. It is as if Virgil had said *high on the rock*, i. e., on the rock regarded from the bottom of the sea upwards. In no other sense was a rock which was entirely submerged at certain seasons a high rock; and on the height of this rock, not on the very vertex, but on a part near the vertex, and yet under the water, on this part of the high rock, the very part denominated in the next line BREVIBUS VADIS, the ship had struck and was striking. The two expressions IN SCOPULO ALTO and BREVIBUS VADIS (compare l. 115: "brevia," *shallows*; Ital. *bassifondi*), thus come to be equivalent to IN BREVIBUS VADIS alti scopuli, *in the shallows of the high rock*, in other words, *in the shallows high up on the rock*, or *on the shallows near the top of the rock*.

DISCENTEM (vs. 222).—Exactly the English *practising*. Compare Sil. 7. 461 (elegantly of Pallas practising with all her might not to frown): "pacemque serenis *condiscens* oculis."

HOS SUCCESSUS ALIT; POSSUNT QUIA POSSE VIDENTUR (vs. 231).—La Cerda, Heyne, Wagner, Peerlkamp, Conington, and common opinion, VIDENTUR *sibi*; Servius and Voss, VIDENTUR *spectantibus*. I agree with La Cerda and common opinion, and believe the author's meaning to be *their previous success renders them self-confident, and their self-confidence renders them able* (Homer. Lat. 494: "geminat victoria vires"). *Previous success* and *ability* are thus two links of a chain of thought, connected together by the intermediate link, *self-confidence*. The interpretation of Servius and Voss (*their previous success renders them self-confident, and the confidence which the spectators repose in them renders them able*) cuts the connecting link into two halves, and calling one of the halves *self-confidence*, leaves it in con-

nexion with the left-hand link, and calling the other half *the confidence reposed in them by the spectators*, leaves it in connexion with the right-hand link; and thus, instead of giving us the three mutually connected and dependent ideas, *previous success*, *self-confidence*, and *ability*, presents us with four thoughts, of which the two former, *previous success* and *self-confidence*, stand wholly separate and apart from the two latter, *the confidence of the spectators* and *ability*; and leaving *previous success* and *self-confidence* without their natural and expected consequence, ascribes the consequence to the newly introduced cause, *the confidence of the spectators*.

It is painful to observe the malicious pleasure with which Voss, on every occasion on which it is at all possible, deals Heyne a knock on the head either with the awkward cudgel of Servius or with his own far more redoubtable fist. The present occasion is one of the few in which the blow is not accompanied with some such insulting expression as "So würfeln die drei herren Heyne, Heumann, und Bryant über Virgil!" (5. 138). "Albern! wenn man die regeln des versbaues kennt" (3. 123). "Ihr heiligen Musen! Das ohrzerreissende 'exstinxisti' trägt epische würde!" (4. 682). "Das steht wohl Heyne an, solche oitate zu beekeln!" (4. 700). "Was sagt der verwirrte!" (5. 183). "Schön! *veniebat veniens*" (5. 373). "Der scharfsinnige!" (6. 161). "Der feine spötter!" (6. 255). "Diese erklärung ist ihm durch die elfenbeinpforte gekommen" (6. 895), and so forth, and so forth; expressions which cannot fail to remind the reader of the boastful and vituperative language with which a Homeric hero delighted to second his assault on his antagonist, often a better man than himself. It is indeed greatly to be regretted that Voss should have descended from his high status as an accomplished scholar, an acute critic, and a poet able, as proved by his famous Idyl, to compete even with Goethe himself, to these unworthy personalities; directed too against a man distinguished alike for his immense and varied erudition, and for the temperate and becoming language in which he puts forward his own opinions and combats the opinions of others; a man who (his Virgilian labours alone

taken into account) has contributed more to the advancement of classical literature in Europe than perhaps any man that ever lived. The errors of such a man (and who may hope to discuss without error the meaning of almost every word of Virgil?) are at least deserving of lenity. Servius, the third of the commentators of whom I have here been led to speak, derives from the accident of his having lived so much nearer to the time of Virgil a double advantage over the other two: viz., a vernacular knowledge of the language, and access to sources of information respecting Virgil which have since been lost. Notwithstanding these two great advantages, Servius (or whoever else may have been the author of the commentaries ascribed to Servius) was, owing to defects in himself, infinitely inferior as a commentator of Virgil, both to Voss and Heyne. Totally destitute of poetical sentiment, and stone-blind to Virgil's fascinating grace and elegance, Servius sees nothing in the *Aeneid* but a mere matter of fact narrative, such as might have come from the pen of an Aratus or an Avienus, and writes comments on it which bear the same relation to those of Heyne and Voss as we may suppose critiques upon the dramas of Shakespeare, written some two hundred years ago by the master of a village grammar school in Yorkshire, would bear to those of Schlegel.

EXTAQUE SALSOS PORRICIAM IN FLUCTUS, ET VINA LIQUENTIA FUNDAM (vv. 237-8).—This practice of throwing the entrails of the victims into the sea clearly indicates the true interpretation of the words *σπλαγχνοισι κακως αναβαλλομενοισι* in the following passage quoted by Longinus (§ 10) from the author of the *Arimaspeia*:

δυστηνοι τινες εισιν· εχουσι γαρ εργα ποτηρα·
ομματ' εν αστροισι, ψυχην δ' εν ποτω εχουσιν.
ηπου πολλα θεοισι φιλας ανα χειρας εχοντες
ευχονται σπλαγχνοισι κακως αναβαλλομενοισι,

not, with Ruhnkenius, "vomiting up their own bowels, but, as well pointed out by Walker (supplem. annot. on Livy), "throwing into the sea the entrails of the victims they had sacrificed."

ET PATER IPSE MANU MAGNA PORTUNUS EUNTEM IMPULIT (vv. 241-2).—Compare Ennius, quoted by Schol. ad *Palimps.*

Veron. (Keil's ed. p. 95, l. 11) :

"atque manu magna Romanos impulit amnis."

The reading is no doubt PORTUNUS. But who is Portunus, whether with Martianus Capella, who (*Nupt.* 1) makes him co-ordinate with Jupiter and Dis ("Nec solum superum regem testabatur uxorium idque etiam Diti propositum, idque Portuno," &c.), where Grotius interprets Portunus, Neptunus, and adds: "et quis neget de Neptuno sensisse Virgilium cum canit: IMIS SUB FLUCTIBUS," &c.), and even assigns to him the trident ("Portuni trifidam suspirans flagitat hastam")—whether is Portunus, I say, with Martianus Capella, Neptune himself, or with Servius ("Deus marinus qui portubus praeest . . . qui Graece Palaemon dicitur") and the Schol. ad *Palimps. Veron.* ("Portunus, ut Varro dicit, deus portuum portarumque praeses. Hunc Graeci Palaemona vocant") Palaemon? La Cerda agrees in opinion with Martianus Capella, Voss and Ladewig with Servius, and Heyne vacillates. For my part I have no doubt at all that Neptune, denominated Portunus in his capacity of harbour-master, is meant; first, because both of the PATER IPSE and MANU MAGNA, neither of them appropriately applied to a very subordinate divinity; secondly, because it is likely that the IPSE PATER who comes with his great hand to the help of Panope and the choir of Nereids and Phorcus, is not Palaemon, a god of the same rank with themselves, but their superior and master, just as the "ipse" who comes with his trident to the help of Cymothoe and Triton is not a god of the same rank as themselves, but one of much greater force and power, their master, who sees that his own hand is necessary; thirdly, because in no mythology is even the greatest god above attending to minutiae. A greater God than even Neptune is not above counting the hairs on a man's head, and keeping a sharp eye on the shooting of sparrows; and indeed, to go from mythology to philosophy, how is it possible for great effects to be produced in a world consisting of atoms, if no attention at all is paid to the atoms?

244-269.

TUM—TAENIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 254).

IDA **II** *Rom., Pal., Med., Ver.* **III** †§. **III** Ven. 1471, 1472, 1475;
P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Wakef.;
Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ALTO **III** Burmann jun. ad *Anthol. Lat. Poet.* p. 272.

ÆTHRA **III** Schrader, *Kmendat.* p. 154; Bruck.

TUM SATUS ANCHISA, &c. (vs. 244).—Aeneas, in declaring Cloanthus victorious, acts in the capacity, not of head of the expedition and chief of the army, but of agonotheta, or ἀγωνοθῆτης (Soph. *Aj.* 572, ed. Bruck), who, having given the games, and furnished the prizes (see vv. 66-70), possesses the right of declaring the victor, and of regulating all matters appertaining to the contest. This right of declaring the victor is always enumerated among the prerogatives of the Christian agonotheta by the Fathers of the Church when, carrying out the comparison instituted by St. Paul (*1 Cor.* 9. 24) between the Christian course and a race in the circus, they represent Christ as the agonotheta of the Christian race: “Ita agnosces ad eundem agonothetam pertinere certaminis arbitrium, qui invitat ad praeonium,” Tertull. *de fuga in persecutione*, 1. 17. “Proponit agonotheta praeonium, invitat ad cursum, tenet in manu bravium,” S. Hieron. *Lib. 1. ad Jovinian.* c. 12.

PRAECONIS VOCE DECLARAT (vv. 245-6).—The three words, even with the addition of MAGNA, express no more than is expressed by the single Greek word κηρυσσει.

CHLAMYDEN AURATAM, QUAM PLURIMA CIRCUM, &c. (vs. 250).—The ἱματίον ζωωτον, or ζωδιωτον, Pollux, *Onom.* 7. 13: ὁ δὲ καταστικτός χιτῶν ἐστὶ, ὁ ἐχὼν ζωὰ ἢ ἀνθὴ ἐνυφασμένα· καὶ ζωωτός δὲ χιτῶν ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ζωδιωτός.

INTEXTUSQUE PUER, &c., . . . UNCIS (vv. 252-5).—Although the change of tense, FATIGAT, RAPUIT, sufficiently points out a change of picture—*here, in this picture, the royal boy is hunting; there, in that one, Jove's bird has seized and carried him up into the air*—and although such representations on the same work of art (whether cloth, plate, or porcelain) of distinct, often successive, acts, are sufficiently common and notorious (witness the shields of Aeneas and Achilles, the wedding quilt of Thetis, and the mantle of Jason), yet commentators have not been wanting to accuse Virgil of having here put together (sciz. in a single picture or view) acts which could not by possibility be performed simultaneously: “Virgilius dormitans aliquando: INTEXTUSQUE PUER, &c., ubi non exputo, quomodo una in tabula representatus fuerit Ganymedes et venationi intentus, ita ut ipsum currentem videas, et idem sublatus in aerem,” Wagner (*Quaest. Virg.*). “Non aliter te expedies ex his tricois, quam fatendo, bonum Virgilium hic dormitasse,” Wagner, in notis ad Virgil. Heyn. Let this palpable error (tacitly acknowledged by Wagner himself in his *Virg. Br. Aen.*) teach us commentators humility, and that the mote is sometimes in our own eyes.

QUEM PRAEPES (vs. 254).—The commentators, connecting PRAEPES with AB IDA, and displeased with the recurrence here of the same termination of the verse as at verse 252, propose to read in place of PRAEPES AB IDA, either PRAEPES AB ALTO (Burmam jun. ad *Anthol. Lat. Poet.* p. 272) or PRAEPES AB AETHRA, conjectured by Schrader, *Emendat.* p. 154, approved by Heyne (MS. quoted by Peerlkamp), and actually adopted by Brunck. But the structure is not PRAEPES AB IDA; first, because there is no example of praepes joined with ab; and secondly, because the boy himself was upon Ida hunting (verse 252) when seized on by the eagle. The proposed emendations are therefore not only uncalled for, but would destroy the picture, which is that of the boy “raptus AB IDA,” in the talons of the eagle high up in the air above Ida. Compare Hor. *Od.* 3. 20:

“qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosa
raptus ab Ida.”

Lucan, 9. 972 (of the same): “Unde puer raptus caelo.”

Lucian, *Deor. Dialog.* 5 (Juno to Jupiter): Εξ ου το μειρακιον τουτο, ω Ζευ, το Φρυγιον, απο της Ιδης αρπασας δευρο ανηγαγες, ελαττον μοι προσεχεις τον νουν. *Stat. Theb.* 1. 548 (of Ganymede chased on a drinking cup):

“*hinc Phrygius fulvis venator tollitur alis;*
Gargara desidunt surgenti, et Troia recedit.”

Also Titian's fine picture of the eagle soaring upward with the boy in his talons, while not only Ida but the earth lie far below. Even Alciphron's Limenterus, who dreams he is Ganymede and feeding sheep on Ida, is pounced on and snatched up into the sky by the great ugly eagle with crooked beak and crooked talons from the rock on which he is sitting, 3. 59: εξαιφνης δε επιπταντα μοι γαμψωνυχα και μεγαν αετον, γοργον το βλεμμα, και αγκυλοχειλην το στομα, κυφισαντα με τοις ονυξιν, αφ' ουπερ εκαθημην πετρου μετεωριζειν εις τον αερα και πελαζειν τοις ουρανιοις τοποις επειγομενον. Similarly with AB IDA RAPUIT we have, 9. 565: “a stabulis rapuit;” 7. 484: “ab ubere raptum.” Ovid, *Met.* 10. 159 (of this same Ganymede):

. . . “*percusso mendacibus aere pennis*
abripit Piiadem.”

Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 5 (ed. Dissen):

ταν ο χαιταεις ανεμοσφαραγων εκ Παλιου κολπων ποτε Λατοΐδας
αρπασ'.

Ibid. 3. 43 (Boeckh):

. . . βαματι δ' εν πρωτω κιχων παιδ' εκ νεκρου
αρπασε' καιομενα δ' αυτω διεφαινε πυρα.

Anthol. Gr. (Jacobs), append. 229:

λαΐνεος στηλη με περιξ εχει' εκ δε με παστων
νυμφην, κdk θαλαμων ηρπασ' αφνωσ Αϊδας
Πολλαν, λυγρα γονευσι λιπων μνημηϊα τεκνου.

Ibid. append. 296:

αλλα με Μοιρ' ολησ, πριν ιουλοις πλησαι παρειας,
ηρπασε παρ' φιλιων, ους τοκεας εκαλουν.

PRAEPEs (vs. 254).—Neither *flying upwards*, nor *flying down*—
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wards, but flying rapidly forward, right ahead. Compare Ausonius, *Epigr.* 146 (of a shorthand writer) :

“ puer notarum praepetum
sollers minister, advola ;”

and (*ibid.*) :

“ sentire tam velox mihi
vellem dedisset mens mea,
quam praepetis dextras fuga
tu me loquentem praevenis.”

SUBLIMEM (vs. 255).—*High up in the air*, above Ida.

For FATIGAT (vs. 253), see Rem. on 1. 284 ; and for SIDERA, *the sky* (vs. 256), see Rem. on 5. 628.

IBANT (vs. 269).—*Ire*, as here used, is something more than *esse*, and something less than *se ferre*. It may perhaps be defined to be *esse* with the additional notion of motion, and *se ferre* without the notion of conscious dignity or importance. Compare 8. 162 : “ sed cunctis altior *ibat* Anchises,” implying not merely that Anchises *was* taller than all of them, but that Anchises *went* or *walked* taller than all of them. And so in our text the successful competitors not only *erant* EVINCTI, but IBANT EVINCTI, not only were garlanded but were in motion also. If the word *ire*, like our own *go* and *come*, came ultimately and in loose parlance to be as in *Georg.* 2. 343 :

“ nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,
si non tanta quies *iret* frigusque caloremque
inter, et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras,”

little more than the synonym of *esse*, it must originally have conveyed the additional idea, the proper notion of motion, else how came it to be used at all ? The use by the Greeks of *πεφυκεναι* and *τυγχανειν* was precisely similar, the former of these words at first and in strictness conveying not merely the idea of being so or so, but of being so or so by nature or natural disposition, and the latter of being so or so by chance, or happening to be so or so, as Eurip. *Hipp.* 12 (of Hippolytus) :

μονος πολιτων τηςδε γης Τροιζηνιας,
λεγει κακιστην δαιμονων πεφυκεναι

[not merely *am the worst of gods*, but *am by nature the worst of gods*];
Soph. *Oed. T.* 757 (ed. Brunk) :

ἡ καὶ δομοῖσι τυγχάνει τάνυν παρών

[not merely “*praesens est*,” but “*forte praesens est*,” *happens to be present*]. How much less expressive these verses if, instead of *πεφύκεναι* and *τυγχάνει*, we read *εἶναι*? In like manner, how dull and lifeless the picture in our text if we substitute *erant* for *IBANT*?

The identical form of expression, and conveying the similar lively sense, the similar suggestion of life and motion, still subsists in the Italian. Compare Pozzoli, *Dizionario della Favola*, tom. 2, p. 192: “Ma sia permesso agli Italiani d’*andar* superbi di un lavoro,” &c. Metast. *Olimpiade*, 2. 4 :

“ hai gran ragione, Aminta,
d’ *andarne* altier.”

And it is also to be found in the Spanish, as *Don Quix.* 1. 7 :
“Y apeandose de una sierpe en que *venia cabullero*.” In like manner, *stare* used for *esse*, whether in Latin or Italian, conveys along with the idea of existence that of fixedness also, as 6. 300 (where see Rem.), “*stant lumina flamma*.” Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 1. 38 :

“ la bella donna in mezzo a quel si mette,
ivi si corcea, ed ivi s’ addormenta,
ma non per lungo spazio così *stette*”

(where “*stette*” expresses not the notion of standing—for the “bella donna” was so far from standing that she was actually lying asleep—but that of continuance in one position). Manzoni, *Il Cinque Maggio* (of Napoleon) :

“ ei fu: siccome immobile
dato il mortal sospiro
stette la spoglia immemore
orba di tanto spiro,
così percossa, attonita
la terra al nunzio *sta*”

(where the “*stette*” and the “*sta*” describe not the position

itself but its continuance or fixedness). *Καλεισθαι*, also, occasionally used to signify *εἶναι*, conveys, along with the idea of existence, the additional idea of being said to exist, as Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 474 (ed. Musgr.):

Πελοπα κατομνυμ', *ος πατηρ τουμου πατρος,*
του σου τ' εκληθη.

We have thus in the Latin *ire* and *stare*, and the Greek *πεφυκεναι*, *τυγχανειν*, and *καλεισθαι*, five synonyms of *esse* and *ειναι*, the first with the notion of motion, the second with that of fixedness, the third with that of natural or original character, the fourth with that of chance, and the fifth with that of repute, superadded. See Rem. on 7. 291.

TAENIIS.—See *Museo Pio-Clementino*, tom. 6, tabb. 12 and 13, for busts of Hercules with such “*taeniae*,” also for the observations of Visconti thereon.

271-279.

AMISSIS—NEXANTEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 279).

NEXANTEM NODIS ■ *Rom., Ver.** ■■ ††; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Eutyeh.; princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Rom. 1473; Mil. 1476, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.

ETE

NIXANTEM NODIS ■ *Pal., Med.* (NIXANTEM, an E, not three dots as represented by Foggini and Ribbeck, being placed over the I). ■■ †. ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

NEXANTEM NODOS ■■ †. ■■■ D. Heins.; Phil.

Pierius says: “*Utrumque NODIS et NODOS in antiquis habetur exemplaribus. Sed ubi NODOS ibi itidem NEXANTEM habes; ubi vero NODIS, plurimum ibi NIXANTEM legere est, quod alibi non memini me legere.*”

* Ribbeck's statement that the Verona palimpsest reads NIXANTEM is incorrect.

ORDINE DEBILIS UNO (vs. 271).—ORDINE UNO not the order of oars which he has remaining, but the order of oars which he has lost, of which he is DEBILIS, which he is without, of which he is lame. ORDINE DEBILIS UNO is thus the variation of the theme AMISSIS REMIS, which it serves at the same time to make precise, *préciser* as the French say. Compare Manil. 11. 256:

“quod si solerti circumspicis omnia cura,
fraudata invenies *amissis* sidera membris.
Scorpios in Libra consumit brachia; Taurus
succidit in curvo claudus pede; lumina Cancro
desunt; Centauro superest et quaeritur unum.
sic nostros casus solatur mundus in astris,
exemploque docet patienter damna subire,
omnis cum caelo fortunae pendeat ordo,
ipsaque *debilibus* formentur sidera membris”

(where “*debilibus*” is not *weak*, but *maimed, deficient, wanting*).
Phaedrus apud Maium, *Fab. Nov. 11* (of an untamed steer):

“qui calce et cornu multos reddit *debiles*”

[*not* makes weak, but lames, or maims]. Plin. *Ep. 8. 17*: “Multi eiusmodi casibus [accidents arising from a flood of the Tiber] *debilitati*, obruti, obtriti, et aucta luctibus damna” [maimed]. Tacit. *Annal. 13. 14*: “hinc Germanici filia, inde *debilis* rursus Burrus et exsul Seneca, trunca scilicet manu, et professoria lingua, generis humani regimen expostulantes” [maimed]. *Ibid. 4. 63* (of the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenae): “Quinquaginta hominum millia eo casu *debilitata* vel obtrita sunt.”

(*Aliter*). ORDINE DEBILIS UNO.—*Feeble with its single ordo of oars*, the other *ordo* having been lost (AMISSIS REMIS); and so exactly Propertius, 2. 1:

“aut canerem Aegyptum, et Nilum, cum tractus in urbem
septem captivis *debilis* ibat aquis”

[went feeble with his seven streams].

VIAE IN AGGERE (vs. 273).—“*Proprie editior viae pars*, h. l. simpl. pro *via*,” Heyne. “Agger est media viae eminentia, coaggeratis lapidibus strata, unde ‘*VIAE aggerem*’ dixit,” Servius. Virgil does not mean the centre or high part of the road as contradistinguished from the low parts or sides, but means the

high road, the *via aggerata*, as contradistinguished from a byeway, which was not *aggerata* at all. It had been minute and trifling, and contrary to his usual custom, to use the words in their precise grammatical sense. Compare 7. 6 : "*Aggere composito tumuli*," where the sense is not, cannot be, *the aggerated part of the tumulus* (there being no part of the tumulus which was not *aggerated*), but must be *the aggerated tumulus*. So Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 24 : "*Aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuerunt*" [not *the middle or high part of the road* (as it has been incorrectly understood by Stock), but, as in our text, *the high or aggerated road*]. *Agger*, even without the adjunct of *via*, is sometimes used to designate the high road or *aggerated road*, as Rutil. *Itiner.* 1. 39 : "*Aurelius agger*."

AUT GRAVIS ICTU SEMINECEM LIQUIT SAXO LACERUMQUE VIATOR (vv. 274-5).—Servius throws no light. "*Saxum viatoris contrivit*," La Cerda, Heyne, Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861), Jahn (*Leipz. Jahrb.* 26, p. 275), and Conington ("*SEMINCEM and LACERUM both with SAXO*"). "*Mit dem stocke sohlug sie der wanderer*," Voss. Voss is undoubtedly right. *SAXO* is the place where, not the instrument wherewith. The instrument is sufficiently defined already by *ICTU*, the stroke, viz., of the traveller's staff. *SAXO* is the place where, the "*agger VIAE*" already mentioned. *SAXO* is a most proper variety of expression for the "*agger VIAE*"—the *agger viae* of the Roman roads always consisting of huge polygonal blocks of stone. The serpent, whether run over by the carriage-wheel or struck by the foot-passenger, was equally on the "*agger VIAE*," equally on the "*saxum*." If a blow of a stone had been meant, the words would have been, not *ICTU*, *SAXO*, but *ICTU SAXOQUE*. The picture, viz., that of the snake left in the middle of the carriage-way, is the same as that presented in the first Eclogue of the two just-yeaned kids left in the middle of the carriage-way.

SAXO LIQUIT.—Compare Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 139 :

"exiguum summa nodum sibi fronte relinqui,
ut pateant aures, ora rotunda volunt."

NEXANTEM, not NIXANTEM (vs. 279), first, because there is no example of the application of *nixans* to a serpent, while the

application not indeed of *nexans* itself, but of the near relation of *nexans*, *nexus*, is quite usual, as Ovid, *Met.* 15. 659 :

“ hunc modo *serpentem*, baculum qui *nexibus* ambit,
perspice.”

Ibid. 3. 41 :

“ ille volubilibus squamosos *nexibus* orbes
torquet, et immensos saltu sinuatur in arcus.”

Secondly, because the sense afforded by *NIXANTEM*, viz., *niten-tem*, is as bad a sense as that afforded by *NEXANTEM* is good, and Wagner's *rationale* of the sense, “ ut aves alis, homines quadrupedesque pedibus, ita serpentes nituntur nodis s. inflexis in se membris,” zoologically incorrect, the sinuous motion of a serpent not being vertical and upright (as expressed by *nitens*), but lateral and horizontal. And thirdly, because in the most ancient MSS., viz., those written in what we call capitals, the E, originally very like I, becomes by the gradual loss of its horizontal limbs, every day more and more like I, until at last it is scarcely distinguishable from it; while, on the contrary, the I, having no limbs to lose, remains always I, and runs little risk of being mistaken for E. See “*nexaeque*,” l. 452, Var. Lect.

290-319.

CONSESSU—ALIS

CONSESSU MEDIUM TULIT, EXSTRUCTOQUE RESEDIT (vs. 290).—“ EXSTRUCTO CONSESSU RESEDIT,” Servius, Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*). Very erroneous, *consessus* never being the place or building in which the people are assembled, but the assembly itself, the people themselves regarded as sitting together. Compare verse 340 :

“ hic totum caveae *consessum* ingentis et ora
prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,”

where "caveae" is the place where the assembly is seated, and "consessum" the seated assembly. Valer. Max. 2. 4: "spectantium *consessum* velorum umbraculis textit." Cic. in *Verr.* 3. 7: "Quis tam inimicus huic ordini fuit, qui non conspectu *consessu*que vestro commoveretur?" CONSENSU, therefore, does not belong to EXSTRUCTO, but is the abbreviation of CONSENSUI, and EXSTRUCTO is to be considered as a substantive and equivalent to EXSTRUCTO *solio*. And so Thiel, followed by Forbiger and Conington.

RESEDIT.—Residere, *to sit down*, is the word properly and peculiarly used to express sitting down formally and in state, as the chief person in a public assembly. Compare 1. 509:

"tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
saepa armis solioque alte subnixa *resedit*."

Ovid, *Met.* 7. 101:

"conveniunt populi sacrum Mavortis in arvom,
consistuntque iugis. Medio rex ipse *resedit*
agmine purpureus, sceptroque insignis eburno."

It was not as king, but as agonotheta that Aeneas RESEDIT, sat down in state (took the chair, as we say). See Rem. on verse 244, and compare Spartian. in *Vita Adriani*, 13 (of Adrian): "Multa in Athenienses contulit, et *pro agonotheta resedit*," where "resedit" corresponds very nearly to *presided*.

PONIT (vs. 292) = τιθει, the formal technical word on such occasions, as Hom. *Il.* 23. 740:

Ἠλέσθης δ' αὖψ' ἄλλα τιθει ταχυτήτος ἀεθλα.

Ibid. 656:

τω δ' ἀρὰ νικηθέντι τιθει δέπας ἀμφικυπελλον.

AMORE PIO (vs. 296).—"Casto, non infami," Servius, Forbiger, Conington. "Exponunt, *casto*. Mihi simpliciter omnis amor et amicitia pietatem continere videtur," Heyne. All equally wrong, and equally mistaking the meaning of *pious*, which is neither "castus" nor "amans" and "amicus," but exactly our *tender*, *affectionate*. See Rem. on "insignem pietate virum," 1. 14. In our text, therefore, the adjunct *pio* expresses

neither the innocence and chasteness of Nisus's love for Euryalus, nor the general character of all love, but the tenderness and affectionate nature of the love of Nisus for Euryalus, how tenderly Nisus loved Euryalus. The love was not ardens, like that of Dido for Aeneas (4. 101), or that of Corydon for Alexis (*Ecl.* 2. 1), but "pius," soft and tender, like that of a parent for a child, or a child for a parent, or a brother for a brother, as Ovid, *Trist.* 4. 5. 30 (Conington's own quotation):

"quo pius adfectu Castora frater habet."

That it was "castus" is not contained in the proposition, but follows as a corollary, and such may have been the meaning of Servius—a commentator who so frequently explains not by synonymous terms but by corollaries.

ACCIPITE HAEC ANIMIS (vs. 304), theme; LAETASQUE ADVERTITE MENTES, variation.

FLAVA OLIVA (vs. 309).—"Viridi," Servius. "Variis coniecturis frustra tentatum, *alba, tonsa, pulchra*. Vere animadvertit Heynius varia esse olivarum genera, et colorem diverso tempore diversum," Peerlkamp. The epithet "flavus," taken literally, is strictly correct and proper, and signalises a very remarkable and distinctive characteristic of the olive, its yellow pollen, which it sheds so copiously in the flowering season as not only to cover the leaves, trunk, and branches of the tree, but even the ground and neighbouring objects with a yellow dust. I remember very well when walking a few years ago from Pietra Santa to Massa in the flowering season of the olive, I walked for miles between rows of olives which were not only themselves yellow with this yellow dust, but had rendered the copings and sides of the walls underneath them, and even the roads themselves to well nigh the middle, also yellow, as if strewn with a pale ochre powder. The powder adhering to the soles of my shoes as I walked, you could have traced me by my footmarks in the yellow dust. We have thus an easy and natural explanation not only of Virgil's FLAVA, but of Aeschylus's ξανθός, *Pers.* 617.

CORRIPIUNT SPATIA (vs. 316).—See Rem. on "corripiunt spatium medium," 6. 634.

EFFUSI NIMBO SIMILES (vs. 317).—See, for precisely the same simile applied to the flight of bees, *Georg. 4. 312* :

. . . "ut aestivis *effusus* nubibus *imber*
erupere,"

a proof, if proof were wanting, that the comparison in our text is of the quick succession of the racers starting from the goal to the quick succession of the drops of a heavy shower of rain. The NIMBO of our text is the "imber" of the fourth Georgic and the "effusus (imber)" of the fourth Georgic is the EFFUSI (*cursores*) of our text.

SIMUL ULTIMA SIGNANT (vs. 317).—"Designabant locum qui finem cursibus daret," Donatus. "Intuentur et notant ULTIMA spatia, *i. e.*, finem cursus aviditate vincendi, et deest *visu*," Servius (ed. Lion). "Notant, oculis animoque designant metam, ut fere Servius," Heyne. No, by no means; for if SIMUL be *they all at the same time*, there seems to be no good reason why they should all at the same time perform this act, especially as the act was one which could not be seen by the spectators, which formed no picture; and if SIMUL be *at the same time as they* RELINQUUNT LIMEN EFFUSI NIMBO SIMILES, the running with eyes fixed intently on the distant goal and the rushing with the impetuosity of a shower agree but sorrily together. I therefore understand SIMUL ULTIMA SIGNANT to mean *at the same time the last trumpets sound*. These words are thus the repetition, in a slightly varied form, of SIGNO AUDITO, defining more precisely than those words the precise moment of the starting (*viz.*, that it was at the last sound of the trumpet), just as LIMEN RELINQUUNT is a repetition, in a slightly varied form, of CORRIPIUNT SPATIA, defining more precisely than those words the actual starting itself, the actual leaving of the LIMEN. The general notion is, as usual by Virgil, placed first, SIGNOQUE REPENTE CORRIPIUNT SPATIA AUDITO, and the particularization follows, LIMENQUE RELINQUUNT EFFUSI NIMBO SIMILES. If it be objected that in point of fact the leaving the LIMEN preceded, not followed, the rushing into the racecourse (SPATIA), the answer is easy, *viz.*, that this reverse order is only another instance of that *υστερον προτερον* so familiar to Virgil, and that this *υστερον προτερον*

remains (at least with respect to LIMEN RELINQUUNT) the same, whatever interpretation be adopted. In proof that the signal for racers to start was usually given by the sounding of trumpets, suffice it to cite Ovid, *Met.* 10. 652 (of the race between Hippomenes and Atalanta):

“*signa tubas dederant, cum carcere pronus uterque
emicat, et summam celeri pede libat arenam.*”

Sil. 16. 478 (of the foot-race in funeral games):

“*qui postquam arrecti plantis et pectora proni,
pulsantesque aestu laudum exultantia corda,
acceperere tuba spatium, exsiluere per auras
ocius effusus nervo exturbante sagittis.*”

Heliod. 4. 3: *παρελθων τ' εις μεσους, το τ' ονομα προσηγγελλει, και το εθνος εδηλον, και του δρομου την χωραν εκληρουτο, και την πανοπλιαν ενδυσ, εφειστηκει τη βαλβιδι τον δρομον ασθμαινων, και το παρα της σαλπιγγος ενδοσιμον ακων και μογισ αναμενων.* That it was usual, then as now, for trumpets to sound thrice when giving a signal, appears sufficiently from Valerius Flaccus, 1. 350:

“*et iam finis erat, zephyrumque ratemque morantes
solverat amplexus tristi tuba tertio signo.*”

So also Curt. 3. 21: “*Iamque tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles acceperat.*” Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 5. 88:

“*sta Polinesso con la faccia mesta,
col cor tremante, e con pallida guancia,
e al terzo suon mette la lancia in resta.*”

FULMINIS OCIOR ALIS (vs. 319).—The winged thunder. Compare Val. Flacc. 6. 53:

“*cuncta phalanx insigne Iovis, caelataque gestat
tegmina dispersos trifidis ardoribus ignes;
nec primus radios, miles Romane, corusci
fulminis, et rutilas scutis diffunderis alas.
insuper auratos collegerat ipse dracones
matris Orae specimen; linguisque adversus utrinque
congruit, et tereti serpens dat vulnera gemmae.*”

324-326.

CALCEMQUE TERIT IAM CALCE DIORES
INCUMBENS HUMERO SPATIA ET SI PLURA SUPERSINT
TRANSEAT ELAPSUS PRIOR AMBIGUUM QUE RELINQUAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 326).

QUE **I** *Rom., Pal.,* Med.* **III** $\frac{7}{11}$; cod. Canon. (Butler); cod. Camer. (Bersm.); cod. Thott. (Dorph.) **IIII** Donat.; Serv. (ed. Lion); Pr.; Venet. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Milan, 1475, 1492; Mod.; Bresc.; Ascensius (cited from Ven. ed. 1519); R. Steph.; La Cerda; N. Heins. (1676, 1704); Philippe; Burm.; Ribb.†; Coningt.

VE **IIII** P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersmann; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, nor is VE in these editions an error of the press; see his most extraordinary and unaccountable note in Burmann: "AMBIGUUMVE codices nostri omnes"); Heyne ("AMBIGUUMQUE† Heinsius consensu librorum recepit, quod et pars Pierianorum habebat; ratio tamen et res respuit. Nam si transiisset socium, res non ambigua iam fuisset, uter prior esset. Verius alii editi et scripti AMBIGUUMVE"); Pott.; Jahn; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Haupt.

* Pottier's statement that the Palatine MS. reads VE is incorrect; the reading of that MS. is very plainly QUE.

† Heinsius's statement, "AMBIGUUMVE codices nostri omnes," accepted and propagated by Ribbeck ("VE, Heinsiani omnes"), must be regarded as a mere blunder; neither I, among the seventy-four MSS. which I have myself personally examined, nor, as it appears from Ribbeck's silence, Ribbeck, among the MSS. examined by him, having found even one single one in which the reading was VE. For the same reason, the statement of Pierius, "In codicibus aliquot antiquis AMBIGUUMQUE, sed VE magis placet," is to be rejected, not, indeed, as literally untrue, but as uncandid and deceptive, inasmuch as implying that all the other MSS. he had examined, with the exception of the "aliquot" mentioned, read VE, an implication point-blank contrary to the matter of fact.

‡ I do not know how to account for this additional blunder in this long chapter of blunders. The reading received by Heinsius is not AMBIGUUMQUE but AMBIGUUMVE. Nothing can be clearer than his words: "AMBIGUUMVE codices nostri omnes." See *Var. Lect.* above.

CALCEMQUE TERIT IAM CALCE.—Fr. *talonne*; It. *incalza*. The Virgilian student who happens to be familiar with the very common and even vulgar use in English of the word *heel* for the word *foot* (see Launcelot Gobbo, in *The Merchant of Venice*, 2. 2) will smile at the coil which the commentators have made about these words. The “*valde dura ratio*” (Heyne), which Burmann follows, occupies nearly an entire column of his quarto page; and Peerlkamp, having ingenuously confessed that it is impossible to understand how Dioces could with his heel have trod upon the heel of Helymus, who was before him, proceeds with the most sober sadness to aver that he trod on him with his toes: “*Intellectu difficile est, quomodo Dioces CALCE CALCEM Helymi triverit. Trivit CALCEM Helymi digitis pedis.*” In support of which incontrovertible proposition, the matter-of-fact commentator has unaccountably omitted to quote the matter-of-fact poet, Sil. Ital. 16. 491:

. . . . “*instat non segnius acer
Hesperos, ac prima stringit vestigia planta
progressae calcis.*”

Poets, beware how ye use figures of speech; they are dangerous, and you will infallibly cut your fingers. What will not future commentators say of Thomson’s

“these as they roll, Almighty Father, these
are but the varied God?”

What has not been already said of “this is my body; this is my blood”? What millions of human lives have not been sacrificed to that one trope? And had not honest John Asgill such implicit faith in the simple sincerity of Christ’s words to Martha, *Evang. Johannis*, 11. 26: *καὶ παρὸς ὁ ζῶν, καὶ πιστευὼν εἰς ἐμὲ, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, as to live and die in the unwavering expectation of being taken up alive into heaven; and was not the “argument” which the same guileless John Asgill published in defence of such implicit faith in the simple sincerity of Christ’s words burnt at the doors of the Irish house of Parliament in the year of Christ 1700, and at the doors of the English house also by the common hangman, and himself publicly and

ignominiously expelled first from the one house and then from the other?—warning, not only to plain-thinking John Asgill, but to all lieges *for ever*, with how large a grain of salt even *inspired*—and how much more uninspired?—words are to be taken. Be cautious, then, ye poets, and if ye would not lead your readers into a shaking bog, let no fugitive of yours take to his heels—far less fly; let no heroine of yours, if she is in her senses, bestow her hand on her lover; or should your heroine be content to do with one hand for the rest of her life, let her at least not part with her heart; for how exist one single day without the central organ of the circulation, indispensable every moment for forwarding a fresh supply of arterial blood through the arteries, and receiving the old worn-out blood back from the veins? See Rem. on “*simul ora virum prae fixa movebant*,” 9. 471; and compare Prudent. *Diptych*, 137:

“ it mare per medium Dominus, fluctusque liquentes
calces terens, iubet instabili descendere cumba
discipulum; ”

and Juven. 1. 42:

“ palleat, ut nudis *pressit* qui *calcibus* anguem.”

INCUMBENS HUMERO.—*Leaning over his shoulder.* Compare Stat. *Theb.* 6. 602:

“ effugit hic oculos rapida puer ocyor aura
Maenalius, quem deinde gradu premit horridus Idas,
inspiratque humero, flatuque, et pectoris umbra
terga premit; post ambiguo discrimine tendunt
Phaedimus atque Dymas. Illis celer imminet Alcon.”

The picture of Diore's overtaking and leaning over the shoulder of Helymus is sufficiently intelligible; but what shall I say of St. Augustine's (*Confess.* 4. 7) “*et ecce tu imminens dorso fugitivorum tuorum, Deus ultionum et fons misericordiarum simul?*” I fear I shall never understand it until I see it on canvas.

SPATIA . . . RELINQUAT.—The meaning is: Diore's, who is now at Helymus's very shoulder, would, if the race-course were longer, not only slip past Helymus, but—while Helymus was hesitating between two things (AMBIGUUM), viz., whether to give

up without more ado, or strive to overtake the competitor who had so unexpectedly got the start of him—leave him completely behind, distance him.

AMBIGUUM.—*Hesitating between two things, as* 5. 654 :

“ at matres primo ancipites, oculisque malignis
ambiguae, spectare rates, miserum inter amorem
praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna ”

(where the structure is : “ ambiguae inter amorem praesentis terrae et regna vocantia ”). Coripp. *Johann. 1. 537* :

“ fraudibus his certat committere praelia Maurus,
ut celer incautum subiens exterreat hostem
ambiguumque premat, fretus numeroque locoque
et domitis confisus equis ”

(where “ Maurus ” is the DIORES of our text, “ hostem ” the HELYMUS, “ celer incautum subiens ” the TRANSEAT ELAPSUS PRIOR, and “ ambiguum premat ” the AMBIGUUM RELINQUAT ; and where the meaning is : “ by a quick movement come-upon when he is least expecting and terrifying the enemy, and, while he is hesitating whether to fight or fly, crush him ”). *Ibid. 2. 91* :

. . . “ nam belliger Austur,
solicitis dubias campis committere pugnas,
collocat astrictis muros fossasque camelis,
atque pecus varium densa vallante corona
ponit, ut obicibus pugnantes implicet hostes
ambiguosque premat ”

(where “ Austur ” is the DIORES of our text, “ hostes ” the HELYMUS, “ obicibus pugnantes implicet ” the TRANSEAT ELAPSUS PRIOR, and “ ambiguos premat ” the AMBIGUUM RELINQUAT).

TRANSEAT, RELINQUAT.—Both terms belonging to the race-course ; the former signifying *to pass-by, to get a-head of* (as Ovid, *Met. 10. 672* (of Hippomenes and Atalanta) : “ consequitur, transitque virum.” Cassiodor. *Var. 3. 51* : “ *Transit prasinus, pars populi moeret.* ” Sidon. Apollin. *Narbo, 361* :

“ ut meta ulterior remisit omnes,
fit collega tuus prior duobus,
qui te transierant ”),

the latter, *to distance and completely leave behind*, Gr. ἀπολείπειν, as Stat. *Theb.* 6. 344 (ed. Müller):

. . . “par et concordia voti
vincere, vel solo cupiunt a fratre *relinqui*.”

Ibid. 6. 309 :

. . . “stupere *relicta*
nubila, certantes Eurique Notique sequuntur.”

Sidon. Apollin. *Carm.* 5. 175 (ed. Sirmondi):

“donec ad anfractum metae iam iamque *relictus*
concita ter sparso fregit vestigia pomo.”

Claudian, *de 4 Cons. Honor.* 640 :

“sis, precor, assiduus consul, Mariique *relinquas*
et senis Augusti numerum,”

in the last of which instances, though there is no actual race, the allusion is still to the race-course.

It is not easy to say from whom this passage has suffered most, whether from editors who not only read *VE*, but have found no other reading in any MS. (“*AMBIGUUMVE* codices nostri omnes,” N. Heinsius, apud Burm. “*VE*, Heinsiani omnes,” Ribbeck), or from commentators who insist that the sense requires *VE* (“*AMBIGUUMQUE* Heinsius consensu librorum recepit, quod et pars Pierianorum habebat; ratio tamen et res respuit. Nam si transiisset socium, res non ambigua iam fuisset, uter prior esset. Verius alii editi et scripti *AMBIGUUMVE*,” Heyne. “*AMBIGUUMVE*, quod sensus flagitat, Palatini aliorumque codd. est lectio, ab Heynio revocata, probante Schaefero ad Lamb. Bos. p. 144,” Forbiger). But with whomsoever, or howsoever, originating, the error is inveterate and widespread that the true reading is *VE*, and the two clauses *TRANSEAT ELAPSUS PRIOR* and *AMBIGUUM RELINQUAT* alternative each of the other. So, further, J. H. Voss:

“rennt’ er, wo nicht ihm voraus, bis zu streitiger schwebende der gleichheit.”

“*AMBIGUUMVE* recte Heynius praetulit, probante Schaefero ad Lambert. Bos.,” Jahn. “*AMBIGUUMVE RELINQUAT*,” Peerkamp, observing: “Minus aptum huic rei verbum; nam qui

aliquem in cursu *relinquit est prior*," and by such observation exhibiting on the one hand his perception, however inadequate, of the absurdity of the received meaning of the passage, and on the other hand his total ignorance of the unanimous reading of the MSS., a reading which not only does not involve an absurdity, but actually presents the desiderated sense: that had the race-course been longer, Dioces would have slipped past and distanced Helymus. "AMBIGUUMVE," Thiel, observing: "Bei entfernterm ziel käme er vor oder machte unentschieden, wer eigentlich gesiegt." "AMBIGUUMVE," Gossrau, observing: "Itaque si longior cursus supererit, facile poterit aemulum vincere aut certe aequare." "AMBIGUUMVE," Süpfle, making no observation at all, nor any inquiry about either MS. or reading.

The second clause of the Virgilian passage is not, with these editors and commentators, an alternative of the first, but, which is much more efficient, rhetorical, and poetic, as well as much more in our author's usual manner, a climax, *steigerung*, or epexegesis; and the Homeric parallel is not *Il. 23. 382*:

και νυ κεν η παρελασς', η αμφηριστον εθηκεν,

but *Il. 23. 526-7*:

ει δε κ' ετι προτερω γενετο δρομος αμφοτεροισι,
τω κεν μιν παρελασς', ουδ' αμφηριστον εθηκεν,

where we have not only the similar apodosis but the similar protasis, and even the similar climax, *steigerung*, or epexegesis. AMBIGUUM is thus the descriptive predicate so often (I may almost say always where possible) used by Virgil instead of the personal pronoun: the latter half of the line is, as the latter half of Virgil's line so often is, a climax of the previous half, and the distinction is observed (as by Stat. *Theb. 6. 712*:

. . . "nec dubia iunctave Mnesthea victum
transabiit meta; longe super aemula signa
consedit")

between passing-by and quite distancing and leaving behind. Compare *Georg. 4. 147*:

"verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis
praetereo, atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo,"

where the same distinction is observed between “praetereo” and “relinquo” as in our text between TRANSEAT and RELINQUAT, and where curiously enough the identical cause, viz., want of space, assigned in our text as the cause of not passing by and leaving behind, is assigned, and no less correctly, as the cause of passing-by and leaving behind. Need I say more in proof of my thesis that QUE (corresponding to the “atque” of the Georgic) is the true reading, and the text an example not of alternative but of climax?

334-384.

NON—STANDI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 350).

MISERARI ■ Med. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Wagn.; Ribb.

NON TAMEN EURYALI, NON ILLE OBLITUS AMORUM (vs. 334).—For some just remarks on Virgil's frequent use of the negation (“les tours négatifs”) see Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, 2. 2. 10.

SPISSA IACUIT REVOLUTUS ARENA (vs. 336).—SPISSA denotes not that the sand lay thick on the ground, i.e., deep, but that its particles being very close together (the opposite of our *loose* and the German *locker*) did not readily separate from each other, or allow the feet to sink—the very kind of sand fit for foot-racers, Ital. *soda sabbia*: fine thick sand, of which the particles are all of one size and fit well into each other so as to make a close compact footing—such sand as in many places covers our sea-beaches, and being firm and compacted by the weight of the superincumbent water when the tide is in, is “spissus,” and being “spissus” answers well for walking, or running, or riding upon, when the tide is out. Compare Senec. *Ep.* 55: “Ideo

diutius vehi perseveravi, invitante ipso littore, quod inter Cumas et Servilii Vatieae villam curvatur; et hinc mari, illinc lacu, velut angustum iter, cluditur. Erat enim a recenti tempestate maris *spissum*. Fluctus autem illud, ut scis, frequens et concitatus, exaequat; longior tranquillitas solvit, quum arenis, quae humore alligantur, succus abcessit." Also Plin. *H. N.* 36. 25: "Solo festucato inicitur rudus aut testaceum pavementum, dein *spisse* calcatis carbonibus inducitur." Columel. 12. 54: "In cistam vimineam, quae neque *spisse*, solide tamen et crassis viminibus contexta sit" (the osiers of which the basket was composed not interwoven "*spisse*," *i. e.*, thickly, so as closely to fit into each other, but openly, or so as to leave interstices).

TERTIA PALMA DIORES (vs. 339).—Compare Manil. 1. 787: "tertia palma Marcellus."

CERTA MANENT (vs. 349).—The *εμπεδα κειται* of Homer, *Il.* 9. 334:

αλλα δ' αριστησσι διδου γερα, και βασιλευσι
τοιςι μεν εμπεδα κειται, εμεν δ' απο μουνου Αχαιων
ειλετ'.

PUERI (vs. 349).—The proposition of Nauck (Jahn's suppl. vol. 14, p. 556) to join PUERI with PALMAM and understand it to mean Euryalus is inadmissible, first on account of the great injury inflicted by such structure on the cadence of the verse; secondly, because for Aeneas to call Euryalus "puer" here, where he is contending as a man among men, had been as inappropriate as it was appropriate for Virgil so to denominate him, verse 296, where it was the object of the poet to place vividly before his readers the young man's youth and innocence; thirdly, because the vocative seems to be demanded by the preceding VESTRA and NOBIS; and fourthly, because the vocative PUERI has especial grace, addressed by Aeneas to the whole party so much his juniors and inferiors, and contrasting as it does with PATER—his own descriptive adjunct.

QUAE MUNERA NISO DIGNA DABIS (vv. 354-5).—"Niso is probably to be constructed with DABIS rather than with DIGNA," Conington. I should say certainly.

DIGNA (vs. 355).—Dignus is here taken in its secondary

sense, viz., *valuable, worthy of being received*. Compare Tacit. *Germ.* 18: “accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat.” The Greek αξιος and the English *worthy* both have the same secondary meaning.

PRIMAM MERUI QUI LAUDE CORONAM, NI ME QUAE SALIUM FORTUNA INIMICA TULISSET (vv. 355-6).—“ME a primo præmio abstulisset, abduxisset,” Heyne. “NI inimice a Fortuna acceptus essem,” Forbiger, Wagner (*Praest.*). The two interpretations are equally incorrect. Ferre is never “auferre,” and if it were sometimes, or could be, the picture of Fortune carrying off not only Nisus, but Salius too, from the prize had been downright ridiculous. Neither is ferre ever “accipere,” and even if it sometimes were, the picture of Fortune giving a bad reception to Euryalus and Salius had been little less absurd than that of Fortune carrying them off from the prize. Ferre is here, as so often elsewhere, *to take, get hold of, lay hands on*; and Fortune is said to take Euryalus and Salius in the same sense in which the Fata or his Fata are said to take Daphnis, *Ecl.* 5. 34:

. . . “postquam te fata tulerunt,
ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo;”

and in which Time is said to take, or lay hands on, everything, *Ibid.* 9. 51: “Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque.” It is the Greek use of φέρω and αἶρω transferred to the Latin equivalent fero. Compare Apoll. 4. 1485: σε δ' ουλομεναι κηρες ελοντο. Also Hom. *Il.* 2. 302: ους μη κηρες εβαν θανατοιο φερουσαι, where the meaning is indeed *carried off, or away from*, but where this meaning of *carried off, or away from*, lies not in φερουσαι, but in εβαν φερουσαι, *went taking, or went carrying*. There being no *went* in our text there is no *off* or *away from*, only the *taking* or *carrying*. That this taking or carrying is to be understood in *malam partem* not being shown with sufficient clearness by the very indefinite and general term TULISSET, INIMICA is added to remove all ambiguity. Examples of this use of ferre are abundant, as 2. 554: “hic exitus illum sorte tulit.” 2. 598:

. . . “quos omnes undique Graiae
circum errant acies; et, ni mea cura resistat,
iam flammae tulerint, inimicus et hauserit ensis.”

4. 679 :

“ idem ambas ferro dolor, atque eadem hora tulisset.”

10. 59: “gurgite mersum unda *feret*.” Liv. 4. 33: “obtruncantur in ripis; alios in aquam compulsos gurgites *ferunt*.”

FACIEM OSTENTABAT ET UDO TURPIA MEMBRA FIMO (vv. 357-8).—“TURPIA FIMO probably belongs to FACIEM as well as to MEMBRA,” Conington. The meaning is not *his face and limbs besmeared*, but FACIEM, *his plight, his condition, his appearance*; and this “*facies*,” this plight, this condition, this appearance, is explained to be UDO TURPIA MEMBRA FIMO, as if Virgil had said: *speciem ridiculam* OSTENTABAT, viz., UDO TURPIA MEMBRA FIMO. This is almost invariably, if not invariably, the sense of Virgil’s *facies*. Compare 7. 448 (where see Rem.): “*tantaque se facies aperit*.” 6. 575 (where see Rem.): “*facies quae limina servet*.” 6. 560: “*quae scelerum facies?*” 8. 193:

“ hic spelunca fuit, vasto submota recessu,
semihominis Caci *facies* quam dira tenebat.”

Georg. 2. 131 :

“ ipse ingens arbos, *faciemque* simillima lauro.”

OSTENTABAT.—More than ostendit: *made a great display of*.

OLLI (vs. 358).—Not the object of RISIT, i. e., not the thing smiled at, which is always put in the accusative (see Rem. on 4. 128), but the dative of acquisition so called, the person to whom the smile is directed. Aeneas did not smile *at* Nisus, but directed *to* Nisus his smile, viz., his smile *at* the “casus.” Compare 4. 105: “*Olli . . . siq̄ contra est ingressa Venus*,” where “*olli*” stands in precisely the same relation to “*ingressa est*” as OLLI in our text to RISIT.

NUNC, SI CUI VIRTUS ANIMUSQUE IN PECTORE PRAESENS, ADSIT, &c. (vv. 363-4).—Exactly as Telemachus in the Odyssey, pledging himself to Ulysses that the suitors should not fall upon him while he was engaged in the boxing match with Irus (18. 61):

Ξειν', εἰ σ' ὀτρυνεῖ κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ
τούτου ἀλεξασθαι, &c.

EFFERT ORA, SE TOLLIT (vv. 368-9).—Theme and variation.

The form of theme and variation is used in order the more easily to introduce both *VASTIS VIRIBUS* and *MAGNO VIRUM MURMURE*, accidents of so widely different nature as not to be easily attachable to a single verb. See Rem. on "progeniem," &c., l. 23-26; and on l. 550.

VICTOREM BUTEN IMMANI CORPORE QUI SE, &c. (vs. 372).—Not *IMMANI CORPORE QUI SE . . . FEREBAT*, but *BUTEN IMMANI CORPORE*, exactly as 3. 427 : "*immani corpore pistris*;" 8. 335 : "*immani corpore Thybris*;" 5. 401 : "*immani pondere caestus*."

VENIENS AMYCI DE GENTE (vs. 373).—I. e., *ortus AMYCI DE GENTE*. So *Ciris*, 407 : "*Pandionia si qui de gente venitis*."

TALIS PRIMA DARES CAPUT ALTUM IN PRAELIA TOLLIT (vs. 375).—"Proprie dicendum erat *DARES primus*," Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*). No; as "*primo somno*," l. 474 (where see Rem.) is *the beginning of sleep*, so here *PRIMA PRAELIA* is *the beginning of the fight*; the comparison not being of Dares to other pugilists who were to follow (for there were no others to follow), but of the beginning of the fight to the sequel, as if Virgil had said : *rises, to begin the fight*. See also Rem. on "*primi pedis*," 5. 566.

QUAERITUR HUIC ALIUS (vs. 378).—*ALIUS*, *another*, i. e., *another to match Dares*; as if Virgil had said *QUAERITUR HUIC par*. Compare Hor. *Epod.* 15. 13 (to Neaera, of himself) :

" non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
et quaeret iratus parem."

ALACRIS (vs. 380).—*Agog*.

QUAE FINIS STANDI ? (vs. 384).—Compare Sil. 12. 68 (Hannibal to his soldiers before Cumae) :

. . . "pro di ! quis terminus," inquit,
'ante urbes standi Graias ?'"

387-421.

HIC—AMICTUM

HIC GRAVIS ENTELLUM DICTIS CASTIGAT ACESTES (vs. 387).—Not DICTIS CASTIGAT, but GRAVIS DICTIS, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 283 (of Jupiter, replying to Juno):

“at non ille *gravis dictis*, quanquam aspera motus
reddidit haec.”

Compare verse 274, “*gravis ictu*,” and Rem.; also Val. Flaco. 5. 161: “*arduus et laevo gravior pede*,” and Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 49:

“invalidum dextro portat Titana lacerto
nondum *lucis gravem*, nec pubescentibus alte
cristatum radiis.”

For DICTIS CASTIGAT compare Hom. *Od.* 8. 158: *velκεσε δ' αυτην*.

PROXIMUS UT VIRIDANTE TORO CONSEDERAT HERBAE (vs. 388).—Compare verse 667: “Cursus ut laetus equestres ducebat.”

UBI NUNC NOBIS DEUS ILLE, MAGISTER NEQUICQUAM MEMORATUS, ERYX?—“UBI NUNC est illa gloria, quod magistro usus es Eryce, quem olim NOBIS iactabas?” Wagner. No; NOBIS is the ethic dative (as “vobis,” verse 646), and MAGISTER NEQUICQUAM MEMORATUS lies out of the direct train of thought, is explanatory of ILLE, and thrown in parenthetically between it and ERYX. UBI NUNC NOBIS DEUS ILLE ERYX? sciz. ILLE ERYX NEQUICQUAM MEMORATUS MAGISTER. Both the sense and the structure are rendered perfectly plain by two commas, one placed after ILLE, the other after MEMORATUS.

NOBIS DEUS ILLE ERYX.—Similarly, Cicero, *ad Att.* 4. 16: “Deus ille noster, Plato.”

NON LAUDIS AMOR, NEC GLORIA CESSIT PULSA METU (vv. 394-5).—Not PULSA METU, but CESSIT METU; as verse 676:

“ast illae diversa *metu* per littora passim
diffugiunt,”

where the structure is “*diffugiunt metu*.”

NEC DONA MOROR (vs. 400).—These words are a variation of, or repeat under another form, the preceding line:

HAUD EQUIDEM PRETIO INDUCTUS PULCHROQUE IUVENCO;

as if he had said: "I would have come, not because I cared for the gifts, nor because I was induced by the prize of the handsome ox, but I would have come for the sake of the glory without any other incentive." Entellus does not underrate the gifts; on the contrary, he admires and praises them (PRETIO PULCHROQUE IUVENCO), but he is too stiff and old to come to the contest even for the sake of what he values more than the gifts, fair as they are, viz., the honour and glory. MOROR is used in precisely the same sense (its usual sense by the bye, and that of the Greek αλεγειζω, Hom. *Il.* 1. 106, and αλεγω, *Ibid.* 11. 389), 7. 253:

. . . "nec purpura regem
picta movet, nec sceptrā movent Priameia tantum,
quantum in connubio natae thalamoque moratur;"

i. e., "nec moratur tantum in purpura et sceptris quantum in connubio natae." Latinus thinks more about, cares more about, values more, the advantageous marriage of his daughter than the presents which are offered him. Entellus thinks more about, cares more about, values more the honour to be won than the prizes which await the conqueror. If he was to be moved at all, it was by the honour, not by the prize. NEC DONA MOROR, therefore: "nor do I mind the gifts; nor do the gifts enter into my thoughts at all: it is the glory would move me, if my age permitted me to be moved." See Rem. on 11. 365.

DUROQUE INTENDERE BRACHIA TERGO (vs. 403).—Compare verse 136: "intentaque brachia remis," where see Rem.

TANTORUM INGENTIA SEPTEM TERGA BOUM (vv. 404-5).—The similarity not only of sense, but rhythm and structure, of these words as compared with 1. 638: "magnum horrentia centum terga suum," exemplifies that sameness of thought even in a great thinker, which I have had occasion so often to notice elsewhere in the course of these observations. See Rem. on 5. 326. The remarkable parallelism of the two passages is sufficient of

itself and independently of the double argument of MS. authority and better sense to decide me to adhere to the received reading TANTORUM, and the received structure TANTORUM BOUM, and to reject, as alike unworthy even of a hearing, the reading TEUCRORUM, Peerlkamp's emendation TANTO NIGRANTIA, and Servius's junction of ANIMI and TANTORUM. It might be expected that in two so strikingly similar passages the principal term, or subject, being the same identical term in both, should have the same sense. We are, however, disappointed in such expectation, however reasonable; for while TERGA in our text can only mean literally *hides*, "terga" in the parallel passage can only mean *chines*, used synecdochally for the whole animal; a notable proof of the deficiency and consequent obscurity of the Latin language even in the hands of one of the most adroit of writers.

ANTE OMNES STUPET IPSE DARES, LONGEQUE RECUSAT (vs. 406).—"LONGE, valde," Servius, Nonius, La Cerda, Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*). "Weithin, zurücktretend," Ladewig. "Either Dares actually recoils many paces from the weapons and will not come near them, or metaphorically shrinks from them utterly and declines the contest," Conington. Servius and those who think with him are surely wrong, and Conington in his first interpretation, and Ladewig, right—*refuses from a distance, refuses without coming near*; exactly as the original of Dares, Apollonius's Amycus, stands *απωθεν*, *longe, far off*, eyeing his redoubted adversary in silence, Apollon. Rhod. 2. 48:

οὐ μὲν αὐτ' Ἀμυκος πειρησάτο. σίγα δ' ἀπώθεν
εἰστάως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐχ' ὀμματα.

Compare 10. 224:

"agnoscunt *longe* regem, lustrantque choreis,"

where "longe" in its literal sense is joined to "agnoscunt," precisely in the same manner as in our text to RECUSAT.

QUID, SI QUIS CAESTUS IPSIUS ET HERCULIS ARMA VIDISSET, TRISTEMQUE HOC IPSO IN LITTORE PUGNAM? (vv. 410-411).—Our author's adaptation and appropriation of Apollonius's (2. 145):

φραζεσθ' ὅττι κεν ἦσιν ἀναλκείησιν ἐρεζαν,
εἰπὼς Ἡρακλῆα θεὸς καὶ δευρὸ κομισσεν·

HIS MAGNUM ALCIDEN CONTRA STETIT (vs. 414).—Even to enter the lists, to stand up at all, against Alcides (“*magnus Alcides*,” 6. 122, where see Rem.), was a glory. Compare *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Jacobs) 12. 70 :

στησομ' ἐγὼ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐναντίον, εἰ σέ, Μῦσθε,
ἀρπάζειν ἐθέλοι, νεκταρὸς οἰνοχοόν.

HAEC FATUS, DUPLICEM EX HUMERIS DEIECIT AMICTUM (vs. 421).—DUPLICEM AMICTUM, “i.e., abollam, quae duplex est, sicut chlamys. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 17. 25 : ‘Contra, quem *duplici panno* patientia velat,’” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Abollam duplici vel omnino crassiore filo textam, et, ut videtur, intonsam. Convenit talis vestis seniori et caloris experti,” Wagner (1861), Ladewig, “Abollam duplici (vel omnino crassiore) filo textam, et, ut videtur, intonsam,” Forbiger, quoting Hor. *Ep.* 1. 17. 25, quoted above, and Nep. *Datam.* 3. 2 : “Agresti *duplici amiculo* circumdatus.” It does not follow from Entellus’s “amictus” being “duplex” that it was coarse, or resembled in its texture the “abolla” of the cynic. Jason’s διπλαξ (Apollon. Rhod. 1. 720 : διπλακα πορφυρεην . . . την οι οπασσε Παλλας) was of so splendid a red as to dazzle the eyes like the rising sun—

ἡ μὲν ρηϊτερον κεν ἐς ἥλιον ἀνιόντα
οὔσσε βαλοῖς, ἡ κείνο μεταβλεψείας ἐρευνθός—

and had almost as many pictures embroidered in it as the marriage quilt of Thetis—

ἐν μὲν ἔσαν Κυκλωπες ἐπ’ ἀφθίτῳ ἡμεροὶ ἐργῶ, &c.

Ulysses’ χλαίνα διπλή (Hom. *Od.* 19. 225) was fastened with gold clasps, and the deer hunt embroidered in it excited the admiration of all beholders :

χλαίναν πορφυρεὴν οὐλὴν ἔχε διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,
διπλὴν· αὐτὰρ οἱ περὶ χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο
αὐλοῖσιν δίδυμοις· παροῖθε δὲ δαιδαλὸν ἦεν·
ἐν προτερύσιν ποδῆσσι κυῶν ἔχε ποικίλον ἔλλον,
ἀσπαιρόντα λαῶν· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἀπαντες,
ὥς οἱ χρυσεοὶ ὄντες, ὁ μὲν λαὸν νεβρὸν ἀπαγχῶν.
αὐτὰρ οἱ, ἐκφυγεῖν μεμῶως, ἡσπαιρε ποδῆσσιν.

NOT could the ample crimson *χλαινα διπλη* of Nestor, Hom. *Il.* 10. 133 :

αμφι δ' ἀρα χλαινὰν περονήσατο φοινικοέσσαν,
διπλὴν, ἐκταδίην· οὐλὴ δ' ἐπερνήνοθε λαχύνῃ,

OF the *διπτυχος ευεργης λωπη* worn by Minerva when she presented herself to Ulysses in the disguise of a shepherd as delicate as a king's son, Hom. *Od.* 13. 221 :

. . . σχεδόθεν δὲ οἱ ἦλθεν Ἀθηναίη,
ἀνδρὶ δέμας εἰκυῖα νέω, ἐπιβωτορὶ μῆλων,
παναγᾶλῳ, οἷοι τε ἀνακτῶν παῖδες εἶσιν,
διπτυχὸν ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐχούσ' ευεργεῖα λωπῆν,
ποσσί δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσι πεδίλ' ἔχε, χερσὶ δ' ἀκοντα,

OF the *ιστος διπλαξ μαρμαρεη* woven by Helen, Hom. *Il.* 3. 125 :

. . . ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἶστον ὑφαίνῃ
διπλακά, μαρμαρεὴν· πόλεας δ' ἐνεπᾶσεν αἰθλούς
Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,

OF even the *λωπη διπτυξ* of Amycus the Bebrycian king and boxer, Apollon. Rhod. 2. 32 :

. . . ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὴν διπτυχὰ λωπῆν
αὐτῇσι περονῇσι, καλαυροπα τε τρηχέϊαν
καββάλε, τὴν φορεέσκεν, ορίτρεφεος κοτινοῖο,

have been any of them of the quality of the cynic's "abolla." The coarseness of Entellus's garment, therefore, is not expressed by the epithet "duplex," but is to be inferred, if, indeed, it be inferrible at all, from the rusticity of the Sicilian court, verse 40: "gaza laetus *agresti* excipit," and the simple hunting dress in which the king himself is introduced to us, verse 36 :

"horridus, in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae."

So incapable, indeed, is duplex of conveying the idea of rustic coarseness that Nepos (*ubi supra*) has thought it necessary to add "agrestis" to "duplex amiculus," in order to inform his reader that the "duplex amiculus" spoken of was coarse and rustic: "Ipse *agresti duplici amiculo* circumdatus, hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam," &c.

437-463.

GRAVIS—FESSUM

GRAVIS (vs. 437).—An athlete should be neither heavy nor light, but a mean between the two, Philostr. *Heroic*. (ed. Boisson. p. 160, of Palamedes) : *και μην και γυμνον φησι τον Παλαμηδην μεσα φερεισθαι βαρειως αθλητου και κονφου* ["medium inter gravem ac levem athletam tenere," Lat. transl., viz. Stephanus Niger]; and it is precisely owing to his being GRAVIS Entellus gets the heavy fall which is so near costing him not merely victory but life—ULTRO IPSE GRAVISS CONCIDIT.

NISUQUE IMMOTUS EODEM, CORPORE TELA MODO ATQUE OCULIS VIGILANTIBUS EXIT (vv. 437-8).—CORPORE, i. e., *declinatione corporis*, inclination of the body without shifting, stand without changing place, or position of the feet (NISU IMMOTUS EODEM). Compare Cic. in *Cat.* 1. 6: "quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas ut vitari posse non viderentur parva quadam *declinatione* et, ut aiunt, *corpore* effugi!" where both words, "petitiones" and "corpore," are technical, i. e., taken from the language of boxers, the noble "art of self-defence." See Rem. on 4. 675. The same word, verse 445, being joined with ELAPsus signifies not inclination of, but the actual changing place of, the body, the shifting stand, place, or position.

OCULIS VIGILANTIBUS EXIT (vs. 438).—EXIT (EX-IT) the English *evades* (*e-radere*), gives the slip to, and the Italian *forvia*, as *La Nazione* (newspaper), Firenze, 28 Febr., 1862: "La Prussia, con un cambiamento decisivo, ha *forviato* il colpo." Compare Stat. *Theb.* 11. 138: "Incertum leto tot iniqua fugane exeat." Sil. 14. 453:

. . . "bonus ille per artem
crudo luctari pelago, atque exire procellas."

CELSAM OPPUGNAT QUI MOLIBUS URBEM (vs. 439).—MOLIBUS. "Amphibolon est: aut CELSAM MOLIBUS, aut quae MOLIBUS op-

pugnabatur," Serv. (ed. Lion). The sentence can, indeed, be parsed according to either construction, and the parsing was what the ancient grammarians had most at heart; but whoever is solicitous about rational meaning will join MOLIBUS with the verb, not with the adjective—OPPUGNAT MOLIBUS, *wars against with works*, i. e., *besieges a lofty city*, being a better, more rational sense than *wars against a city of lofty works*, i. e., *of buildings*; in other words, MOLIBUS is necessary to OPPUGNAT in order that with its help OPPUGNAT may signify *besiege*, while it not only is not necessary to CELSAM in order that CELSAM may signify *high*, but is injurious to CELSAM, inasmuch as it causes that word to indicate a height produced by works or buildings, not by situation.

MOLIBUS.—"Machinis," Heyne. No; but *masses*, viz., *masses of building*, the masses of building being constructions or works, such as aggeres, walls, redoubts. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 5. 346:

"vasta giganteis iniecta est insula membris
Trinacris; et magnis subiectum *molibus* urget
aethereas ausum sperare Typhoea sedes.
nititur ille quidem, pugnatque resurgere saepe;
dextra sed Ausonio manus est subiecta Peloro:
laeva, Pachyne, tibi; Lilybaeo crura premuntur;
degravat Aetna caput, sub qua resupinus arenas
eiecat, flammamque fero vomit ore Typhoeus;
saepe remoliri luctatur pondera terrae,
oppidaque, et magnos evolvere corpore montes"

(where "molibus" is the masses of which Sicily consists, viz., the land and towns, and especially the by-name-enumerated mountains); *Aen.* 9. 710:

"qualis in Euboico Baiarum littore quondam
saxea pila cadit, magnis quam *molibus* ante
constructam ponto iaciunt"

["previously constructed of great masses," viz., of stones united by cement].

NUNC HOS, NUNC ILLOS ADITUS, OMNEMQUE PERERRAT ARTE LOCUM, ET VARIIS ASSULTIBUS IRRITUS URGET (VV. 441-2).—"I incline to refer these two lines to Dares, not to the subjects of the two comparisons, as the omission of the apodosis of the com-

parison would be awkward," Conington. Certainly. But why *incline* only? Where is the room for doubt? Is not *ILLE* [Dares] *PERERRAT* as explicit as words can be, and would not the structure and sense be complete even if the two comparisons were wholly omitted?

NUNC HOS, NUNC ILLOS ADITUS.—"Virgilius utitur vocabulis quae item ad oppugnandam urbem pertinent," Peerlkamp, correct, so far, but incorrect in the sequel of his observation: "sunt tamen hic aditus in corpore Entelli." He should have said *ad corpus*. Dares cannot get at Entellus, being excluded by his guards, by his fencing; it is through these guards Dares seeks a passage to the place itself (*LOCUM*), *i.e.*, to Entellus.

ENTELLUS VIRES IN VENTUM EFFUDIT, ET ULTRO IPSE GRAVIS GRAVITERQUE AD TERRAM PONDERE VASTO CONCIDIT (VV. 446-8).—The case of the *QUE* after *GRAVITER* in our text differs essentially from that of the "*que*" after "*iactetur*," l. 672. The latter "*que*" being found in some first-class MSS. and not in others, we are free to accept or reject, according to the probabilities; the former being found uniformly in the MSS. must be accepted whether we will or not. Let us, therefore, set about to make what hand we can of *GRAVITERQUE*. Both construction and sense are complete without the *QUE*: *ENTELLUS, IPSE GRAVIS, CONCIDIT GRAVITER AD TERRAM PONDERE VASTO*. Why then *GRAVITERQUE* so much to the embarrassment and annoyance of the reader? Plainly for the same reason that, to the no less annoyance and embarrassment of the reader, it is "*famulamque*," 3. 329:

"me famulo *famulamque* Heleno transmisit habendam;"

that, to the no less annoyance and embarrassment of the reader, it is "*pelagoque*," *Georg.* 1. 142:

"alta petens *pelagoque* alius trahit humida lina;"

that, to the no less annoyance and embarrassment of the reader, it is "*et lumine*," *Aen.* 6. 640:

"largior hic campos aether *et lumine* vestit
purpureo;"

that, to the no less annoyance and embarrassment of the reader, it is "et caeli," 5. 850:

"Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus Austria,
et caeli toties deceptus fraude sereni?"

Now what is this reason? What is it that so often and so effectually interferes between the author, between this great master of language, and the clear expression of his thought? Plainly and undoubtedly, the necessity of his measure. In every one of these instances, and numerous others which might be cited, after the clear and unmistakable expression of the whole thought there is still a syllable wanting to the completion of the verse, and to supply the want *a que* or an *et*, not at all required either by the sense or the construction, and only disturbing both the sense and the construction, is added.

GRAVITER AD TERRAM PONDERE VASTO CONCIDIT.—How is this so heavy fall of Entellus, this falling not only GRAVITER but PONDERE VASTO to be explained? Are there reasons for it, or is PONDERE VASTO a mere idle exaggeration of the weight of the man? It is no idle exaggeration, and both GRAVITER and PONDERE VASTO are used significantly. Entellus is himself GRAVIS (IPSE GRAVIS), therefore CONCIDIT GRAVITER, falls heavily, gets a heavier fall than a light man or even a man of ordinary weight under similar circumstances. But this is not all. Being thus GRAVIS—not only literally GRAVIS, or weighing much (vs. 422:

"et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa, lacertosque
exuit, atque ingens media consistit arena"),

but (like Ovid's "tardus gravitate senili Aeacus," *Met.* 7. 478) GRAVIS with age also, i.e., old and stiff (vs. 395:

. . . "gelidus tardante senecta
sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires")—

Entellus falls with a momentum not only not diminished by such counter-effort to save himself as might have been made by a younger, more active man, but increased by the sole effort he does make, viz., the effort to strike his adversary with his whole

collected strength, an effort at once the cause of his fall and of a great part of the *PONDERE VASTO* with which he falls.

ULTRO (vs. 446).—There could be no better example than that afforded by our text, of the wide *toto caelo* difference between *ultro* and *sua sponte*. Entellus falls to the ground *ULTRO*, *i.e.*, *de se*, *of himself*, or *proprio motu*, but so far is he from falling *sua sponte*, *of his will or choice*, that he actually falls *invitus*, or point-blank against his will. With this fall of Entellus *ULTRO*, not *sua sponte*, contrast the fall of Camilla from her horse (11. 828: “*ad terram non sponte fluens*”) neither *ultro* nor *sua sponte*, but occasioned by violence *ab extra*.

CONCIDIT (vs. 448).—Expressive as being a compound of the intensive *CON* (see Rem. on “*congemuit*,” 2. 631, similarly applied to a great tree which is being felled; on “*conticuere*,” 2. 1; on “*contorsit*,” 2. 52, 3. 562; on “*corripiunt*,” 6. 634; on “*conclamat*,” 9. 375); and emphatic on account of its position, last word of a sentence and first word of a verse (see Rem. on “*credita*,” 2. 246).

CONSCIA VIRTUS (vs. 455).—*I.e.*, the *VIRTUS* of which he was conscious. The English use the word in the same manner. See *Morning Star* (newspaper), June 15, 1863: “That merit belongs to Mr. Coningham. By his means the *conscious* guilt of the Horse Guards was on Friday brought to light” (*i.e.*, the guilt of which the Horse Guards was conscious).

NUNC DEXTRA INGEMINANS ICTUS, NUNC ILLE SINISTRA (vs. 457).—“Here, as in other places where *ille* may appear pleonastic, it has a rhetorical force, fixing attention on the person who is spoken of. ‘Now with the right hand showering blows, now, he, the same man, with his left.’ The force might be given variously in English, ‘now as furiously with his right, now, brave man, with his left.’ We feel that that tremendous personality is impressing itself upon Dares,” Conington. For my part, I feel only with respect to *ILLE*, that it is an eke very useful to fill up the verse—to make out the indispensable dactyl in the fifth place—and serving no other purpose, adding no tittle to the sense expressed by *NUNC DEXTRA INGEMINANS ICTUS, NUNC SINISTRA*. Nothing is commoner in all languages than such

lifts to the verse. Compare Hom. *Il. §. 408* (Helen to Venus):

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ κείνων οἶζυς, καὶ ἐφύλασσε,
εἰσὸκε σ' ἡ ἀλοχὸν ποιησεται, ἡ οὐ γέ δούλην.

Anthol. Graec. (ed. Jacobs), 7. 286:

δυσμορὲ Νικάνωρ, πόλιν μεμορημένε ποτῶ,
κείσαι δὴ ξείνῃ γυμνὸς ἐπ' ἡἴονι,
ἡ σὺ γέ πρὸς πέτρῃσι.

Hor. *Od. 1. 9. 15*:

. . . "nec dulces amores
sperne puer, neque tu choreas."

Senec. *Herc. Fur. 1247*:

. . . "sive me altorem vocas,
seu tu parentem."

Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft*:

"und die treue, sie ist doch kein leerer wahn."

Uhland, *Der Rosengarten*:

"die thüre, die bleibt zu,
die schwerter, die sind bloss,
die rosen, die sind theuer,
eine wunde gilt jegliche ros."

Also the rhymes:

"the frog, *he* would a-wooing go,
whether his mother would let him or no;"

and

"Malbrouk *he* went to the barber,
the barber [*he* ?] wasn't at home;"

and

"old king Cole
was a merry old soul,
and a merry old soul was he;
he called for his pipe,
and he called for his bowl,
and he called for his harpers three;"

in the last of which not only the "he" of the third line, but the whole third line itself, and two of the three "he called for"'s,

are mere ekes, very necessary indeed to the sound, but adding nothing to the sense; exactly as Cowper, *John Gilpin* :

“ so, ‘ fair and softly,’ John *he* cried ;
but John *he* cried in vain,”

where I own I can no more perceive how either of the two “*he*”’s serves to make us feel that that ludicrous personality (John Gilpin) is impressing itself upon the horse, than I can perceive how the *ILLE* of our text serves to make us “feel that that tremendous personality [*Entellus*] is impressing itself upon *Dares*.”

Mr. Conington’s opinion, however, is neither new nor singular, a similar opinion having been expressed by several commentators before his time, and notably by Clarke ad *Hom. Il. 3. 409*, quoted above: “*vox ογε nequaquam hic supervacanea est, sed elegantissimam tum in Graeco tum in Latino sermone emphasin habet, quam linguae recentiores prorsus ignorant,*” by whom not only our text, and *Hor. Od. 1. 9. 15*, *Senec. Herc. Fur. 1248*, quoted above, but the following examples also have been adduced in support of the doctrine, *Od. 2. 325* :

η μαλα Τηλεμαχος φορον ημιν μερμηριζει.
η τινας εκ Πυλου αξει αμυντορας ημαθοεντος,
η ογε και Σπαρτηθεν, επει νυ περ ιεται αιωνος

Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 246 :

η τωνγε στρατον ευρυν απωλεσεν, η ογε τειχος,

in not one of which am I able to detect anything in the intercalation except an awkward help to the measure, a pronoun thrust in where the sense does not require it, hardly even permits it. Further proof, if further proof be desired, that the sense of our text is precisely the same as it would have been had the *ILLE* been inserted after *AGIT*, will be found in Ovid, *Met. 4. 308* :

“*nec iaculum sumit, nec pictas illa pharetras,*”

where the sense is precisely the same as it would have been had the “*illa*” been inserted after “*sumit*.”

FESSUM (vs. 463).—*Done for, knocked up and good for nothing; kill*, as we Irish say.

466-467.

NON VIRES ALIAS CONVERSAQUE NUMINA SENTIS
CEDE DEO

"VIRES ALIAS quam putaveras huius hominis esse, h. e. tuis maiores," Heyne. No, if it were only because this had been no comfort to Dares, no flattery (MULCENS DICTIS, verse 464). "VIRES ALIAS, sciz. tibi esse quam ante," Voss. No, if it were only because this had been still less either comfort or flattery, had made poor Dares's condition even worse than it was, had said in plain terms that not only was Entellus stronger than he, but that he himself was not as strong as he had been, and so not only depreciated Dares but taken away even from the credit of Entellus, whose victory was on that account so much the more easily won. "ALIAS: divinas, Eryce Entellum iuvante," Wagner (1861). Where did Wagner get this information? In the word ALIAS itself? ALIAS is simply *other*. In CONVERSA NUMINA? CONVERSA NUMINA he tells us treats of something wholly different, neither of Entellus, nor of Eryx, but of Dares's own gods which have deserted him ("mutata, tibi non propitia"). Where else then? Nowhere, unless in his own imagination. It is a mere *petitio principii*, a mere groundless assumption.

What, then? How is this cruel crux of commentators to be got over? ALIAS is neither *Entellus's strength different from what it was before*, nor *Dares's strength different from what it was before*, nor *supernatural strength supplied to Entellus by Eryx*, but it is simply *other strength, another strength, i.e., a strength not that of Entellus, different from that of Entellus*. To learn what this other strength is, we must go to the next clause of the sentence, the clause with which we are at present dealing affording no explanation, informing us only that there is another strength, ALIAS VIRES, against which Dares has had to contend. The next clause gives us the fullest, most satisfactory, information what that

strength is ; it is *CONVERSA NUMINA*, a god in disguise. See below. We have thus the sentence constructed in our author's usual manner, the first clause more general and requiring explanation, the second particular and giving the explanation required ; while we have at the same time the great consolation and comfort, the greatest consolation and comfort, indeed the only consolation and comfort the case afforded, administered to Dares, viz., that his defeat was no fault of his, he had been fighting against a god. Therefore the immediate conclusion—*CEDE DEO*, "cease to contend with a god, give up a contest for which not you alone but no mortal man is equal ;" and therefore also the preceding

INFELIX ! QUAE TANTA ANIMUM DEMENTIA CEPIT ?

"Unfortunate ! how could you be mad enough to fight against a god ?" The original of both thoughts, both of *VIRES ALIAS* and its explanatory *CONVERSA NUMINA*, will be found in *Hom. Od. 16. 181* (Telemachus to Ulysses, whom Minerva has touched with her wand so as to give him new strength and make him look young) :

ἄλλοιός μοι, ξείνε, φάνης νεὸν ἢ παροιθεν,
ἀλλὰ θεῖματ' ἔχεις, καὶ τοι χρῶς οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμοίος.
ἢ μάλα τις θεὸς ἐσσι, τοι οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐχούσιν.

Exactly as Telemachus says to Ulysses : "You are not what you were, it is a god I see in your place," Aeneas says to Dares : "Don't you perceive it is not with Entellus you are fighting, but with a god who has taken Entellus's place?" An exact parallel to the passage, so understood, will be found in Valerius Flaccus, 4. 124, where Neptune apostrophizing his son Amycus, who he foresees is to be killed, in a boxing-match too, by Pollux, the son of Jupiter, exclaims :

"iam iam *aliae vires*, maioraque sanguine nostro,
vincunt fata Iovis,"

the "*aliae vires*" of which passage, explained by the immediately subsequent "*maioraque sanguine nostro, fata Iovis*," to be the strength of Jove, is precisely the *VIRES ALIAS* of our text, ex-

plained by the immediately subsequent *CONVERSA NUMINA* to be the strength of a god in disguise. Compare 12. 894 :

. . . "non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox ; dii me terrent et Iupiter hostis,"

where, and in a not very dissimilar duel, too, we have the similarly constructed sentence "dii me terrent," general, corresponding to the *VIRES ALIAS* of our text, and to the "*aliae vires*" of Valerius Flaccus ; and "Jupiter hostis," particular and explanatory, corresponding to the *CONVERSA NUMINA* of our text, and to the "*maioraque sanguine nostro, fata Iovis*" of Valerius Flaccus ; nay, where we have in "non me tua fervida terrent dicta, di me terrent et Iupiter hostis" (= "*aliae vires me terrent quam tua fervida dicta ; di me terrent et Iupiter hostis*") the *VIRES ALIAS* of our text and the "*aliae vires*" of Valerius Flaccus as plainly implied as if they had been expressed.

ALIAS.—*Other*, not in the sense either of *changed*, or of a *different kind*, but—as shown by the "*aliae*" of Valerius Flaccus, where there is neither change nor, Amycus and Neptune being of the same kind as Jupiter ("nostro"), difference of kind—simply *other* in the sense of *not the same as, not identical with, different from*, Entellus's. After *ALIAS* comes, in *CONVERSA NUMINA*, the explanation what this *other* is, that it is the strength of a god.

CONVERSA NUMINA.—"Quod frequentius : aversum numen, proprie fortunam certaminis mutata," Heyne. "Mutata, tibi non propitia," Wagner (1861). The mistake is double. *NUMINA* is not, as it is at 2. 123, "*quae sint ea numina divum*," *the will and pleasure of the gods, considered as their will and pleasure*, but *considered as representing the gods whose will and pleasure it is* ; in other words, it is the abstract property used in place of the concrete person and equivalent to the gods themselves, the gods bodily (see Rem. on "*numine laeso*," 1. 12), exactly as "*numina*" is to be understood, *Georg.* 1. 10 :

"et vos agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni"

(= "et vos agrestum praesentes dei, Fauni") ; and *CONVERSA* is

not changed so as no longer to be propitious, but changed so as to be no longer in the same form, metamorphosed, disguised. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 87 :

. . . "tellus
induit ignotas hominum *conversa* figuras."

Eurip. *Helena*, 582 :

HEL. οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς γῆν Τρωαδ', ἀλλ' εἰδωλὸν ἦν.

MEN. καὶ τίς βλέποντα σώματ' ἐξεργάζεται;

HEL. αἰθρῇ, ὅθεν σὺ θεοποιῇτ' ἐχεῖς λεχθῆ.

MEN. τίς πλάσαντος θεῶν; ἀελλὰ γὰρ λέγεις.

HEL. Ἦρας, διαλλάγμ', ὡς Πάρις μὲ μὴ λαβοῖ

[a metamorphosis]. CONVERSA NUMINA, therefore, a god in disguise, literally, gods turned round, gods changed, the plural number being used as indefinite, as expressing that no one god in particular is meant, but only some god. The word *conversus* is used to express both changes, both turnings round, of gods—both their change from the divine into the human or whatever other form, as 12. 623 (of Juturna) :

. . . "in faciem soror ut *conversa* Metisci
aurigae currumque et equos et lora regebat,"

and their change back again into their own, as 7. 543, where see Rem. (of Allecto) :

"deserit Hesperiam, et caeli *conversa* per auras
Iunonem victrix affatur voce superba;"

Ovid, *Met.* 9. 347 :

"Lotis in hanc nympha, fugiens obscœna Priapi,
contulerat versos, servato nomine, vultus,"

where "*contulerat versos*" is equivalent to *tulerat conversos*.

NON VIRES ALIAS CONVERSAQUE NUMINA SENTIS?—*Don't you perceive (feel) other force? don't you perceive (feel) a god in disguise? in other words, Don't you perceive (feel) that you are fighting not with a man, but with a god? CEDE DEO, yield to the god.* Our author deserves all praise for the skill with which he has contrived that Aeneas's consolation of his unfortunate fellow-countryman should not only not offend, but should even in the

highest degree compliment the conqueror, the friend of their common host. It is by no means necessary that Aeneas should have himself thought that it was a god who was boxing in the shape of Entellus: not that Aeneas was not sufficiently superstitious so to think, but he may in this royal condescension towards Dares have been merely practising that other royal art in which he was so great an adept (compare l. 212 :

“ spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem ; ”

4. 289 :

“ classem aptent taciti, sociosque ad littora cogant,
arma parent, et quae rebus sit causa novandis
dissimulent : sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat, et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus, et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus ”),

and wheedling Dares as he wheedled poor Dido. The petty dissimulation had only the more recommended both the hero and the author to that greater dissembler than either, to please whom the poem was in the first instance written. In those ancient times, whether of Aeneas or of Virgil, plain candour and singleness of speech and action, especially in persons of high degree, were as little known, or even imagined, as at present. When they existed, or were imagined at all, it was only, as in the case of Dido, “ candida Dido,” to go straight to the wall, to be the prey of the first who came with mouth or hands, perhaps with both mouth and hands, full of gods.

CEDE DEO.—*Yield to the god.* To what god? To the CONVERSA NUMINA, the god who in the shape of Entellus is fighting with him, and against whom it is madness for him, a mere mortal man, to contend—

INFELIX ! QUAE TANTA ANIMUM DEMENTIA CEPIT :—

exactly as Juno asks Hannibal whither he is madly rushing (“ quo ruis, o vecors ? ”), undertaking wars for which no mortal man is equal (“ maioraque bella capessis mortali quam ferre datum ”), and then, showing him the previously invisible gods who are engaged against him—a compliment not to be wasted on

Dares, hard pressed and only too happy to accept without ocular demonstration of its truth any explanation of his ignominious defeat which might occur to magnanimous Aeneas on the spur of the moment—commands him to yield to the gods (“cede deis tandem, et Titania desine bella”), Sil. 12. 703 (ed. Rup.):

“ ‘quo ruis, o vecors, maioraque bella capessis,
 mortali quam ferre datum?’ Iuno inquit, et atram
 dimovit nubem, veroque apparuit ore.
 ‘non tibi cum Phrygio res Laurentive colono,
 en, age (namque, oculis amota nube parumper,
 cernere cuncta dabo), surgit qua celsus ad auras,
 aspice, montis apex, vocitata palatia regi
 Parrhasio, plena tenet et resonante pharetra
 intenditque arcum, et pugnas meditatur Apollo.
 at, qua vicinis tollit se collibus altae
 molis Aventinus, viden’ ut Latonia virgo
 accensas quatiat Phlegethontis gurgite tedas,
 exertos avidae pugnae nudata lacertos?
 parte alia, cerne, ut saevis Gradivus in armis
 implevit dictum proprio de nomine campum.
 hinc Ianus movet arma manu, movet inde Quirinus,
 quisque suo de colle deus; sed enim aspice, quantus
 aegida commoveat nimbos flammisque vomentem
 Iupiter, et quantis pascat ferus ignibus iras.
 huc vultus flecte, atque aude spectare tonantem,
 quas hiemes, quantos concusso vertice cernis
 sub nutu tonitrus, oculis qui fulguret ignis.
 cede deis tandem et Titania desine bella;’”

and exactly **as** Pallas disguised as an old woman commands Arachne: “cede deae,” not to heaven, or to the will of heaven, or the will of the gods, but to herself, the “numina” (“numina nec sperni sine poena nostra sinamus”), with whom she (Arachne) is engaged in mad and hopeless contest (“quod pretium speret pro tam furialibus ausis?”).

481-518.

STERNITUR—SAGITTAM

STERNITUR, EXANIMISQUE TREMENS PROCUMBIT HUMI BOS (vs. 481).—Not a mere poetical exaggeration; a similar feat being recorded of Caesar Borgia, Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, bk. 1, c. 2: “Der schönste mann; so stark, dass er im stiergefecht den kopf des stiers auf einen schlag herunterhieb.” In the town-hall of Aix, in Provence, there is an ancient mosaic (figured by Millin, *Voyage au midi de la France*, atlas, plate 35) representing Dares and Entellus with their caestuses extending the entire length of the arm up to the elbow, the bull lying dead on the ground between them.

MELIOREM ANIMAM (vs. 483).—“‘Melius est HANC, taurinam, ANIMAM persolvere quam DARETIS.’ Contrariam in partem idem dicitur, 12. 296,” Wagner (*Praest.*). Not the meaning. The Romans were not so delicate and refined as to say, or to think, it was better to spare the human being and kill the beast, and Wagner himself has remarked that “haec melior magnis data victima divis” “contrariam in partem dicitur”—he should rather have said “in contrariam partem huius meae interpretationis dicitur.” The words contain not a moral reflection, but the usual brutal scoff of the conqueror at the conquered—“If I don’t kill Dares, I won’t at least disappoint the gods of a victim: I here offer them a better.” See Rem. on 12. 296.

INGENTIQUE MANU MALUM DE NAVE SERESTI ERIGIT (vv. 487-8).—“Ut magna manu, de heroibus ac fortibus viris,” Heyne. “Mit gewaltiger hand,” Voss. “Naturlicher ist’s mit gewaltiger hand, παχέην χεῖρι. Mitsch. zu Hor. *Od.* 3. 3. 6,” Thiel. “Verba INGENTI MANU negotium facessunt criticis. Wakefieldius non dubitavit scribere INGENTIQUE MANUS, sc. *Aeneae* MANUS; sed non licebat ita nudum ponere voc. *manus*.”

Bothius corr. *INGENTEM*; sed ne hoc quidem ferri potest ob illa, quae paulo post leguntur, *MALO AB ALTO*. Retinendum igitur *INGENTI*; quod si cum *NAVE* iungas, sublata videbitur difficultas; sed ipse verborum positus persuadet, Virgilium *INGENTI MANU* iuncta voluisse. Ac profecto non video, quum omnia in heroibus ingentia fingantur, cur adeo offendamur h. l.; certe ingens manus Herculi tribuitur a Valer. Fl. 3. 609; ingentes humeri aliis: vid. Markland. ad Stat. *S. 3. 1. 36*. Per *ingentem* autem *manum* declaratur magna vis et robur corporis in manuum operibus conspicuum. Fuit autem tam varius huius adiectivi usus, ut non mireris, si quaedam inveniantur, quibus quae plane similia sint frustra quaeres, ut ‘iussa ingentia,’ 7. 241; ‘ingens obsidio,’ 8. 647,” Wagner (edit. Heyn.). “*INGENTI MANU*, magna qualis tribuitur diis atque heroibus, *χειρι παχειη*,” Wagner (1861). “Ingens Aeneae manus, per quam, ut Wagner annotavit, magna vis et robur corporis in manuum operibus conspicuum declaratur,” Jacobs, *Quaest. Ep.* “To be taken like ‘manu magna,’ verse 241, ‘dextra ingenti,’ 11. 556, and showing how he could set up the mast himself,” Conington. Most undoubtedly not; (1), because the picture afforded by Aeneas setting up the mast himself with his own hand while his subordinates looked on had bordered closely on the ridiculous. (2), because the other acts which Aeneas is described as performing at the same time, and which are expressed by *INVITAT* and *PONIT*, coordinate with *ERIGIT*—viz., the acts of inviting to the contest and setting out the rewards—are certainly not performed directly by Aeneas himself, but only indirectly through the medium of subordinates. (3), because had Aeneas, who has just performed through the medium of subordinates the acts expressed by *INVITAT* and *PONIT*, performed this act immediately himself with his own hand, Virgil would most undoubtedly have signified his doing so by the word *ipse*, and would have written not *INVITAT*, *PONIT*, and *ERIGIT*, but *INVITAT*, *PONIT*, and *ipse ERIGIT*. Compare verse 499:

AUSUS ET *IPSE* MANU IOVENUM TENTARE LABOREM;

verse 241:

“et pater *ipse* manu magna Portunus euntem
impulit;”

3. 369 :

“ hic Helenus, caesis primum de more iuvenis,
 exorat pacem divum, vittasque resolvit
 sacrat capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit ; ”

2. 645 : “ *ipse* manu mortem inveniam ; ” 7. 143 :

“ *ipse* manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem ; ”

7. 621 : “ impulit *ipsa* manu portas ; ” in no one of which instances was “ *ipse* ” as necessary to the clear expression of the sense and the prevention of ambiguity as it was in our text, if it had been our author’s meaning that Aeneas invited through the instrumentality of others to contend at drawing the bow, and through the instrumentality of others set out the prizes, but himself with his own hand set up the mast. **And (4)**, because in the Homeric original, in which Achilles performs the part assigned in our text to Aeneas, there is neither *χειρι παχειη* nor other expression to inform us that Achilles performed with his own hand an office which in all propriety belonged to his subordinates, and which in the absence of express information to the contrary must be supposed to have been performed by them, not by the chief with his own hand, they looking on, Hom. *Il.* 23. 850 :

αὐτὰρ ὁ τοξευτήσι τιθεὶ ἰοεῖντα σιδηρόν,
 καδ’ ἐτιθεὶ δέκα μὲν πελέκεας, δέκα δ’ ἡμιπελέκας·
 ἱστόν δ’ ἐστήσεν νηὸς κυανοπρωρόν
 τήλου ἐπὶ ψαμαθοῖς.

Such are the arguments which occur to me in favour of the interpretation of Donatus and Servius (“ cum hoc dicit per plurimos factum, monstravit formae fuisse potioris,” Donatus. “ Magna multitudine,” Servius), the only interpretation known, or so much as dreamed of (“ Multitudine INGENTI,” Ascensius. “ INGENTI militum agmine,” La Cerda), until the marvellous Hyperborean aurora drove the old stars from the Virgilian sky.

MALO AB ALTO (vs. 489).—Equivalent to *from the top of the mast*. See Rem. on “ humero alto,” 12. 941 ; and on “ scopulo alto,” 5. 220.

INGENTI SONUERUNT OMNIA PLAUSU (vs. 506).—"Columba EXTERRITA geminavit trepidos plausus in tantum, ut eorum sonus complevisset universa," Donatus, Heyne, Voss ("Ich ziehe diese erklärang des Donatus vor, wegen der unmittelbaren verbindung, und weil dieser schuss, der den vogel verfehlte, kein unermessliches geklatsch der zuschauer erregen konnte"). "Fune alligata, quo minus potest effugere, eo magis alas commovet; quo PLAUSU omnis locus circum sonat," Gossrau, Wagner (1861), Forbiger, Jacobs (*Quaest. Epic.*), Ladewig, Freudenberg (*Spec. Vindic. Virg.*). "Alii pennarum dicunt, sed melius est spectantium favore. Illud enim est incredibile," Servius, Pompon. Sabin. ("PLAUSU theatri"), La Cerda, Conington, the latter quoting Hom. *Il.* 23. 869. And so Alexander Ross, in one of his Virgilian centos, *Christiad*, b. 11 (p. 231) :

"dixit, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu
caelicolum, qui facta canunt laudesque Tonantis."

I entirely agree with Servius and Pomponius Sabinus; and considering the arguments adduced by Voss as of no weight at all in opposition to the manifest imitation of Homer, who in his account of the funeral games of Patroclus, the original of Virgil's funeral games of Anchises, represents the applause of the spectators as following the shot of the arrow which had equally missed the pigeon, *Il.* 23. 865 :

ορνιθος μὲν αμαρτε, μεγῆρε γὰρ οἱ τογ' Ἀπολλων,
αὐτὰρ ὁ μῆρινθον βάλε παρ ποδα, τῇ δέδερ' ὀρνις.
ἀντικρυ δ' ἀπὸ μῆρινθον τὰμὲ πικρὸς οἶστος.
ἡ μὲν ἐπειτ' ἦϊξε πρὸς οὐρανόν, ἡ δὲ παρείθη
μῆρινθος ποτὶ γαίαν· αὐτὰρ κελάδησαν Ἀχαιοί.

Compare Ovid, *Met.* 10. 668 (Hippomenes and Atalanta) :

"praeterit Hippomenes: resonant spectacula plausu."

Stat. *Theb.* 3. 669 :

. . . "rursus fragor intonat ingens
hortantum, et vasto subter volat astra tumultu."

Reason, too, is on the side of Servius, for how was it possible for

the fluttering of a single pigeon, tied to the top of a pole, to make a wide uncovered space, in which many thousands of spectators were collected, resound? No, no; Servius is quite right; it is incredible (“est incredibile”). Nor should Heyne have quoted verse 215: “*plausumque exterrita pennis dat tecto ingentem*,” as parallel, the pigeon on that occasion being not only under cover, where its fluttering would be more heard and have more effect, but being free to fly about, not confined to one spot.

DECIDIT EXANIMIS, VITAMQUE RELIQUIT IN ASTRIS AETHERIIS (vv. 517-8).—There can be no doubt that the second clause is but the complement of the first. Without the second clause, it might possibly be supposed that the bird was no more than wounded by the arrow, and, unable any longer to fly, fell down and was killed by the fall. For the credit of the archer, it should be placed beyond doubt that it was by the arrow, not by the fall, the bird was killed, and the insufficient DECIDIT EXANIMIS is completed by VITAMQUE RELIQUIT IN ASTRIS AETHERIIS. This, as I think, the simple meaning of the passage, is well illustrated by *Georg.* 3. 546:

“*ipsis est aer avibus non aequus; et illae
praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquant*”

[the very birds die in the sky (viz., during a pestilence), and fall down to the ground]. According to this interpretation, the VITAM of our text is our English *life* (the “vitam” of the just adduced parallel, in which a plurality of birds is spoken of, can by no possibility be anything else), and the simple gist of the passage: the bird dies where it is struck, viz., high up in the air. Compare Eurip. *Hel.* 226:

ο δε σος εν αλι κυμασι τε λελοιπε βιοτον.

But let us not be too sure, nor dismiss the passage too summarily. Not only other authors, but even Virgil himself elsewhere, understand by *vita* not what we understand by our word *life*, but what we understand by our word *soul*; not a state or manner of being, but a self-subsistent substantive being, *ex. gr.*, 6. 724:

“ principio caelum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
 lucentemque globum lunae, Titaniaque astra,
 spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
 hinc hominum pecudumque genus, *vita*que volantum,
 et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.”

6. 292 :

“ et ni docta comes tenues sine corpore *vitas*
 admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
 irruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.”

10. 819 :

. . . “ tum *vita* per auras
 concessit moesta ad Manes corpusque reliquit.”

12. 952 :

“ *vita*que cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.”

Georg. 4. 223 :

“ hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
 quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere *vitas*.”

And in the Homeric original, the *θυμος*, or spirit of the bird, is described as flying away from the body as soon as the bird is struck: *ωκυς δ' εκ μελεων θυμος πτατο*. If it is in this sense “*vita*” is used in our text, then the meaning of the passage will be not merely *died in the sky*, but *left its soul in the sky behind it, and brought back the arrow to the ground*—a meaning remarkably confirmed by the epigram of Antipater the Sidonian, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 2 :

ταν μεροπων Πειθω, το μεγα στομα, ταν ισα Μουσais
 φθεγγαμεναν κεφαλαν, ω ξενη, Μαιονιδew
 ad' ελαχον νασιτις Ιου σπιλας' ου γαρ εν αλλw
 ιeron, αλλ' εν εμοι, πνευμα θανων ελιπεν,

where Homer is represented not merely as having died in the island of Ios, but as having left his spirit there: “dying left his spirit in me,” and which appears besides to have been the meaning found in the passage by Servius, who not only quotes the *ωκυς δ' εκ μελεων θυμος πτατο* of the Homeric original, but subjoins to Virgil's *VITAMQUE RELIQUIT IN ASTRIS* the explanatory: “unde sumpserat *VITAM*, ut: ‘hinc hominum pecudumque genus *vita*que volantum.’” That the former of the two possible interpretations of our text is the correct one, and that the bird is described not as leaving its soul in the sky, but only as leav-

ing life in the sky, *i. e.*, as dying in the sky, is placed beyond doubt by the following parallel of Corippus, *Justin. Minor. 1. 118*:

“ surrexere citi, *verbisque in sede relictis*,
ad medios venere locos ”

[*not* they rose up, and leaving their talk behind them on the seat, came, &c., *but* they rose up, and leaving off talking where they had been sitting, came, &c., *i. e.*, they ceased to talk where they were sitting, rose up and came].

DECIDIT EXANIMIS, &c., . . . SAGITTAM (vv. 517-8).—Three clauses, the two latter of which are explanatory of the first; in other words, the first clause is a theme, of which the two latter clauses are variations.

DECIDIT.—The fall, as that which is most striking—which first and most attracts the observer’s attention—is placed in the emphatic position, first word of the first clause, and out of it as a germ may be considered as evolved the whole remainder of the three clauses. EXANIMIS DECIDIT, had the verse allowed such collocation, had been very much less graphic.

ASTRIS.—*The sky*, exactly as, 2. 153, “sidera,” *the sky*; and 5. 628, “sidera,” *skies*. See Rem. on “rorantia astra,” 3. 567.

520-526.

QUI TAMEN—FLAMMIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 520).

ORS

CONTENDIT ■ *Rom., Med.* (CONTENDIT); “CONTENDIT in Romano et in Mediceo est et plerisque aliis antiquis exemplaribus,” Pierius. ■■■ Wagner (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*); Heyne.

CONTORSET ■ *Pal.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Philippe; Haupt.

Lachmann (ad Lucret. 3. 405) corrects AETHERIAS into AERIAS, and argues at considerable length on the difference between the

two words: "neque credere possum poetam cultissimum [viz., Virgilium] tam improprie locutum esse quam nobis librarii persuadere voluerunt." Nay, this is exactly what Virgil delights to do, as if he took an especial pleasure in torturing grammarians, and especially German grammarians.

HIC OCULIS SUBITO OBIICITUR MAGNOQUE FUTURUM AUGURIO MONSTRUM (vv. 522-3).—Our author, meaning to express, not that the object now presented to the eyes was held by the actual beholders to be monstrous, but that an object was now presented to the eyes which was afterwards (*i.e.*, by future generations) looked upon as monstrous, says, not HIC OCULIS MONSTRUM OBIICITUR, MAGNOQUE FUTURUM AUGURIO, but HIC OCULIS OBIICITUR MAGNOQUE FUTURUM AUGURIO MONSTRUM; the latter being tantamount to HIC OCULIS OBIICITUR *id quod apud posteros erit* (vel *a posteris existimabitur fuisse*) MONSTRUM AUGURIO MAGNO.

DOCUIT (vs. 523).—Sciz. *id verum fuisse MONSTRUM et mali ominis, quod a parentibus falso acceptum erat veluti boni ominis.*

SERAQUE TERRIFICI CECINERUNT OMINA VATES (vs. 524).—The omens which the seers afterwards drew from the object now presented to the eyes of the Trojans were SERA, *late*; or, more strictly, *too late* ("serum dicitur quicquid tardius fit, quam solet, decet, expectatur, metuitur," Gessner), because not drawn until after the seers had been taught by the event: DOCUIT POST EXITUS INGENS. That the seers here spoken of are not contemporary, but future seers prophesying after the event, and therefore that Wagner's explanation ("vates, omen illud interpretantes, aliquanto post gravi cum rerum conversione eventurum canebant") is incorrect, is proved, first, by the position of MONSTRUM after OBIICITUR and FUTURUM (see above); secondly, by the word FUTURUM itself; thirdly, by DOCUIT POST EXITUS INGENS, of which SERAQUE TERRIFICI CECINERUNT OMINA VATES is plainly no more than the complement; and fourthly, by the proper force of SERA, pointed out above. Compare Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Antonini Getæ*, 3: "fuit etiam aliud omen ingens postea, ut exitus docuit, huius facinoris, quod evenit. Nam cum infantis Getæ natalem Severus commendare vellet, hostiam popa nomine Antoninus percussit: quod tunc nec quaesitum, nec animadversum, post

vero intellectum est." Compare also in Statius, *Theb.* 6. 934, the similar portent of an arrow returning and falling beside the quiver, and the total ignorance at the time of the nature of the portent:

"quis fluere occultis rerum neget omina causis?
fata patent homini: piget inservare, peritque
venturi promissa fides. Sic omina casum
fecimus, et vires auxit Fortuna nocendi.
campum emensa brevi fatalis ab arbore tacta,
horrendum visu, per quas modo fugerat auras,
venit arundo retro, versumque a fine tenorem
pertulit, et notae iuxta ruit ora pharetras.
multa duces errore serunt: hi nubila, et altos
occurrisse Notos: adverso roboris ictu
tela repulsa alii. Penitus latet exitus ingens,
monstratumque nefas: uni remeabile bellum,
et tristes domino spondebat arundo recursus."

Also Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 4. 13: ο δε φανερον τοις αποβεβηκοσι
γεγονεν. Ovid, *Met.* 3. 349:

"vana diu visa est vox auguris. Exitus illam
resque probat."

SIGNAVITQUE VIAM FLAMMIS (vs. 526)—complementary of ARSIT—is thrown in parenthetically between the strictly cohering clauses NAMQUE VOLANS LIQUIDIS IN NUBIBUS ARSIT ARUNDO and TENUESQUE RECESSIT CONSUMPTA IN VENTOS. Compare Remm. on 2. 148, 695; 3. 571; 4. 483.

LIQUIDIS IN NUBIBUS (vs. 525).—*In the clear sky*; as if he had said *liquido in caelo*. So, 7. 699, "*liquida nubila*," *the clear sky*; and 4. 245, "*turbida nubila*," *the turbid sky*. Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 2. 270:

. . . "nec segnus illa
paruit officio, sed raptis protinus armis
ocior excusso *per nubila* sidere tendit"

(where "*nubila*" is *the sky, the clear sky*, inasmuch as it is neither in clouds nor in a cloudy sky that shooting stars are seen). *Ibid.* 3. 293:

. . . "immortalesque Molossi
latrantes mediis circum iuga nubibus ibant"

[not at all meaning *actually in the midst of clouds*, but as we say *in the clouds, in the region of the clouds*]. Also *Aen. 11. 722*: “*sublimem in nube columbam*” [not surely *high in a cloud*, but *high in the sky*]. Let no one say the Latin is not a difficult language, or be misled by my misinterpretation of this passage in my “*Adversaria Virgiliana*,” as published in the *Göttingen Philologus*. Compare 7. 65, “*liquidum trans aethera*,” where “*aethera*” as little means the ether properly so called, *i.e.*, the ether contradistinguished from the aer or sky, as *NUBIBUS* in our text means the clouds properly so called, *i.e.*, the clouds contradistinguished from the aer or sky. See Remm. on “*aethere in alto*,” 6. 437; and “*nubila*,” 4. 246.

It is in this sense, viz., of *clear*, that *liquidus* is applied to water (*Aen. 7. 760*), to the voice (*Georg. 1. 410*), to fire (*Ecl. 6. 33*), to amber (*Aen. 8. 402*), to honey (*Georg. 4. 102*), to augmentation (*Quintil. 5, c. ult.*), &c., and it is probably also in this its original sense the same word, in its English form *liquid* (generally meaning *fluid*), has been applied to the air by Milton in his *Comus*, 976 :

“ to the ocean now I fly,
and those happy climes that lie
where day never shuts his eye,
up in the broad fields of the sky ;
there I suck the *liquid air*
all amidst the gardens fair
of Hesperus, and his daughters three
that sing about the golden tree ;”

and to noon by Gray in his *Ode to Spring* :

“ the insect youth are on the wing,
eager to taste the honied spring,
and float amid the *liquid noon*.”

Bad augur as I must acknowledge myself to be, I shall venture on an explanation of this omen, concerning which unfortunately Servius is wholly silent, and which, variously interpreted by various commentators, has yet remained, as I think, an unsolved enigma down to the present day. Let us consider the circumstances. The arrow is shot by Acestes ;

the prodigy should therefore refer to Acestes. As if to place the matter beyond doubt that the prodigy does actually refer to Acestes, we have it referred to him by no less an authority than the express words of Aeneas himself :

SUME, PATER, NAM TE VOLUIT REX MAGNUS OLYMPI
TALIBUS AUSPICIIS EXSORTEM DUCERE HONOREM.

In the face of this declaration, to refer the omen either, with La Cerda and Voss, to the burning of Aeneas's ships by the Trojan women, or, with Heyne, to the wars of the Romans in Sicily, or, with Wagner (ed. Heyn.), to the war between the Trojans and Rutulians, or with Wagner (*Praest.*) to the Julian sidus, is to give the lie to Aeneas and make him stultify himself. Add to this that Silius's imitated prodigy, 16. 580 (viz., the taking root of Scipio's javelin in the ground and shooting up into a tree, the javelin being thrown, like Acestes's arrow, after the several competitors had won their respective prizes), is interpreted altogether in reference to the future greatness of Scipio :

“ ad maiora iubent praesagi tendere vates ;
id monstrare deos, atque hoc portendere signis,”

and we have already a very strong argument that the taking fire of the arrow of Acestes is to be interpreted as referring to Acestes, not to matters with which Acestes has nothing whatsoever to do.

The next particular to be observed is that the arrow was shot towards the sky (AETHERIAS IN AURAS), *i.e.*, towards heaven, the seat of the gods and deified heroes, and ultimate goal of the hero's aspirations while “ inter mortales degens,” or, as we say, in the flesh. The arrow so shot takes fire and disappears, but not without marking a fiery path (SIGNAVITQUE VIAM FLAMMIS). Now I take this path to be the way of the soul to heaven, and of course, in this instance, of no other soul than Acestes's. The taking fire of Acestes's arrow on its flight upwards through the sky is thus a prefiguration of the ascent of Acestes's soul to heaven, *i.e.*, of the future apotheosis of Acestes. Of course I shall be told that this is all very imaginative. To be sure it is,

but so are all interpretations of omens, and this one is certainly not more so—whatever less so it may be—than the other interpretations which have been offered. Whatever imagination is in it is, besides, less mine than of the old Romans themselves and old Roman poets. So similar is this account of Acestes's arrow taking fire in its flight and marking a path in the sky to the account we have of the taking fire and conversion into a star of Julius Caesar's soul in its ascent to heaven, that we might, without putting any great violence on either passage, substitute Ovid's account of the latter for Virgil's account of the former, and *vice versâ*, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 843 :

“ vix ea fatus erat, media eum sede senatus
constitit alma Venus, nulli cernenda, suique
Caesaris eripuit membris, nec in aëra solvi
passa recentem animam, caelestibus intulit astris.
dumque tulit, *lumen capere*, atque *ignescere* sensit;
emisitque sinu. Luna volat altius illa,
flammiferumque trahens spatioso limite *crinem*
stella micat.”

The two accounts differ only so far as two accounts must differ, one of which is an account of the type, the other of the thing typified. Acestes being of divine origin (verse 711: “*divinae stirpis Acestes*”), was like Aeneas himself, Hercules, Julius Caesar, and others of divine descent, the more likely to be called to heaven.

TERRIFICI (vs. 524).—“Sunt in ostento nonnulla (sagitta in altum emissa et flamma ardens) quae ad laetum, alia (quod sagitta ardens consumitur quodque flamma tractum in caelo facit) quae ad tristem eventum ducant, unde TERRIFICI VATES memorati,” Heyne. “VATES, omen illud interpretantes, aliquanto post gravi cum rerum conversione eventum habiturum canebant,” Wagner (*Praest.*). Erroneous, as I think. The prodigy is altogether good. For, first, it is little likely that the judicious poet who deferred the actually impending calamity, the burning of the ships, until the games were entirely over and out of the way, verse 604 :

“ hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit, &c.”

would have allowed the festivities to be clouded by an omen portending either that calamity or any other. And secondly, Aeneas, in as express words as possible, not merely applies, as above observed, the omen to Acestes, but pronounces it good, and accepts it, and Acestes himself *rejoices* in it, vv. 530, &c.:

NEC MAXIMUS OMEN

ABNUIT AENEAS; SED LAETUM AMPLEXUS ACESTEN,
MUNERIBUS CUMULAT MAGNIS, AC TALIA FATUR:
SUME, PATER; NAM TE VOLUIT REX MAGNUS OLYMPI
TALIBUS AUSPICIIIS EXSORTEM DUCERE HONOREM.

Where is here the either wholly or partially bad omen? Where the “triste,” where the “quod dii avertant”? On the contrary, what words could more explicitly declare that the omen was received as of the happiest augury by all present?

I shall be told: “yes, received by all present as happy, but nevertheless really foreboding ill, as shown by the words:

DOCUIT POST EXITUS INGENS,

SERAQUE TERRIFICI CECINERUNT OMINA VATES.”

Now these words show indeed that the precise import of the omen, viz., that it prefigured the ascent of Acestes’s soul to heaven, was not understood by those present, but they by no means show that the omen was not of good augury. The MAGNO AUGURIO MONSTRUM and the EXITUS INGENS indicate not the bad quality, but the great and important signification, of the omen, not fully understood until the time of its fulfilment, viz., at the death of Acestes; and TERRIFICI VATES are not seers terrifying with their interpretation of this particular omen, but seers terrifying (terrific) as seers always are. Compare the present deity in the Cumaean Sibyl (6. 53), not merely making the hard bones of the Trojans thrill with a cold tremor, but astounding even the stone walls of the shrine, before one single word of the oracular announcement has been uttered:

. . . “neque enim ante dehiscent
attonitae magna ora domus. Et talia fata
conticuit: gelidus Teucris per dura eucurrit
ossa tremor.”

SIGNAVITQUE VIAM FLAMMIS (vs. 526).—The flaming arrow marks the way to heaven for the soul of Acastes, exactly as the flaming meteor marks the way to Ida for Aeneas fleeing from Troy, 2. 696 (where see Rem.) :

“ cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva
signantemque vias ;”

and as the admiral's ship marks the way for the rest of the fleet to follow, Senec. *Agam.* 423 :

“ signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
et clara lentum remigem monuit tuba,
aurata primas prora signavit vias,
aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant ;”

and essentially, though not circumstantially, as the light placed on the turret by Hero marked Leander's way across the Hellespont, Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 35 :

“ protinus in summa vigilantia lumina turre
ponimus, assuetæ signa notamque vias,”

with which compare the “signa” made by the pigeons which guide Aeneas to the golden bough, 6. 198 :

“ observans quæ signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.”

MONSTRUM (vs. 523).—One of the words in the account which has given rise to the erroneous opinion that the phenomenon was of evil augury. But monstrum is, as observed by Servius (3. 59), an indifferent word (*medium*), and may be taken either way, as 9. 120 :

. . . “ hinc virgineae, mirabile monstrum,
reddunt se totidem facies, pontoque feruntur,”

and 2. 680 (of the miraculous fire which appeared on the head of Iulus) :

“ cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.”

529-541.

ATTONITIS—HONORI

V.A.R. LECT. (vs. 535).

IPSIUS—HABEBIS **■** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **■■■** P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

IPSIUS—HABEBIS *OMITTED* **■■■** by Hecker (*Mnemos.* 1, p. 393) on the ground that it is but a cumbersome tautology. And so it is, no doubt, according to the Peerlkampian notions of tautology; but that it is so is not only not evidence that the line is not Virgil's, but, as I think, actually evidence presumptive that it is.

ATTONITIS HAESERE ANIMIS (vs. 529).—"HAESERE seems to include both doubt and fixedness of attitude," Conington. It is not doubt and fixedness of attitude which are expressed, but astonishment and fixedness of attitude; the former by ATTONITIS ANIMIS and the latter by HAESERE.

IPSIUS ANCHISAE LONGAEVI HOC MUNUS HABEBIS (vs. 535).—"You shall have as your own a present given to Anchises himself.' But the sense may be: 'You shall receive a present from Anchises himself,' the spirit of the dead consenting to the transference of a gift which had belonged to him," Conington. That the present spoken of is one not given to Acastes by Anchises, but which had been formerly given to Anchises himself, is, I think, placed beyond doubt by the next line but one, which seems to be added for the purpose of explaining and completing the line before us.

NEC BONUS EURYTION PRAELATO INVIDIT HONORI (vs. 541).—"I.e., praelatum honorem," Servius. "Non INVIDIT alium sibi honore praeferri," La Cerda. "HONORI quem alter ipsi praelulerat, praeripuerat," Heyne. "Quippe ipsius HONORI praelatus est honor Acastae," Wagner (1861). "Honos enim Acastae suo HONORI (Eurytionis) praelatus est," Gossrau. "Grudged

the rank or prize set above his own," Conington. All, as I think, erroneously. HONORI is not the thing envied, but the person envied. HONORI is Acestes, called "honos" on account of his honour, his rank, his dignity, just as if Virgil had said *praelato Acestae*, or *praelato regi*. It is the usual poetic substitution of the abstract for the concrete, exactly as Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 229 (of the marriage of Stella and Violantilla) :

"vixdum emissa dies, et iam socialia praesto
omina, iam festa fervet domus utraque pompa :
fronde virent postes, effulgent compita flammis,
et pars immensae gaudet celeberrima Romae.
omnis honos, cuncti veniunt ad limina fasces :
omnis plebeio teritur praetexta tumultu,"

where "*omnis honos*" is equivalent to *omnes dignitates*, i.e., all the dignitaries, all the magistrates, all the authorities, as we say, or, as the Germans say, all the *behörden*. Compare Varro, *L. L.* 5. 80 : "Incipiam ab *honore* publico. Consul nominatus, qui consuleret populum et senatum." Cic. *Orat.* (ed. Lamb. p. 254) : "non enim *omnis fortuna*, non *omnis honos*, non *omnis auctoritas*, non *omnis aetas*, nec vero locus, aut tempus, aut auditor *omnis*, eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est, aut sententiarum." Lucan, 2. 18 :

. . . "latuit plebeio tectus amictu
omnis honos ; nullos comitata est purpura fasces."

Juvenal, 1. 108 :

. . . "ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis : expectant ergo tribuni ;
vincant divitiae ; sacro nec cedat *honori*,
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis."

Apul. *Florid.* 1. 7 : "Eo igitur omnium metu factum, solus Alexander ut ubique imaginum similis esset ; utique omnibus statuis et tabulis et toreumatis idem vigor acerrimi bellatoris, idem ingenium *maximi honoris*, eadem forma viridis iuventae, eadem gratia relicinae frontis cerneretur" (where Hildebrand : "'honor maximus,' pro homine honorificentissimo, summo honore digno ;" and see Arntzen. ad Plin. *Paneg.* 49. 8, p. 227. Auson. *Gratiar. Actio* (Amstel. 1671, p. 703) : "Consulatus hic meus orat atque

obsecrat ut obnoxiam tibi uni sinas fieri eius *dignitatem quem omnibus praetulisti*" (i.e., "ego tua gratia consul oro atque obsecro"). *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner), 9. 671 (in pharum Smyrnae):

τις τοσον εργον ετευξε; τις η πολις; η το γερας τι;
 Αμβροσιος Μυλασευς τον φαρον ανθυπατος

(where το γερας τι; = "qui honos?" i.e., "quo clarus honore?" as it is translated by Grotius). HONORI so understood as the person, not the thing—the concrete not the abstract—the passage presents no further difficulty; everything goes smooth and easy. Eurytion does not envy Acestes's being preferred to him, inasmuch as Acestes is preferred to him not because he is the better archer, but because he is the king, the princeps to whom all must yield, with whom no one is to compete, as Soph. *Ajax*, 666 (Ajax speaking):

τοιγαρ το λοιπον εισομεσθα μεν θεοις
 εικειν, μαθησομεσθα δ' Ατρειδας σεβειν.
 αρχοντες εισιν, ασθ' υπεικτεον. τι μη;
 και γαρ τα δεινα και τα καρτερωτατα
 τιμαις υπεικει' τουτο μεν νιφοστιβεις
 χειμῶνες εκχωρουσιν ευκαρπω θερει'
 εξισταται δε νυκτος αιανης κυκλος
 τη λευκοπωλω φεγγος ημερα φλεγειν'
 δεινων τ' αημα πνευματων εκοιμισε
 στενοντα ποντον· εν δ' ο παγκρατης υπνος
 λυει πεδησας, ουδ' αιε λαβων εχει.

And exactly to express that it is for this reason he is preferred, Virgil uses the word "honos," the abstract, in preference to the name either of the person, or of the dignity itself; therefore neither *Acestae*, nor even *regi*, but HONORI. This, however, is not the only reason for the use of the abstract on this occasion. The name had been used in the immediately preceding line, and could not well be used again till after an interval. The mere pronoun was too bare, meagre, and unpoetical. A substitute other than the pronoun was therefore necessary, and both *rex* and *heros* were commonplace in comparison of "honos" used as a concrete.

The right understanding of HONORI in this place leads

directly to the right understanding of the same word in the hitherto never rightly understood “nec cedit honori,” 3. 483. Let us understand “honori” here also as the person, not the thing, as Helenus, not the chlamys, and all difficulty vanishes. Andromache does not keep back out of respect to her lord and master the king, the “interpres Phoebi,” but presses forward to load Ascanius with *her* gifts also. “Nec cedit honori” thus repeats the “nec minus” with which the sentence begins—“nec cedit honori [Heleno];” “nec minus [quam Helenus].” Nor let the reader not observe the perfect parallelism: in both cases a parenthetic negative, NEC INVIDIT HONORI, “nec cedit honori;” and in both cases the “honos” spoken of, the royal dignity, a king. The same word is used in the same sense by Sil. 8. 43:

“quanquam inter Latios Annae stet numen *honores*.”

PRÆLATO (vs. 541).—*I.e.*, PRÆLATO *sibi*, *preferred to himself*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 41: “irascitur [Circe] illi [Scyllæ], quæ *sibi prælata* est.” Flor. 4. 4: “Antonius, *prælatum sibi* Octavium furens susceperat bellum.” Guillelmus Apuliens. lib. 4 (p. 132):

“sed quia iam tantos compleverat ipse paratus,
a tantis se posse negat discedere coeptis.
advenit interea coniux, comitesque rogati;
egregiam sobolem multo spectante Rogerum
accersit populo, cunctisque videntibus illum
haeredem statuit, praeponit et omnibus illum;
ipse quibus *prælatus erat*, dignissimus haeres,
iste patris tanti patruelibus atque paternis
moribus ornatus, quantæ foret indolis, ipso
primaevæ cultu virtutis significabat.”

545-602.

AT PATER—AGMEN

VAR. LECT. (vs. 595).

LUDUNTQUE PER UNDAS ■ *Rom., Med.* (*a. m. sec.* in red ink). ■■■ Donat.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Wakef.; Voss.

LUDUNTQUE PER UNDAS *OMITTED* ■ *Pal., Med.* (*a. m. pr.*); "In oblongo codice et aliquot aliis desideratur," Pierius. *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED* ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Weichert; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 602).

NUNC PUERI · TROIANUM ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ 1st. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1472; Paris, 1600; Voss.

NUNC · PUERI TROIANUM ■■ 1st. ■■■ Princ.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676); Maillaire; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

NUNC · PUERI · TROIANUM ■■■ H. Steph.; Burm.; Bask.; Brunck.

NUNC PUERI TROIANUM (without any interpunctuation) ■■ 1st. ■■■ Mod.; R. Steph.; La Cerda.

The examination in detail of the several parts into which this account of the TROIANUM AGMEN is, as it were, naturally divisible, will not only facilitate its comprehension as a whole, but place its perfect beauty in a clearer light. (■), and according to our author's almost invariable method, there is the general outline or sketch (contained on this occasion in the message to Ascanius, vv. 548-551), which, raising and preparing our expectation, informs us, almost with the precision of a programme, that Ascanius is about to present a *ludus*, in which he will perform a principal part himself, and which will consist of the evolutions of a troop of boys mounted on horseback, divided

into turms and armed. (2), (vv. 553-555) the spectacle commences immediately; the boys mounted on spirited caracoling horses (see below), and divided into turms (each turm led by a mounted boy-captain, "ductor," and both turm and captain under the surveillance of a manege- or riding-master, "magister," accompanying them on foot; see below), parade in brilliant array before their parents, and are received by the assembled multitude with loud and wondering approbation. (3), advantage is taken of the time during which the boys make the circuit of the spectators, to give (without interruption to the action) a description (vv. 556-574) of their equipment and array. This description is (a) *general*: all have their hair cut short or in a circular crop; all bear two cornel lances; some, quivers besides; all wear the torques, a circlet of twisted gold resting on the upper part of the breast and surrounding the neck; and the whole AGMEN consists of three turms, not united into one body (as with us several companies into one regiment), but, as the poet is particularly careful to explain (vs. 562), separate and distinct from each other, and each under its own independent leader; and (b) *particular*, each leader being described (1) by name, (2) (with the exception of Ascanius, in whose case such particularisation was unnecessary) by family, and (3) two of them by their horses, the breeds of which, and in one case even the very colour, are specified. (4), the description of the equipments and array being finished, the poet returns to the suspended narrative (see Remm. on l. 150; 3. 530), and taking it up at the very link where he had dropped it (sciz. TRINACRIAE MIRATA FREMIT TROIAEQUE IUVENTUS, vs. 555, words which are almost repeated in EXCIPIUNT PLAUSU PAVIDOS, &c., vs. 575), goes on to say that the young men (equipped and divided into three turms as described), having made the circuit of the theatre amid the applauses of the spectators, receive the signal from Epytides to begin their evolutions. (5), (vv. 580-582) the first evolution: each half of each turm turns round and trots off from its corresponding half (as far sciz. as the limits of the theatre permit), and then at the word of command faces about, and charges it; i.e., each half, file or choir of six charges its own correspond-

ing, but now widely separated ("diductum"), half, file or choir of six. (6), (vv. 583-587) the succeeding evolutions, and the whole sham battle. **And** (7), (vv. 588-595) two comparisons: (a), the tracks of their courses are as intricate, and impossible to follow, as the mazes of the Cretan labyrinth; (b), the boys themselves as beautiful in their forms, as glancing and brilliant (in their equipment), as swift, agile, and graceful in their motions, as dolphins sporting in the Carpathian or Libyan waters.

Perhaps never was so complicated an object presented to the mind's eye with so much clearness, precision, and brevity, and at the same time with so much ease and sweetness. We are lost in double admiration; on the one hand, of the *ludus* itself, of the youthful beauty and dazzling array of the performers, of their intricate and rapid, but distinct and unconfused, movements; on the other, of the *lucidus ordo*, the perfect and transparent clearness, grace, and fluency of the description. Or rather, our double admiration is one and undivided; we are unable to separate the poet from the performers, the description from the thing described. It is not a narrative, but a fact; not a picture, but a real object; so perfectly from beginning to end does every word, every pencil stroke, blend and identify itself with the thing represented. Nor is this all: the *Ludus Troiae* has a relative, as well as an intrinsic, excellence; is not only beautiful in itself, but (a), beautiful in its novelty—a new species of entertainment, the invention not improbably of the son of the leader of the expedition, and now enacted for the first time, under his own immediate direction, himself taking a principal part; (b), beautiful in its sudden and unexpected exhibition; and (c), beautiful in its position at the close of the other games. Those other games had been of a grave and serious description; there was in each of them a contention, a greater or less intermixture of bad passions; there was boasting and rivalry, victory and defeat, misfortune or evil omen, and well nigh death itself. Here, on the contrary, the contention was only simulated; there was no angry, sullen, or disappointed combatant, no victory dearly bought at the price of a friend's or companion's defeat; all were in harmony, sporting like dolphins through the waves; to the per-

formers, no less than the spectators, it was a real *ludus*. Compare Manil. 4. 227:

“sunt, quibus et *simulacra* placent et *ludus in armis*,
(*tantus amor pugnae est*), *discuntque per otia bellum*.”

With the greatest propriety, therefore, and attention to contrast, was the *Ludus Troiae* placed at the end of all the other games; in which position, like the afterpiece of our theatre, it tended by its gaiety, liveliness, and innocence, to obliterate any painful impressions which the more serious character of the preceding pieces might have left upon the mind, and to put all parties concerned, whether actors or spectators, in harmony and good humour with themselves and with each other. Further still; this concluding game, beautiful in itself, beautiful in its novelty, unexpected exhibition, and contrast, had besides a peculiar beauty in the eyes of those for whom our author wrote, the Roman nobility and gentry; whom it reminded, not only of the origin of the Roman empire, and in some instances of the individual founders of their families, but of the performances of their own children in this very *ludus* as reinstituted by Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 43). Lastly, and perhaps not of least importance to the poet, the description could not fail to be agreeable to Augustus himself, not merely as commemorative of the first beginnings of that power which he now wielded co-extensive with the world itself, and of the cradle of his own Julian, heaven-descended race, but especially as affording testimony likely to endure for ever, with what *pietas* towards the gods, the Romans, and his own family, he had reinstituted the ancient, hereditary game, perfect in every the most minute point and particular, as it could not fail to be, the poet having, with the art of a prophet prophesying after the event, formed the plan and drawn the picture of the ancient game on the model of the reinstituted one.

With Virgil's description of the *Ludus Troiae* compare the account given by Apuleius (*Met.* 10. 29) of the Pyrrhic dance: “*Puelli puellaeque virenti florentes aetatula, forma conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi, Graecanicam saltantes Pyrrhicam, dispositis ordinationibus, decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in*

orbe rotarum flexuosi, nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, et in quadratum patorem cuneati, et in catervae dissidium separati. At ubi discursus reciproci multimodas ambages tubae terminalis cantus explicuit," &c. Compare also Claudian's very happy imitation, if indeed it be imitation, of the passage before us, *De quart. Cons. Honor. 539* :

"cum vectaris equo, simulacraque Martia ludis,
quis molles sinuare fugas, quis tendere contum
acrior, aut subitos melior flexisse recursus?"

and the same author's elaborate description of the Pyrrhic dance, in his *Paneg. de sext. Cons. Honor. 621, et seqq.*; also the account given in the Saints' Legendary ("Legendario volgare dove si contiene la vita de tutti li sancti da la sancta chiesa approbati," in Vinegia, 1551, fol. 164) of the military exercises of the eleven thousand martyrs of Cologne, in no respect differing from those of the *Ludus Troiae* except that they were on foot: "Apparechiate le victualie per tre anni, rivelo la regina a commilitoni soi li secreti, conjurano tutti nela militia. Siche hora incominciano li giochi belici, hora corrono, hora discorrono, alcuna volta simulavano de combattere, alcuna volta de fugire, exercitati ogni generatione di giochi nessuna cosa che fusse lor venuta nel animo la lassavano vacua, alcuna volta ritornavano al mezzo giorno, alcuna volta quasi al obscura notte. Ordinavano li principi & li primati a tanto grande spectaculo, & riempievano tutti di ammiratione & de gaudio."

AT PATER AENEAS, NONDUM CERTAMINE MISSE, &c. (vs. 545).
—The following considerations leave no doubt on my mind that this exhibition of the TROIANUM AGMEN was presented by Aeneas to the assembly unexpectedly and by surprise. First, no such exhibition was mentioned, or even so much as alluded to, by Aeneas in his enumeration (vv. 66, *et seqq.*) of the contests about to be enacted. Secondly, whilst the words connecting the accounts of the other contests plainly intimate that all those contests succeeded each other in regular, expected succession ("hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit," vs. 286; "post, ubi confecti cursus, et dona peregit: 'nunc, si cui,'" &c., vs. 362; "Pro-

tenus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta invitat," vs. 485), there is not only no such conjunction of this contest to the preceding, but the disjunction plainly marks the contrast, the transition to something new, of a totally different kind, or out of the regular order. Thirdly, no reason can be assigned why the message was sent to Ascanius secretly (FIDAM AD AUREM) and before the termination of the arrow-shooting (NONDUM CERTAMINE MISSO), if it were not that the assembly might be surprised by the sudden and unexpected appearance of a new "certamen" at the very moment they supposed the amusements of the day to be concluded. Fourthly, the wonder of the assembly at the unexpected sight is actually expressed by the word MIRATA (vs. 555). Fifthly, it was usual for exhibitors of games thus to surprise the people with something unexpected; compare Pliny, *Paneg.* 33: "quam deinde in edendo [sciz. spectaculo] liberalitatem, quam iustitiam exhibuit, omni affectione aut intactus, aut maior. Impetratum est, quod postulabatur; oblatum, quod non postulabatur. Institit ultro, et ut concupisceremus admonuit; ac sic quoque plura *inopinata*, plura *subita*." Sixthly, thus understood, the beautiful description becomes still more beautiful.

NONDUM CERTAMINE MISSO.—"CERTAMINE MISSO, ut *αγων*, pro *certantium ac spectantium turba dimissa*. Sed et pedestri sermone fere sic: ut apud Cicer. 'ante ludorum missionem,' lib. 5, *ad Div. 12*," Heyne. "Certantium ac spectantium turba dimissa," Wagner, *Virg. Br. En.* But first, Virgil has never so much as once throughout this whole description used the singular certamen in the sense of *ludi*, while, on the contrary, he has several times employed the plural "certamina" (vv. 66, 114, 596) to signify one single one of those contests whose *tout ensemble* constituted the *ludi*. Secondly, the words "misso certamine" where they occur before (vs. 286) are sufficiently proved both by the adjunct "hoc," and by the context, to refer to the immediately preceding "certamen," viz., that of the ship-race. Thirdly, the interpretation of Heyne and Wagner being adopted, there must of necessity have been an interval between the termination of the arrow-shooting and the appearance of Ascanius and the TROIANUM AGMEN in the circus; and then the difficulty arises,

by what means Aeneas was able to keep the assembly, which (see above) was quite unaware that another "certamen" was in preparation, from breaking up and dispersing at the end of the arrow-shooting. For these reasons I understand NONDUM CERTAMINE MISSEO to mean *sub finem huius certaminis* (sciz. *sagittarum*), or *antequam hoc certamen missum est*; an interpretation which (a) gives to "certamen" the same meaning which it has in vs. 286 already quoted, and (b) explains how it was that Aeneas was able to bring the TROIANUM AGMEN into the circus immediately on its being cleared at the termination of the "certamen" of the arrows, sciz. by his having despatched the message to Ascanius, NONDUM CERTAMINE MISSEO, *before the termination of that contest*.

CUSTODEM AD SESE COMITEMQUE IMPUBIS IULI EPHYTIDEN VOCAT,
ET FIDAM SIC FATUR AD AUREM (vv. 546-7).—Compare Stat. *Theb.* 1. 529 :

. . . "Acesten
(natarum haec alitrix, eadem et fidissima custos
lecta sacrum iustae Veneri occultare pudorem)
imperat acciri, tacitaque immurmurat auro."

In both cases the message is given in an undertone or whisper, not heard by anyone else. See also Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 9 : "in aurem dicere" (*to whisper*). Also Ovid, *Heroid.* 3. 23.

SI IAM PUERILE PARATUM AGMEN HABET SECUM CURSUSQUE INSTRUXIT EQUORUM, DUCAT AVO TURMAS, ET SESE OSTENDAT IN ARMIS (vv. 548-550).—We have here in the first clause, as usual, the gist of the whole matter, PUERILE AGMEN, the troop, or marching array, of boys : the particulars being added in one by one in the succeeding clauses, viz., the second clause informing us that it was a mounted troop (CURSUS EQUORUM), the third that it was a troop divided already and *ab initio* into turmas (TURMAS), and the fourth that it was armed (ARMIS). This is the structure so often previously animadverted on, and like to which there is nothing in the English, nor, I believe, in any modern language. As the description here begins with the general view of the whole, contained in the words PUERILE AGMEN, so at verse 602 it returns and winds up with a similar general view of the

whole, in which general view stress is laid in one half of the sentence on the idea contained in *PUERILE*, in the other half of the sentence on the idea contained in the word *AGMEN* :

TROIAQUE NUNC *PUERI* TROIANUM DICITUR *AGMEN*.

CURSUS EQUORUM.—*Ἰπποδρομῖαν*, Plut. *Cat.* 3.

OSTENDAT.—The corresponding English word *show* is, or rather was, very commonly applied to martial and chivalric displays, as Sir W. Scott, *Doom of Devorgoil*, 1. 1 :

“godden, good yeoman ; come you from the *weaponshaw* ?”

Ibid. :

. . . “knowst thou not, old Oswald,
this day attends the muster of the shire,
where the crown-vassals meet to *show* their arms,
and their best horse of service ?”

FRAENATIS (vs. 554).—Not *having bits in their mouths*, but *held in, checked, or restrained by bits*. The word is added in order to present to the reader the spirit, the mettle as we say, of the horses, impatient to go faster, and kept in by the fraena while making the circuit of the assembly. FRAENATIS thus comes to indicate that they were caracoling, or going a little from side to side, in their impatience to get on.

QUOS OMNIS EUNTES TRINACRIAE MIRATA FREMIT TROIAEQUE IUVENTUS (vv. 554-5).—“QUOS . . . FREMIT : cum fremitu, *i.e.*, fremente applausu, prosequitur. *Fremere* Graecorum more cum accūs. rei constructum, quae cum fremitu commemoratur, legitur etiam 7. 460, 11. 132. . . Nullum tamen mihi innotuit exemplum huic loco prorsus simile, ubi accusativus personae addatur, cui cum fremitu applaudatur,” Forbiger. It seems strange that Forbiger should have thus stopped short just as he was on the very point of discovering the truth, that his observation “nulum tamen mihi innotuit exemplum,” &c., did not lead him to the plain consequence that QUOS EUNTES is operated on, not by FREMIT, but by MIRATA. MIRATA FREMIT, *i.e.*, in plain prose, miratur cum fremitu. A precise parallel will be found, 7. 381 :

. . . “*stupet* inscia supra
impubesque manus, *mirata* volubile buxum,”

where, as in our text, the accusative depends, not (as at verse 32 of the second book) on the intransitive verb, but upon this same transitive participle, “*mirata*.”

OMNIBUS IN MOREM TONSA COMA PRESSA CORONA (vs. 556).—“PRESSA CORONA, i. e., *galea*; et sermone Homeri usus est. Nam galeam στεφανην dixit (*Il.* 7. 12). Et re vera corona non potest intelligi, cum sequatur (673) ‘galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,’” Servius (ed. Lion). Not the meaning, because, first, although later, viz., when actually engaged in the sham battle, they wore helmets, they did not wear helmets at present while they were only parading before, and showing themselves off to, their parents; at present their faces were bare, as plainly appears from the spectators recognising whose children they were from their features:

GAUDENTQUE TUENTES

DARDANIDAE, VETERUMQUE AGNOSCUNT ORA PARENTUM.

And secondly, if CORONA were actually here, in Virgil’s use of it, *galea*, what kind of a *galea* were TONSA *galea*?

This is the ancient explanation of TONSA COMA PRESSA CORONA. Let us now see what is the modern. “Coronati, et quidem, ut infr. v. 673 intelligitur ubi Ascanius ‘galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,’ CORONA super galeam imposita. COMA tamen vel sic a CORONA (non a galea) PRESSA dici potuit, quatenus haec caput ambiebat,” Heyne. “Ea corona imposita erat galeae (conf. 7. 751) non ipsi comae, quae ita dicitur premi ut omnis res subiecta alteri, etsi inter utramque aliquid (h. l. *galea*) intersit medium,” Wagner (1861). The hair pressed by the chaplet, though the helmet is between the chaplet and the hair! The pressure of the helmet is a matter of course, not a word need be said about it; but the pressure of the chaplet! who would ever dream of that, if not expressly mentioned? Let the Virgilian student who is discontent with the explanation of Servius adopt this explanation instead. He is welcome for me, if he so pleases. But I will not adopt it, till I am told how much the chaplet weighed, till I hear some reason why the hair, which never minds the pressure of the metal helmet, complains of the weight of the garland. Till then, I shall continue to insist (see

"Twelve Years' Voyage," and Gesner *in voc. pressus*) that CORONA is neither helmet nor chaplet, nor anything but the crop, the round crop of the hair, the round crop into which the previously long hair (COMA) of the boys had been reduced, restricted, confined (PRESSA), by cutting, by the shears (TONSA). Roman boys until the age of puberty wore their hair long. At the age of puberty the hair was cut for the first time, the cut-off locks presented in a temple to some god under whose especial patronage the individual was, and from that time forward the boy ranked among men. It is to this custom the words IN MOREM of our text refer; they all were cropped, TONSA COMA PRESSA CORONA, according to the custom. But where were their helmets? Hung from a loop in their dress, either on their chest before, or between their shoulders behind, ready to be put on as soon as they had shown themselves riding once or twice round the circus and going to begin the sham fight, as *Caes. Bell. Gall. 2. 21* (of soldiers attacked by the enemy while on their march): "Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad *galeas induendas* scutisque tegimenta detrahenda, tempus defuerit," where Lemaire: "Nam Romani, iter facientes, *galeas* plerumque pectori aut tergo appensas gestabant." At present they had their helmets slung by straps from their necks, according to the usual practice of Roman soldiers when on the march, and until immediately before the actual battle. By-and-by the boys put on their helmets, and when they did so were no longer distinguishable by their faces, and Ascanius had to throw off his when he wished to make himself known to the women.

CORNEA BINA FERUNT PRAEFIXA HASTILIA FERRO, PARS LEVES HUMERO PHARETRAS (vv. 557-8).—That is, *pars* FERUNT HASTILIA, PARS PHARETRAS. Compare verse 660:

. . . "rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem,
pars spoliant aras,"

i.e., "*pars* rapiunt focus ignem, *pars* spoliant aras."

IT PECTORE SUMMO FLEXILIS OBTORTI PER COLLUM CIRCULUS AURI (vv. 558-9).—An accurate description of the manner in

which the Romans wore the torques; neither on the neck, tight and close like a collar, nor yet suspended from the neck so as to hang down in an oblong shape on the front of the chest like a chain or necklace; but round the neck, and at the same time on the top of the breast; *i. e.*, resting on the top of the breast, surrounding and near to, but still at a little distance from, the neck, somewhat in the manner of the upper hem of the garment in which Christ is usually painted, or of the chemise of Titian's mistress. PECTORE SUMMO, without PER COLLUM, would have been *at the top, or upper part of the breast, as Dante, Purgat. 3. 111*:

“e mostrommi una piaga a summo il petto,”

where Blanc: “Nella parte più alta del petto, sotto la clavicola.” PER COLLUM, without PECTORE SUMMO, would have been *round the neck and above the clavicle in the manner of a collar*. The position of the torques was therefore intermediate; in other words, exactly on the clavicles.

FLEXILIS OBORTI . . . CIRCULUS AURI.—A description of the Roman torques is here substituted for the name: “*obortum aurum*” = *torques aureus*. Compare Isidor. 19. 31.

TRES EQUITUM NUMERO TURMAE TERNIQUE VAGANTUR DUCTORES (vv. 560-1).—TERNI is merely tres (as, 7. 538, “*quina*” is merely quinque), the ordinal being used in place of the numeral in order to give variety, and avoid the repetition of the same word.

VAGANTUR.—The beautiful term *vagari*, corresponding almost exactly to the German *wandeln*, is simply to go about here and there without aiming at a certain point or destination. It has, I believe, no precise English equivalent, excluding, as it does, the idea of not knowing where one is, included in *wander*; of fickleness, included in *rove*; of eccentricity or going beyond bounds, included in *ramble*; and of indolence or idleness, included in *saunter*.

DUCTORES (ἡγεμονες, Plut. Cat. 3).—On the occasion of the *Ludus Troiae* performed at Rome in the time of Sylla, one of these “ductores” was no less a person than Cato, aged four-

teen, chosen by the boys themselves, to the exclusion of Sextus, the boy appointed by Sylla. See *Plut. Cat. 3*.

BIS SENI (vs. 561).—Not merely *duodeni*, but literally BIS SENI, *twice six*, the turma or troop consisting, as plainly appears from vv. 580, 581 (where see Rem.), not merely of a leader followed by twelve cavaliers, but of a leader followed by twelve cavaliers arranged in two parallel files or chori of six each.

PUERI BIS SENI QUEMQUE SECUTI AGMINE PARTITO FULGENT PARIBUSQUE MAGISTRIS (vv. 561-2).—These lines inform us (α) that the three turms (each consisting of its two files of six each) do not parade round the circus in one body or company, but separated from each other by intervals: first one turm with its leader, then an interval; secondly, another turm with its leader, then an interval; thirdly, another turm with its leader. This is the force of AGMINE PARTITO. The whole “agmen” consists not merely of three turms, but the turms are separated from each other by intervals or intermediate spaces. And (β), that each turm of thirteen equestrians (viz., twelve mounted boys with their mounted leader, or “ductor.”) had also a “magister.”

PARIBUS MAGISTRIS.—Were all *equally* furnished with a “magister;” i.e., not that there were three “magistri,” each of whom had a co-ordinate authority over the whole three turmae, but that there was a separate “magister” for each separate turm.

MAGISTRIS.—That the “magistri” were not only quite distinct from the DUCTORES, but had authority or exercised surveillance over them, is placed beyond all doubt by verse 668, where the “magistri” are represented as in vain endeavouring to exert their authority over Ascanius, one of the DUCTORES. It may, I think, be presumed, first, that Epytides, the “custos” and “comes” of Ascanius, was the “magister” of Ascanius and his turm; secondly, that the “magistri” of the two other turms are purposely left unnamed, in order not to cumber the narration with unimportant particulars; and thirdly, that each “magister” entered on foot along with, and paraded round the arena on foot along with, his own particular turm, and afterwards, when the turms were ready to begin their evolutions, withdrew to a distance, and then finally one of them (Epytides, as we are informed

at verse 579) gave the signal for the commencement of the evolutions. See Goebel, *de Troiae ludo*, Düren, 1852.

VESTIGIA PRIMI ALBA PEDIS (vv. 566-7).—"Primorum pedum VESTIGIA," Servius. "Sed ubi istae maculae? . . . In pede dextro, me interprete," La Cerda. PEDIS is not *the foot*, literally, but *the leg, the whole limb*. Compare *Epigr. incert. in Chiron*. (*Anthol. Pal.*, append. Planud., 115):

ανδροθεν εκκεχυθ' ιππος: ανεδραμε δ' ιπποθεν αηηρ,
αηηρ νοσφι ποδων, κεφαλης δ' ατερ αιολος ιππος.

Sen. *Thyest.* 518 (Thyestes, clasping the knees of Atreus):

"hae te precantur *pedibus* intactae manus.
ponatur omnis ira, et ex animo tumor
erasus abeat: obsides fidei accipe
hos innocentes. ATR. Frater, a *genubus* manus
aufer, meosque potius amplexus pete."

Plaut. *Pseudolus*, 5. 1 (Pseudolus, lying drunk on the ground):

"quid hoc? siccine hoc fit? *pedes*, statin' an non?
an id voltis, ut me hic iacentem aliquis tollat?"

[not, surely, *feet*, are ye standing? but, *legs*, are ye standing?]. And Sidon. *Apoll. Ep.* 4. 20, quoted below. So we occasionally use the term to indicate the entire limb or leg of a table or chair.

PRIMI PEDIS.—The beginning or tip of the leg (*i. e.*, the foot), just as *prima terra*, the beginning or edge of the land (*i. e.*, the shore). See Rem. on l. 170, and compare Val. Flacc. 8. 44:

"sic ait, et *primis* supplex dedit oscula *palmis*;"

Prop. 2. 20. 11:

"at tu vix *primas* extollens gurgite *palmas*,"

in both which places "*primae palmae*" are the beginnings or tips of the hands, *q. d.*, the fingers. Compare also Sil. Ital. 16. 491:

. . . "instat non segnius acer
Hesperos, ac *prima* stringit *vestigia planta*
praegressae calcis,"

where "*prima planta*" is the toe. Sidon. *Apoll. Epist.* 4. 20:
"Regulorum autem sociorumque comitantum forma et in pace

terribilis: quorum *pedes primi* perone setoso talos adusque vinciebantur; genua, crura, suraeque sine tegmine" [the fore parts of the legs (*i.e.*, the feet) were shod up to the ancles with boots].

VESTIGIA PRIMI PEDIS.—Our nearest corresponding word to *vestigia*, as here used, is perhaps *steps*. The meaning of the three words taken together thus becomes: the steps of the foot, or (the singular being used for the plural) the steps of the feet.

PEDIS.—Singular for plural. Compare Eurip. *Hipp.* 1147:

τον ἀμφὶ λῆνας τροχόν
κατεχών ποδὶ γυμναδὸς ἵππου,

where ποδὶ is so far from signifying a single foot of a horse, and ἵππου from signifying a single horse, that ἵππου signifies the whole four horses of the quadriga, and ποδὶ their whole sixteen feet.

VESTIGIA PRIMI ALBA PEDIS.—The steps of the beginning of the leg were white, *i.e.*, the steps of the foot were white = the steps of all the feet were white, *i.e.*, all the feet were white, or the horse stepped with four white feet. Ausonius ("Descriptio egredientis sponsae") takes these words and (preserving their form and even their position in the verse) applies them to a bride issuing from her chamber: "*vestigia primi alba pedis.*" The meaning of both authors is the same: Ausonius's, that the bride's feet are white, *i.e.*, that she wears white shoes (compare S. Hermas, *Pastor*, 1, visio 4. 2: "Et ecce occurrit mihi virgo quaedam exornata tanquam de thalamo prodiens, tota in albis, et *calceamentis albis* circumdata"); Virgil's, that the horse's feet are white, *i.e.*, in jockey phrase, that he wears white stockings. Compare Sil. Ital. 16. 347:

"proximus, a primo distans quantum aequore curras
occupat ipse loci tantum: sed proximus ibat
Astur Panchates, patrium frons alba nitebat
insigne, et patrio pes omnis concolor albo,"

where the meaning is, that all the four legs of the horse were white. This Roman admiration for a white colour on the forehead and legs and feet of horses seems to have had an eastern origin [see hymn to the sun-god Savitri, translated by Meier

from the Veda, Meier's *Indisches Liederbuch*, Stuttgart, 1854, p. 9:

“*weissfüßige, falbe rosse bringen uns
das licht, am goldnen joch den wagen ziehend.*”

Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis*, tom. 1, p. 72, Leyden, 1846: “Erat rex [Al Mootamid] qui hostium caput percutiebat, et in quo coniunctae erant virtus bellica et liberalitas; qui oriebatur mundo tamquam plena luna viam monstrans; cuius neque manus unquam otiosa erat, neque digiti; nam modo (eminebat) eius calamus, modo eius cuspis. Dies, quos vivebat, nundinae solennes erant; eius Liberalitatis os subridebat; omnes eius noctes erant uniones, et Tempori *albae in pede notae albaeque in fronte maculae*, where the metaphor, drawn from white marks on the feet and forehead of horses, shows better than it had been possible for any direct encomium to show in what high esteem such marks were held. Lyon, *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 47: “Much importance is attached to the manner in which the legs are coloured, stockinged horses being in the extremes of good or bad luck, according to the disposition of the white”], and to have reached the Romans through the Greeks. Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 218 (ed. Markl.):

ω καλλιστους ειδομαν
χρυσοδαυδαλτοις στομοιοισι πωλους
κεντρω θεινομενους· τους
μεν μεσους, ζυγιους, λευ-
κοστικτω τριχι βαλιους·
τους δ' εξω, σειραφορους,
αυτηρεις καμπαισι δρομων,
πυρροτριχας, μονο-
χαλα δ' υπο σφυρα
ποικιλοδερμονας.

OLLI DISCURRERE PARES, ATQUE AGMINA TERNI DIDUCTIS
SOLVERE CHORIS (VV. 580-1).—“Ternis diversis turmis, quas
choros appellat, discedunt,” Heyne. “POSTQUAM CONSESSUM
spectantium coniuncto agmine lustraverunt, solvunt agmen ita
ut in tres pares numero turmas discedant,” Wagner, *Virg. Br.
En.* “Singuli in diversas partes abeunt; nam si quaeque turma
in tres partes divideretur, aut si terni aveherentur, ut duodecim

essent catervae trium unaquaeque puerorum (quae Heynii est sententia), confusum praeberetur spectaculum," Forbiger. But the young men are already in "ternis turmis," each turn led by its own chief, who is mentioned separately and by name; see vv. 560 *et seqq.* In these three turns AGMINE PARTITO FULGENT, and in these three turns they must be presumed to be (no mention having been made to the contrary), when, having exhibited themselves to the eyes of the whole consession (vs. 577), they receive the signal from Epytides to begin their evolutions. The description therefore (from OLLI as far as CHORIS) is not that of the formation of the three turns, but of their first movement or evolution, and the words are as precise as possible to that effect: OLLI, *they*; TERNI, *being* (as already described, vs. 560) *in three* (sciz. three turns), DISCURRERE PARES ATQUE, &c.

The meaning of TERNI having been established, the remainder of the sentence presents no serious difficulty. OLLI TERNI, *they, the three turns* (each consisting of two files or "chori," of six each); DISCURRERE, *have trotted off different ways* or *asunder* (currere being the generic term for quick motion of any kind whether on foot or horseback, whether on land or water; see "quorum aequora curro," vs. 235); PARES, *equal* (i. e., in two equal parts); ATQUE SOLVERE, *and* (sciz. by so trotting off different ways) *have dissolved*; AGMĪNA, *the solid bodies* (sciz. of which they, the three turns, consisted); DIDUCTIS CHORIS, *by forming out of them widely separated "chori,"* or, more literally, *their "chori" becoming widely separated.* Let us call the turns respectively

a x

b y

c z.

The halves *a, b, c*, trotting off to the left, and the halves *x, y, z*, trotting off to the right, become the widely separated "chori" (always consisting of six each)

<i>a</i>		<i>x</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>m</i> <i>n</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>c</i>		<i>z</i>

which, at the word of command, CONVERTERE VIAS INFESTAQUE

TELA TULERE, *wheel about and charge each other over the space m n.* The picture, therefore, which Virgil has here drawn in a few and appropriate strokes, is that of the three turms first parading before the assembled people, and then dividing into six "chori" (sciz. each turn into its two constituent halves, files, or "chori" of six each), which "chori" trot off to some distance from each other, and then, at the word of command, face about and charge each other, sciz. three "chori" against three "chori."

CONVERTERE VIAS, INFESTAQUE TELA TULERE (vs. 582).—Compare Tacit. *Ann.* 6. 35: "Modo equestris proelii more, frontis et tergi vices."

INDE ALIOS INEUNT CURSUS ALIOSQUE RECURSUS ADVERSI SPATIIS (vv. 583-4).—The opposed turms perform various evolutions back and forward over the same ground, on the respective sides of the arena; the mixing together of the opposed turms beginning only at ALTERNOSQUE.

ALTERNOSQUE ORBIBUS ORBES IMPEDIUNT (vv. 584-5).—Expedire being *to free from all disorder and embarrassment, to set in order, to lay out each in its proper place, to expedite*, its converse impedit is *to embarrass, complicate, and so obstruct, impede*. IMPEDIUNT in our text is, therefore, *to complicate, embarrass, make intricate*; and ORBES being the gyrations or more or less perfect rings or circular evolutions made by the horsemen, IMPEDIUNT ALTERNOS ORBIBUS ORBES is *mix up their gyrations together, gyrate through each other so as to impede each other*. So, verse 592, VESTIGIA IMPEDIUNT, *complicate their steps, mix up their steps, make their steps intricate*. Compare 12. 743, where Turnus "nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbes," wheels about now in this direction, now in that; gyrates hither and thither. Between the "implicat orbes" of this place and the IMPEDIUNT ORBES of our text there is this only difference, that the one involves more or less the idea of obstruction, the other does not. Virgil does not say of Turnus impedit orbes, because he does not mean to say that Turnus impeded himself in the gyrations which he made within the given space; and he does not say of Ascanius's turms implicant ORBES, because he wishes to express that the turms not only gyrated backwards

and forwards, hither and thither, but that the gyrations of one set of turns impeded, obstructed the gyrations of the other set of turns, that the turns obstructed each other in their gyrations; and so CIENT SIMULACRA PUGNAE. That this meaning, viz., that of obstruction, is contained in IMPEDIUNT seems placed beyond doubt by the immediate subjunction of the word PUGNAE to IMPEDIUNT in this place, and of both PRAELIA and FUGAS to IMPEDIUNT at vs. 594; also by the use which our author makes of the same word elsewhere, as 9. 384:

“Euryalum tenebrae ramorum onerosaque praeda
impediunt”

(where the notion of encumbering, impeding, embarrassing, is evident); 8. 448:

. . . “septenosque orbibus orbes
impediunt”

[complicate seven orbs with more orbs, so as to encumber the shield, make it difficult to be used]. In these two just quoted passages, as well as in our text and at vs. 593, “*impediunt*” has not only the same general sense of encumbering, impeding with what is superfluous, but is besides placed in the same position, viz., at the end of its own sentence, and at the beginning of a new line, the pause immediately following it rendering it emphatic (see Rem. on 2. 247), and magnifying the idea of impediment contained in the word itself.

ORBES (vs. 584).—Of course not strictly circles (as when a horse is ridden round in a ring), but round-about, circular figures, more or less nearly approaching to the very shape. This appears from the term “orbes” applied (*ubi supra*) to the turns in various directions made by Turnus, and explained, vs. 753, by the “mille vias” in which the hunted deer “fugit refugitque,” just as the ORBES made by Ascanius’s *turmae* are explained by the “mille viae” of the Cretan Labyrinth, and the sporting together of the dolphins. On the other hand, soldiers when fighting sometimes formed themselves into an orb or round body. See Liv. 4. 39 (ed. Walker); 28. 22, 33; and 4. 28; Sall. *Jugurtha*, 97. 5 “orbes fecere.”

PUGNAEQUE CIENT SIMULACRA SUB ARMIS (vs. 585).—SIMULACRA PUGNAE, *shams of battle*, i. e., *sham-battles*. The expression still subsists in Italian, as *La Nazione* (Florence newspaper), 7 Maggio, 1862: "Alle 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, nel golfo dinanzi al palazzo reale ebbe luogo un *simulacro di combattimento navale* dato dalla flotta Francese."

PUGNAE CIENT SIMULACRA.—*Raise shams of battle*, i. e., *fight sham battles*, exactly as 6. 829: "*acies stragemque ciebut*" [fight (real) battles, commit (real) slaughter], and 6. 468: "*lacrymas ciebat*" [raised tears, i. e., wept]. See Rem. on 6. 468. SUB ARMIS = *armati*.

UT QUONDAM CRETA, &c. DELPHINUM SIMILES, &c. (vv. 588, 594).—Two comparisons of the TROIANUM AGMEN taken, as the reader will not fail to have observed, in two different and distinct points of view: first, in respect of the course or track of its movements (sciz. as it would be marked on a chart); and secondly, in respect of the beauty, brilliancy and agility of the persons of whom it consisted. The double comparison gives richness, the double point of view, variety, to the description; the former shows the teeming fertility, the latter the correct judgment of the poet. The first comparison (viz., that of the *swiftly moving* TROIANUM AGMEN with the *immovable* labyrinth) absolutely required the addition of the second, and for the second no object could have been better chosen than the swift and playful dolphins; see below. For a similarly, although less distinctly, double comparison, see the ship-race in the commencement of this book, where the starting ships are likened to chariots starting for the race; the rowers bending over their oars, to the charioteers leaning with their whole bodies over the reins and lash.

DELPHINUM SIMILES, &c.—The reader, comparing the description which the unfortunate Falconer (a poet who, it must not be forgotten, always wrote from actual observation) has given of the sporting of a shoal of dolphins in the water, will perceive with what perfect propriety the boys composing the TROIANUM AGMEN are likened (sciz., in the triple respect of beauty, brilliancy, and graceful agility) to dolphins, *The Ship-*

wreck, c. 2 :

“ but now, beneath the lofty vessel's stern,
a shoal of sporting dolphins they discern,
beaming [LUCENT, FULGENT], from burnished scales, refulgent rays,
till all the glowing ocean seems to blaze :
in curling wreaths they wanton on the tide,
now bound aloft, now downward swiftly glide ;
a while beneath the waves their tracks remain,
and burn in silver streams along the liquid plain.”

Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 9. 8 : “ Velocissimum omnium animalium, non solum marinorum, est delphinus, ocior volucre, acrior telo.”

TROIAQUE NUNC PUERI TROIANUM DICITUR AGMEN (vs. 602). —The Princeps, the two Heinsii, Maittaire, Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger, divide this line into two parts by a comma placed after NUNC. The effect of this punctuation is, first, wholly to destroy the cadence of the verse ; and secondly, to outlaw and place beyond the grammatical pale both sections of the line ; the first section presenting a subject without verb or predicate, the second a superfluous subject yoked to a verb in a totally different regime. The comma being placed after PUERI, we obtain, first, a pause which not only does not shock, but is agreeable to, the ear ; and secondly, the simple and natural structure PUERI NUNC (*dicuntur*) TROIA ; AGMEN DICITUR TROIANUM. The statement PUERI NUNC (*dicuntur*) TROIA is expressly confirmed by several ancient historians, especially by Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 39 : “ Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorum-que puerorum.” See *Aen.* 2. 56, for a line beginning with the selfsame words and having the pause in the selfsame situation.

In like manner, the 539th line of the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, bad grammar and unintelligible as it stands in the editions,

“ sic deus et virgo est : hic spe celer, illa timore,”

is rendered both good sense and good grammar by the transfer of the colon to the other side of the word “ est ” :

“ sic deus et virgo : est hic spe celer, illa timore.”

603-619.

HAC—CONIICIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 611).

LUSTRAT **III** P. Manut.; La Cerda; Heyne; Brunck; Wakefield; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Ladewig; Ribbeck.LUSTRANS **III** Taubmann; Ruasus; Voss.HACTENUS (vs. 603).—Τοσαυτα. Compare Eurip. *Ion*, 264:

τοσαυτα· κεδτροχουμεν, ω ξε', ου περα

("Hactenus, o hospes, nec ulterius felices sumus").

FIDEM MUTATA NOVAVIT (vs. 604).—"Abandoned that course which she had hitherto followed, and which we thought and believed she would continue to follow—that course which she had, by her long continuance in it, pledged herself as it were to follow—and adopted a new." Compare Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 186:

"postquam victa manu duros Trinacria nexus
solvit, et immenso late discessit hiatu,
apparet subitus caelo timor; astra viarum
mutavere fidem: vetito se proluit Arctos
aequore,"

where we have both the "fides" and the "mutare" of our text, and where the meaning is that the stars changed their course, that course to which, from their long continuance in it, they might be considered to have pledged their faith. See also Sil. 3. 93:

"quodsi *promissum vertat* Fortuna favorem,
laevaue sit coeptis,"

where we have in "promissum favorem" as precisely as possible the FIDEM of our text, and in "vertat" as precisely as possible the MUTATA NOVAVIT. Compare also our ordinary English expressions, "a young man of promise," "a promising young man,"

“a promising enterprise,” “a promising speculation”—expressions in which the words *promise* and *promising* (exactly Virgil’s FIDEM and Silius’s “promissum favorem”) signify not faith actually pledged or promise actually made, but a constructive promise merely, a deduction from a favourable past of a favourable future.

NOVAVIT.—*Made new*. But making new may be of two kinds; either to repair the old, so as to make the old new (in which sense the word is used, Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7 :

. . . “Hyantiae sorores,
laetae purpureas novate vittas”

[“make yourselves new fillets”], and Id. *Theb.* 7. 116 : “tunc acre novabat ingenium”), or to make of a new and different kind, in which sense it is used, 8. 129 : “meritos novamus honores” (where the honours of the new god Hercules are contradistinguished from those of the old gods, “veterum,” verse 187), and Ovid, *Met.* 2. 647 (Ocyrrhoe vaticinating and apostrophizing the child Aesculapius) :

“eque deo corpus fies exsanguis ; deusque,
qui modo corpus eras ; et bis tua fata novabis.”

In order to make the sense clear, and to show that by making new, not renewing is meant, but making of another or different kind, MUTATA is added, and thus the intended thought fully and clearly expressed : “Fortune left the way she had hitherto followed and entered upon a new ;” or, as we say in English, “turned over a new leaf with us,” where, as in the Virgilian expression, we have both the ideas expressed, viz., that of leaving the old and entering upon the new.

VENTOSQUE ASPIRAT BUNTI (vs. 607).—This literal use of *aspirare* is to be found also in the Italian, as Molza, *Sonnet.* :

“voi cui Fortuna lieto corso aspira.”

ANTIQUUM (vs. 608).—Not merely *ancient*, but, as usual, *ancient and cherished ; the grief of her predilection*.

ILLA VIAM CELERANS PER MILLE COLORIBUS ARCUM (vs. 609). The virgin Iris hastily descending her rainbow path towards the

Trojan ships never fails to recall to my recollection the island maiden Haidee (*Don Juan*, canto 2) hastening down the hillside towards Juan's cave :

“ and down the cliff the island virgin came,
and near the cave with quick, light footstep drew,
while the sun smiled on her with his first flame,
and young Aurora kissed her lips with dew,
taking her for a sister; ”

the absence from which picture of that splendid ornament of the Virgilian, the rainbow, is well compensated by “the sun smiling on her with his first flame,” and “Aurora kissing her lips with dew, taking her for a sister.” Pity that these happy touches are (with the exception of the early cantos of *Don Juan* and the early cantos of *Childe Harold*) of but rare occurrence in Lord Byron's numerous and, generally speaking, hastily drawn, ill-proportioned, and unnatural sketches.

MILLE COLORIBUS ARCUM.—“*I.e.*, PER ARCUM MILLE colorum,” Macrob. *Sat.* 6. 6. Compare 3. 618: “domus sanie dapi-busque cruentis;” also 5. 401: “geminos immani pondere caestus”; 5. 372: “victorem Buten immani corpore.” The rainbow, like the taking fire of Acastes's arrow, was a bad omen. See Tzetzes, *Antehom.* 212:

Τρωσι δ' ἀπ' Ἰρις ἐφαίνεν, Ἀρης σῆμα κακοιο,
οὐρανόθεν πυκινῶς φαεινομένη, πολυχροῖος
σῆμα γὰρ ἦγε τετυκται χείματος ἡε Ἀρης,
ἀστράσιν οὐρανίοις ἐπιλαμπέσιν ἰσα κομήταις.

See also the same, verse 314.

VIRGO (vs. 610).—“The propriety of the position of VIRGO here is not quite easy to see, as there is no palpable connexion between swiftness of motion and a virgin goddess,” Conington. VIRGO is not *virgin*, but *lady*, and is added only to make the personification livelier—VIRGO DECURRIT NULLI VISA. Iris, although she runs down the path bodily, is seen by none, the connexion not being of VIRGO and swiftness of motion, but of VIRGO and not being seen.

IN SOLA SECRETA, &c., . . . FESSIS (vv. 613-615).—Charles James Fox, in one of his letters to Wakefield (Russell's *Memo-*

rials of Fox, vol. 4, p. 413), remarks the spondaic structure of these verses: "Every foot is here a spondee, except those in the fifth place; and it seems to me to have a wonderful effect." The observation is made by Fox in illustration of the position he has just made: "Virgil is (I believe) the most spondaic amongst the Latin poets; and sometimes evidently with a view to a particular expression, in which he is often very successful." In reply to which, Wakefield, without entering into the general question, directs Fox's attention to the "relief afforded," in the particular instance, "to the sluggishness of the spondaic measures by two elisions, which with a suitable rapidity of enunciation become equivalent to dactyls." I, for my part, am inclined to think that the enlivening effect of the elisions is either none at all and a mere imagination of Wakefield's, or if any, too inconsiderable to diminish appreciably the heaviness of the spondees with which our author has, I agree with Fox, intentionally, and in order to make his verse the echo of his thought, loaded the lines.

SECRETAE (vs. 613).—Not *in secret*, in our sense of the word, but merely *apart*, *seiz.*, from the men. Compare Liv. epit. libr. 34: "*senatus tunc primum secretus a populo ludos spectavit.*"

FLENTES (vs. 615) repeats the FLEBANT of the preceding line; we would say "they all wept Anchises, and looked steadfastly on the deep sea whilst they wept him."

HAUD IGNARA NOCENDI (vs. 618).—"About to do injury; with the intention and set purpose of doing mischief," Bryce. No; but *skilled to do mischief, doing mischief not for the first time*, exactly as l. 634: "*non ignara mali, accustomed to misfortune, experienced in misfortune*; 4. 508: "*haud ignara futuri, well knowing what was going to happen.* See Remm. on l. 634 and 4. 508.

620-622.

FIT BEROE TMARII CONIUX LONGAeva DORYCLI
 CUI GENUS ET QUONDAM NOMEN NATIQUE FUISSENT
 AC SIC DARDANIDUM MEDIAM SE MATRIBUS INFERT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 620).

BEROE TMARII **II** *Rom.* (thus: VEROE TMARI—not however to be considered as a different reading, because where the name occurs again in the same MS. it is written with a B), *Pal.* **II** ††. **IIII** “TMARII, Tmarus enim mons Thraciae,” Servius (ed. Dan.); Paris, 1600; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

BEROE MARI **II** *Med.* (thus: BEROE ^{IM} ^I MARI, with a stroke obliterating the superscribed IM).^{*} **II** ††. **IIII** Prino.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Wagn. (1861).

BEROE ISMARII **II** †. **IIII** Ven. 1470, 1471; Mod.; Mil. 1492; Pierius; † Bersm.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.; Voss.

BEROE ET MARI **II** †.

BEROE ISMARI **IIII** Bresc.

BEROE MARIQUE **II** †.

BEROE MARIIS **II** †.

BEROE TMARII **II** †.

FIT BEROE TMARII CONIUX, &c.—It is to Nicholas Heinsius we are indebted for the restoration of the undoubtedly true reading

* The final superscribed I in red ink. Foggini and Ribbeck have omitted the period after BEROE. Foggini has also omitted the stroke obliterating IM.

† “Quamvis in Longobardico cod., Mediceo, et plerisque aliis MARI legatur, nemo tamen ex eruditis est cui non potius ISMARII faciat satis. Nam quid ad ea tempora MARI nomen?” To which question it may well be replied that MARI is but another form for or corruption of TMARI, and as such goes to confirm that reading, which seems to have been wholly unknown to Pierius.

BEROE TMARII, corrupted by some scribes, owing to its similarity of sound, into BEROE MARI; and by others into BEROE ET MARI from BEROE & MARI, the form in which BEROE TMARII is written in Gudian 70, the abbreviation & being commonly used in that MS. to express not merely the conjunction *et* but the syllabic *et*, ex. gr., the *et* of *docet*, *stetit* (written DOC&, ST&IT), and still more strange to express the letters *e* and *t*, when they come next each other the former at the end of one word, and the latter at the beginning of the next. Hence a complete answer to Pierius's argument in favour of ISMARII.

CUI (vs. 621).—"CUI sive ad Doryclum, sive ad Beroen referas, parum interest. Hoc alterum forte melius, siquidem in feminae auctoritate nunc res posita. Vix tamen feminae NOMEN tribui potuit. Praestat ergo ad maritum referre," Heyne, followed by Thiel, Forbiger, and Wagner (1861)—erroneously, I doubt not: first, because it is already *a priori* probable that the selection by a female of a female to exercise influence over females would be made with a reference to the female's own qualities, not to the qualities, however excellent, of her husband; a probability at its maximum in the present case, Beroe's husband being not only dead, but many years dead, killed by Ajax at Troy (*Il. 11. 489* :

Αἴας δὲ Τρῳεσσὶν ἐπαλμένος εἰλε Δορυκλον
Πριαμίδην, νοθὸν υἱόν);

secondly, because CUI NATI FUISSENT seems plainly to point to a mother proud of her male offspring; thirdly, because Silius's attribution of "nomen" (along with "genus," too) not merely to a woman, but to a woman plainly the copy of Virgil's Beroe (2. 553; of Tisiphone, ordered by Juno to destroy Saguntum, putting on the appearance of Tiburna :

"protinus assimulat faciem mutabile monstrum
Tiburnae, gressumque simul, sonitumque loquentis.
haec bello vacuos et saevi turbine Martis
lugebat thalamos, Murro spoliata marito,
clara genus, Daunique trahens a sanguine nomen"),

not only annihilates the objection of Heyne: "vix tamen fe-

minae NOMEN tribui potuit," but shows moreover that Silius referred Virgil's NOMEN, GENUS, and whole verse, not to Doryclus, but Beroe, precisely the view of the passage taken by Donatus ("facta est Beroe, quam ille noverat [*sic! lege: quam illae noverant*], quam nobili esset ex genere, quanti esset meriti, cuius uxor, quantorum filiorum mater, quantae sapientiae per aetatem, digna omni modo quae audiri deberet, si quid forte suadere voluisset"), and scarcely less certainly by Servius, however curt the observation of that sometimes too laconic commentator: "et bene suadentis commendatur auctoritas"—another of the numerous examples of a better understanding of Virgil in the so-called dark than in our own *soi-disant* enlightened times. Compare 7. 581: "neque enim leve nomen Amatae." Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 9. 31:

"sic Nemesis longum, sic Delia, nomen habebunt."

Id. *Art. Amat.* 3. 536:

"nomen habet Nemesis, Cynthia nomen habet."

Sil. 10. 502:

... "sed iuveni [Cloelio] . . . hinc [a Cloelia] est
et genus et clara memorandum virgine nomen"

(where the woman not only is herself "clara," but transmits both "genus" and "memorandum nomen" to male posterity). *Aen.* 11. 340: "genus huic materna superbum nobilitas dabat." Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 19: "ex quibus erat Iunia Silana, . . . insignis genere, forma, lascivia." *Ibid.* 14. 22: "Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia." Sil. 3. 106:

"hinc patriam clarumque genus referebat Imilce."

Ibid. 3. 246 (of Sychaeus, son of Hannibal's sister):

... "cui vano corda tumore
maternum implebat genus, et resonare superbo
Hannibal haud unquam cessabat avunculus ore."

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 471:

"hic fuit Evander; qui, quanquam clarus utroque,
nobilitior sacrae sanguine matris erat."

Seneca, *Medea*, 209 (Medea, of herself) :

. . . “quondam nobili fulsi patre,
avoque *clarum* Sole deduxi *genus*.”

Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3 (of Claudius Etruscus) :

“sic quidquid patrio cessatum est sanguine, *mater*
reddidit ; obscurumque latus clarescere vidit
connubio gavisā domus.”

Ibid. 1. 2. 107 :

. . . “*hanc* [Violantillam] ego, formae
egregium mirata decus, cui *gloria patrum*
et *generis* certabat *homo*, tellure cadentem
excepi fovique sinu.”

Ovid, *Met.* 13. 146 (Ulysses speaking) :

“est quoque *per matrem* Cyllenius addita nobis,
altera *nobilitas* ; deus est in utroque parente.
sed neque *materno* quod sum *generosior ortu*,
nec mihi quod pater est fraterni sanguinis insons,
proposita arma peto.”

Ibid. 6. 7 (of Arachne) :

. . . “non illa loco, nec *origine* gentis
clara, sed arte, fuit. Pater huic Colophonius Idmon
Phocaico bibulas tingeat murice lanas,” &c.

(where the exception proves the rule). Diodor. 4. 83 : τουτον δε [Erycem] δια την απο της μητρος ευγενειαν θαυμασθηναι τε υπο των εγχωριων και βασιλευσαι μερους της νησον.

For the story, compare Juno's taking the form of an Amazon, the more effectually to excite the Amazons to attack the ship in which Hercules was arriving in Themiscyra on his mission for the belt of Hippolyte, Apollodor. *Biblioth.* 2. 5. 9 : Καταπλευσαντος δε [Ηρακλεος] εις τον εν Θεμισκυρα λιμενα, παραγενομένης ως αυτον Ιππολυτης, και, τινος ηκοι χαριν, πυθομένης, και δωσειν τον ζωστηρα υπισχνουμένης, Ηρα, μια των Αμαζονων εικασθεις, το πληθος επεφοιτα, λεγουσα· Την βασιλιδα αρπαζουσιν οι προσελθοντες ξενοι. Αι δε μεθ' οπλων επι την ναυν κατεβηον συν ιπποις.

SIC (vs. 622).—"Aut *mutato habitu*, aut *ista dictura*." Certainly the former: *thus*, i. e., *in this assumed character*, viz., of Berce. Compare 7. 668: "*sic regia tecta subibat*," where see Rem.

627-643.

FRETA—IACIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 631).

QUID ■ Rom.; Pierius ("In Mediceo et plerisque aliis codd. QUID legitur, quod magis amplum est"). ■■ §§. ■■■ Ven. 1472; Mil. 1475; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Lad.; Haupt.

QUIS ■ Pal., Med. (QVI). ■■ §§. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Mod.; Bresc.; Mil. 1492; H. Steph.; Bersm.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 638).

IAM ■ Rom., Pal., Med. ■■ †§. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

NUNC ■ "In pervetusto quodam cod. pro IAM, NUNC repositum est," Pierius. ■■■ Ven. 1471; Mod.; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 638).

AGIT ■ Rom.; "In Rom., in Mediceo, atque in nonnullis aliis vetustis legere est AGIT," Pierius. ■■ †§.

AGI ■ Pal., Med. ■■ §§; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; Fabric.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

CUM FRETA, CUM TERRAS OMNES, TOT INHOSPITA SAXA SIDERAQUE EMENSAE FERIMUR (vv. 627-628).—"FRETA and TERRAS with FERIMUR, SAXA and SIDERA with EMENSAE," Conington. I think not. EMENSAE cannot be joined with SAXA and SIDERA by themselves and apart from FRETA and TERRAS, because we do not measure rocks, skies; EMENSAE can be joined with those objects only when it is at the same time joined with other objects (viz., FRETA and TERRAS) which are proper subjects of measurement.

SIDERA (vs. 628).—"Put a iter quod fit dum certa quaedam sidera navigantibus inimica tempestates concitant," Wagner (*Praest.*), Forbiger. "Aut tempestates ait, quae ortu vel occasu siderum saepe nascuntur, aut provincias quae sideribus subiacent," Servius. "Terras diversis caeli plagis subiectas," Heyne. The meaning is much more simple, SIDERA being (as astra so often is) the mere equivalent of caeli, *skies*, as Hor. *Epist.* 1. 11. 27 :

"caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

Compare "sidera," 2. 153, where see Rem.

QUID PROHIBET (vs. 631).—QUID, not QUIS; first, because less martial and defiant, and therefore more proper in the mouth of a woman; and secondly, because Heinsius (ad Ovid, *Heroid.* 10. 88) produces no less than twelve examples of "quid prohibet" or "quid vetat," as against one single example of "quis prohibet." On the contrary, the greater weight of MS. authority is in favour of QUIS; and Ammian, 19. 11, has "*nullo vetante*," and the Veron. Schol. (Keil's ed., p. 105. 14) has, without however any reference to our text: "*Nemo prohibet, publicum est.*"

QUID PROHIBET MUROS IACERE?—So 6. 808: "metus prohibet consistere terra?"

CIVIBUS URBEM (vs. 631).—A city to those who are not sailors, or soldiers, or farmers, but citizens, viz., who were born in Troy and had lived there a citizen life, and knew and cared for and were adapted for no other. Compare Iscan. 1. 442:

. . . "damus ultro rura colono,
castra viris, pontum nautis, et civibus urbem."

Claudian, *Bell. Gildon.* 199 (personified Rome speaking):

“ exsiliis dispersa feror: nunquamne reverti
fas erit, errantesque solo iam reddere cives ? ”

O PATRIA, ET RAPTI NEQUICQUAM EX HOSTE PENATES! NUL-
LANE IAM TROIAE DICENTUR MOENIA ? (vv. 632-3).—Most surely
an adaptation of Eurip. *Hec.* 893 :

συ μὲν, ὦ πατρίς Ἰλίας,
τῶν ἀπορθητῶν πόλις
οὐκετι λείπει.

HIC QUAERITE TROIAM; HIC DOMUS EST, INQUIT, VOBIS (vv. 637-8).—The words HIC QUAERITE TROIAM; HIC DOMUS EST VOBIS have been generally, and as I think without sufficient examination, referred to Cassandra, as if Cassandra had not only handed the pretended Beroe a firebrand, but had said HIC . . . VOBIS. I think, on the contrary, that Cassandra does not speak at all, and that these words are the exhortation or command of Beroe herself. My reasons for so thinking are, first, that INQUIT is a very weak and ordinary word to be used to express the injunction of a messenger from heaven; we would expect not INQUIT, QUAERITE, but iubet quaerere or monstrat, or some one of the words usual on such occasions, and here the more necessary in order to prevent confusion. Secondly, that the words contain nothing new, nothing which has not been previously announced by the pretended Beroe herself, verse 630 :

HIC ERYCIS FINES FRATERNI, ATQUE HOSPES ACESTES :
QUID PROHIBET MUROS IACERE ET DARE CIVIBUS URBEM ?

And thirdly, that Virgil, if he had wished to represent the words as Cassandra's, would not have said MIHI CASSANDRAE IMAGO DARE VISA FACES; HIC QUAERITE TROIAM, INQUIT, but MIHI CASSANDRAE IMAGO DARE VISA FACES, *et dicere* HIC *quaere* TROIAM; the positive INQUIT being as unsuitable immediately after the qualified VISA DARE as the plural QUAERITE immediately after the singular MIHI. No, no; INQUIT is INQUIT *Beroe*, and the repetition of INQUIT, verse 623; QUAERITE is the QUAERITE of

Beroe, and in train with the AGITE and EXURITE of the same person; HIC QUAERITE TROIAM, HIC DOMUS EST VOBIS is the concentration into one sentence of her (Beroe's) previous

QUID PROHIBET MUROS IACERE ET DARE CIVIBUS URBEM?

 NULLANE IAM TROIAE DICENTUR MOENIA? NUSQUAM
 HECTOREOS AMNES, XANTHUM ET SIMOENTA, VIDERO?

And Cassandra, of whom we hear nothing till the pretended Beroe has come to the point of burning the ships—

QUIN AGITE, ET MECUM INFAUSTOS EXURITE PUPPES—

is introduced not for the purpose of telling the Trojans to do what they were already sufficiently inclined to do, viz., settle where they were, but for the purpose of rendering their settling where they were feasible, and even necessary, viz., by authorizing and justifying the burning of the ships.

IAM TEMPUS AGI RES (vs. 638).—AGI, not AGIT, because AGI alone agrees with NEC TANTIS MORA PRODIGIIS, the sense being *these prodigies show us it is now time for action*, where the sense is expressed, as usual, by two separate clauses: *it is now time for action; these prodigies are not to be delayed*. Reading AGIT, on the contrary, the sense of the two clauses, instead of blending into one notion, remains divided: *the opportunity itself does the business; there is no delay to the prodigies*—an inferior sense, not merely because consisting of two not intimately related parts, parts not constituting together one whole, but inferior also because it is simple assertion, not as the circumstances of the case seem to require, exhortation. We expect Beroe to say “iam agamus, nec tanta prodigia impediamus,” and so Beroe says, if we read AGI. This argument, as I think, establishes the case of AGI, independently alike of its superior MS. authority and of the parallel of Claudian, *Rapt. Pros. 1. 218*: “rem peragi tempus;” and of Virgil's own (10. 512) not very far from parallel, “tempus versis succurrere Teucris.” Compare *La Nazione* (Florence newspaper), 7 Maggio, 1862: “Gli alleati sono già decimati dal clima a Vera Cruz. Non conviene sacri-

ficar più uomini alla doppiezza dei Messicani. *È giunto il tempo di agire.*"

ET IACIT (vs. 643).—Very emphatic. See Rem. on 2. 247.

658-678.

INGENTEMQUE—PETUNT

INGENTEMQUE FUGA SEQUIT SUB NUBIBUS ARCUM (vs. 658).—"Secando aerem fecit ARCUM," Heyne, Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*). No; as "secabat ventos," 4. 257, is not *secando aerem faciebat ventos*, but *iter faciebat per ventos*, so SEQUIT ARCUM is not "secando aerem fecit ARCUM," but *iter fecit per ARCUM*. Iris returns, as she had come down, along the bow ("remeat per quos modo venerat arcus," Ovid, *Met.* 11. 632), the descent being expressed (verse 609) by the words "viam celerans per arcum," and the return by the words SEQUIT ARCUM. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 370, of the waters of Cephisus travelling again (after the flood) in their ancient "vada" or channel:

"ut nondum liquidas, sic iam vada nota secantes;"

and Virgil himself, *Georg.* 1. 406, of Scylla; and 409, of Nisus, flying through the air, travelling the air: "*secat aethera.*" Some interpreters, still more literal than even Heyne or Wagner, understand Iris to cut a segment off the sky ("das segment welches die Iris mit ihrem bogen von dem himmel abschneidet," Pott, Götting. *Philol.*, suppl. tom. 2, p. 268), a literal interpretation happily more innocent, though as not borne out even by the letters, still more outrageous than the world-famous literal interpretation of the bread and wine.

TUM VERO, &c., . . . CONIICIUNT (vv. 659-662).—ATTONITAE MONSTRIS ACTAEQUE FURORE (MATRES) is the subject not merely of CONCIAMANT and RAPIUNT, but of CONIICIUNT; first, because

such parenthetic structure is usual in Virgil (see *Aen.* 6. 83, 739, and Remm.); and secondly, because Virgil could never have intended to limit the throwing of the fire to those who supplied themselves from the altars. All the women shout, and all fling flaming brands and combustibles, which some procure FOCIS PENETRALIBUS, and some from the altars; FRONDEM AC VIRGULTA FACESQUE referring equally to FOCIS PENETRALIBUS and ARAS. Compare the separation of “pars” from “coniiciunt,” 6. 221 :

. . . “velamina nota
coniiciunt. Pars ingenti subiere feretro;”

11. 193 :

“hinc alii spolia occisis direpta Latinis
coniiciunt igni, galeas ensesque decoros
frenaque, ferventesque rotas; pars munera nota,
ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela;”

and of “partim” and “partim” from “coniiciunt,” 10. 329 :

. . . “septem numero, septenaeque tela
coniiciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant
irrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus
alma Venus;”

also the similar separation between the same words, Ovid, *Met.*

11. 27 :

. . . “et fronde virenti
coniiciunt thyrsos, non haec in munera factos;
hae glebas, illae dereptos arbore ramos;
pars torquent silices.”

In order to guide the reader to the sense, it will be necessary to enclose PARS SPOLIANT ARAS between marks indicative of a parenthesis, and to substitute a comma for the semicolon placed at IGNEM by all the editors, not even excepting the two Heinsii.

RAPIUNT FOCIS PENETRALIBUS IGNEM; FRONDEM AC VIRGULTA FACESQUE CONIICIUNT (vv. 660-663).—Compare *Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. de Polycarpi Martyrio*, 13 : ταυτα ουν μετα τοςουτου ταχους εγινετο, θαττον του λεχθηναι των οχλων παραχημα συναγαγοντων εκ τε των εργαστηριων και βαλανειων ξυλα και φρυγανα (viz., to make the fire to burn Polycarp).

TUM VERO (vs. 659), here, as everywhere else, expresses the production of the full effect. The flinging of the first brand by the pretended Beroe had the minor effect of rousing and exciting and astonishing the matrons (vs. 643):

ARRECTAE MENTES, STUPEFACTAEQUE CORDA

ILIADUM.

Pyrgo's speech had the further effect of making them consider whether it might not be right to follow Beroe's advice and example (vs. 654):

AT MATRES PRIMO ANCIPIENTES, OCULISQUE MALIGNIS
AMBIGUAE, SPECTABE RATES, &c.

The manifestation of the goddess removes all doubt, decides them at once, produces the full effect:

ATTONITAE MONSTRIS ACTAEQUE FURORE,
CONCLAMANT RAPIUNTQUE FOCIS, &c.

The whole of Wagner's disputation on these words (*Quaest. Virg.* 25. 6. d) is erroneous; the words *tum vero* do not indicate in one place "*alacritatem gaudiumque*," in another place "*dolorem*," in another "*furorem et iram*," in another "*curam, terrorem, pavorem*," in another "*omnino rem tristem horridamque*;" but always simply the production, at last, of that full effect which preceding minor causes had failed to produce—that full effect which was *then indeed*, *tum vero*, produced. See Remm. on 2. 105, 228; 3. 47; 4. 396, 449, 571; and comp. Sall. *Bell. Cat.* 61: "*sed confecto praelio, tum vero cerneret quanta audacia, quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere*," &c. ["when the battle was over, *then indeed* could you perceive," &c.]

RESPICIUNT ATRAM IN NIMBO VOLITARE FAVILLAM (vs. 666).—Compare Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Horat. 20:

"on the low hills to westward
the consul fixed his eye,
and saw the *swarthy storm of dust*
rise fast along the sky."

IMMISSIS HABENIS (vs. 662).—Precisely the French *à toute bride*; *à bride abattue*.

NIMBO.—“The ‘nimbus’ here, of course, is *smoke*,” Conington. I think not, but *a shower*. “Favilla” (colly, flakes of soot) is what flies (“volitat”), and NIMBO is the form in which it flies, the appearance which it presents while flying, viz., the appearance of a shower; in other words, *a shower of colly flies, a shower of colly is carried by the wind*. Compare Sil. 17. 104:

. . . “exundat pestis, semustaque castra
ardenti volitant per nubila summa favilla.”

CURSUS UT LAETUS EQUESTRES DUCEBAT (vv. 667-8).—Compare vs. 388:

“proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae.”

ARGIVUM (vs. 672).—Emphatic (see Rem. on 2. 247), and opposed to VESTRAS. So also ASCANIUS (vs. 673) is in the highest degree emphatic.

GALEAM ANTE PEDES PROIECIT INANEM QUA LUDO INDUTUS BELLI SIMULACRA CIEBAT (vv. 673-4).—INANEM, “concavam, vacuum, sine capite,” Servius, followed by Ascensius, Gossrau, Wagner (1832, 1861), Conington. “GALEAM INANEM, tegumentum capitis in speciem galeae formatum ludo aptum, non veram galeam, qua iotus telorum sustineas,” Wagner (1849). Neither interpretation is correct. GALEAM INANEM is not “GALEAM vacuum,” because it had been trivial, if not absurd, to remind the reader that the helmet which Ascanius took off and threw down on the ground had not his head in it; and it is not “tegumentum in speciem galeae formatum,” because a toy or sham helmet had afforded but sorry protection to Ascanius’s head in the sham battle; also because the mounted figure galloping towards them with such a helmet on its head had been less likely to frighten the women than to set them a-laughing; and especially because the context is explicit, that the battle fought by the youths was not a battle fought with sham arms, but, like our own battles on a king’s birth-day or other occasion of rejoicing, a sham battle fought with real arms: “ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat *in armis*,” “pugnaeque cient simulacra *sub armis*”; GALEAM . . . QUA LUDO INDUTUS BELLI SIMULACRA CIEBAT. What, then, is GALEAM INANEM, if it is neither literally

an empty helmet, nor figuratively a *sham helmet*? Has *inanis* any other meaning than either literally empty, or figuratively empty, *i. e.*, sham? Yes, and very commonly. *Inanis* very commonly means figuratively empty, *inane* in the sense of *simple, mere, devoid of further meaning, effect, or consequence*, as 4. 433: “*tempus inane peto*” [time of no use, value, effect, or consequence; mere time; nothing more than time]; 4. 210: “*inania murmura miscent*” [noises of no meaning, use, effect, or purpose; mere noises]; 4. 449: “*lacrimae volvuntur inanes*” [tears of no use, effect, or consequence; mere tears]; 4. 218: “*famamque fovemus inanem*” [inane fame or report; fame or report devoid of foundation; mere report]; 1. 468: “*animum pictura pascit inani*” [the picture devoid of life and feeling; the mere picture]; and so in our text *GALEAM INANEM*, *the helmet of no use, effect, consequence, or meaning, the mere helmet*—not, let the reader well distinguish, the helmet which had always been so, but the helmet which was now so. During the sham battle the helmet was a useful effective helmet, kept the head of Ascanius safe from accident, but the moment Ascanius left the battle the helmet became of no use or purpose, became a “*galea inanis*,” a mere helmet and nothing more. It is as if our author had said: he threw before their feet the helmet which he was wearing without purpose or object, and which now that the *ludus* was over was totally without signification.

CONCAVA SAXA (vv. 677-8).—Caves in the rocks. Compare Sil. 6. 326:

. . . “*socios ubi concava saxa*
claudebant,”

where “*concava saxa*” is proved to mean caves in the rocks by its synonym “*saxosis latebris*,” verse 337:

. . . “*nubes subito cum densa Laconum*
saxosis latebris intendens praelia circum
funditur.”

So also Apul. *De dogm. Plat.* 1. 4: “*ut naturam Aetnae et incendia concavi montis intelligeret.*”

688-697.

TROIANOS—PUPPES

TROIANOS (vs. 688).—Emphatic; see Rem. on 2. 247.

PIETAS ANTIQUA (vs. 688).—Compare *Psalm 89. 48 (LXX.)*: *τα ελεη σου τα αρχαia*, “Thy old loving-kindnesses”—very aptly quoted by Conington. How is it possible that *pietas* (ascribable even to Jupiter himself, and signifying his mercy, his kindness of heart, his *pitié*, for mankind) came ever to be confounded with *piété*, piety, a feeling wholly unascrivable to Jupiter? See Rem. on “*insignem pietate virum*,” 1. 14.

NUNC (vs. 690).—Very emphatic: *now more than at any other time; now, if ever*. See Rem. on 2. 247.

QUOD SUPEREST (vs. 691).—“*Rebus omnibus amissis classe amissa, nihil supererat, quam ut moreretur*,” Heyne, Wagner (ed. Heyn.), comparing 12. 643: “*id rebus defuit unum* ;” and so perhaps we are to understand Servius’s so brief as scarcely to be intelligible “*quod congrue sequitur*.” This, too, is the meaning I find in the passage, in preference to that assigned to it by Jahn and Conington, and as I think deservedly condemned by Heyne: “*QUOD SUPEREST e rebus Troianorum*” —a meaning against which I am bold enough to cite the very parallel, verse 796 below (where see Rem.), which Conington enlists on behalf of his opposite interpretation.

TEMPESTAS SINE MORE FURIT (vs. 694).—SINE MORE, “*SINE exemplo*,” Servius. “*Immodice*,” Heyne, Wagner. Servius is entirely wrong, Heyne and Wagner so far right that “*immodice*” is the ultimate sense, the poetry being omitted or not perceived. The immediate meaning (the metaphor being preserved) is *without manners, without decency, therefore rudely, recklessly, outrageously*. Compare 7. 377 (of Amata):

“*immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem* ;”

and 8. 635 : “*raptas sine more Sabinas* ;” in both which places the meaning is *indecently, impudently, without regard to decorum, outrageously*, as placed beyond all doubt by the application of the same term to the same Sabine rape by Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 111 :

“*sic illas timuere viros sine more ruentes.*”

Compare also Sil. 10. 31 :

“*tandem inclinato cornu sine more ruebat
prima acies, non parca fugae*”

[*indecorously, against all rule and discipline; ακοσμως*]. *Mores* are ascribed by Lucan to the Nile not overflowing its channel, but confined between mountains :

“*hic montes natura vagis circumdedit undis,
qui Libyae te, Nile, negant : quos inter in alta
it convalle tacens iam moribus unda receptis ;*”

by Statius, *Achill.* 2. 184, to a tamed lion :

“*ut leo, materna cum raptus ab ubere mores
accepit ;*”

and by Pliny to iron which has been rendered malleable : “*Quid lapidis rigore pigrius ? ecce sensus manusque illi tribuit [natura]. Quid ferri duritia pugnacius ? sed cedit et patitur mores.*” The application of *mores* to the elements has been rendered familiar to the English reader by the song in Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* :

“*blow, blow, thou winter wind,
thou art not so unkind
as man’s ingratitude ;
thy tooth is not so keen,
because thou art not seen,
although thy breath be rude.*”

The Latin *sine more* is, thus, precisely equivalent to, and probably a translation of, the Greek *αρροπια*, Apoll. Rhod. 4. 387 (Medea to Jason) : *οια και αυτη ση παθον αρροπιη.*

IMPLENTURQUE SUPER PUPPES (vs. 697).—SUPER, “*desuper*,” Heyne, Forbiger, Conington. “*Ueberschwemmt*” (i. e., SUPER-IMPLENTUR), Voss, Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*). I entirely agree

with Voss, and am sorry that Wagner has in his *Praestabilior* deserted that very plain and obvious interpretation for the un-Virgilian particularity *υπερθεν*, "et significantur stegae navium." Our corresponding English expression is *flooded, drowned, overflowed*, i. e., *filled to overflowing*. The expression is, indeed, an exaggerated one, but it is only so much the more Virgilian.

704-710.

TUM SENIOR NAUTES UNUM TRITONIA PALLAS
 QUEM DOCUIT MULTAQUE INSIGNEM REDDIDIT ARTE
 HAEC RESPONSA DABAT VEL QUAE PORTENDERET IRA
 MAGNA DEUM VEL QUAE FATORUM POSCERET ORDO
 ISQUE HIS AENEAN SOLATUS VOCIBUS INFIT
 NATE DEA QUO FATA TRAHUNT RETRAHUNTQUE SEQUAMUR
 QUICQUID ERIT SUPERANDA OMNIS FORTUNA FERENDO EST

VAR. LECT. (vs. 706).

HAEC ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ §1. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475;
 Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704);
 Phil.; Heyne; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Voss;
 Haupt.

HIC ■■■ Princ.; Brunck; Wakef.

HAC ■■■ Dietsch, *Theol. Verg.*, p. 28 (*e coni.*); Lad.; Ribb.

NEC ■■ §4.

"Nautes RESPONSA HAEC DABAT, quae mox exponit: NATE DEA. Respondit autem et interpretando vaticinatus est ea QUAE VEL IRA DEUM PORTENDERET VEL FATORUM ORDO POSCERET, ostento hoc incensarum navium," Heyne, Wagner. "IRA DEUM, quae eernebatur in incendio classis," Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*) To this interpretation I object: first, that it leaves wholly unexplained in what respect Pallas had rendered Nautes INSIGNEM; whether, as goddess of the arts, she had inspired him with

superior mechanical skill, or, as goddess of wisdom, with superior foresight. Secondly, that, according to this interpretation, the address of Nautes to Aeneas should contain in it an explanation either of what was portended by the IRA DEUM, or of what was required by the ORDO FATORUM, or of both; whereas, on the contrary, it contains not even one single word concerning either the one or the other, and consists wholly in advice to Aeneas, what, according to Nautes' opinion, was best to be done in the present difficulty. Thirdly, that, if this advice of Nautes to Aeneas had consisted (as, according to this interpretation, it should have consisted) of the authoritative commands of the gods, of RESPONSA what the IRA DEUM, or FATORUM ORDO, or both, demanded, there was in that case no necessity, no "*dignus vindice nodus*," for the appearance of the shade of Anchises, to repeat almost *totidem verbis* the oracular response. All these objections are got rid of at once, by understanding our author, immediately after mentioning the name of Nautes (TUM SENIOR NAUTES), to proceed, according to his usual manner (see Rem. on 6. 83) to explain who this Nautes was, viz., that he was one whom Pallas had rendered INSIGNEM MULTA ARTE; and then again, in like manner, after the words INSIGNEM MULTA ARTE, to proceed further to explain what he meant by those words, viz., that Pallas was in the habit of giving Nautes responses when he inquired of her respecting future events. The sentence thus contains two parentheses: one (viz., from UNUM to ARTE inclusive) dependent on NAUTES, the other (viz., from HAEC to ORDO inclusive) dependent on INSIGNEM MULTA ARTE; and the narrative, broken off at NAUTES, and interrupted by the two parentheses, is resumed at ISQUE. Compare the similar parenthetical description by Valerius Flaccus (1. 228) of the prophetic powers of Idmon:

. . . "Phoebeius Idmon

 plenus fati Phoeboque quieto
 (cui genitor tribuit monitu praenosceret divum
 omina, seu flammæ, seu lubrica comminus exta,
 seu plenum certis interroget aera pennis)
 sic sociis Mopsoque canit."

Wagner in his *Praestabilior* tacitly acknowledges himself a convert to the above laid down views: "HAEC, Pallas, non solum erudierat Nautes, sed, consulta ab eo, etiam RESPONSA DABAT. Respondere est deorum consultorum."

HAEC RESPONSA DABAT.—These words account for that "multa ars," or superior wisdom, for which Nautes was remarkable, and which rendered him a fit person to advise Aeneas: HAEC, viz., Pallas; RESPONSA DABAT, not gave him responses on the present occasion, but according to the peculiar force of DABAT, used to give him, was in the habit of giving him, responses; and accordingly those responses are defined, not specially, or as having relation to the burning of the ships or to the present circumstances, but generally. Pallas was in the habit of answering him as to both of the great classes into which all future events were divisible, not only as to those fixed and immutable events which were decreed by the fates (that class of events to which, for instance, Aeneas's arrival in Italy, and establishment of a great empire there, belonged), but as to those, if I may so say, uncertain and precarious events which were produced by the special intervention of offended deities (that class of events of which the storm in the first book and all Aeneas's subsequent misfortunes afford examples). To these two great classes into which, according to the philosophy of the Romans, all future events were divisible, and not, as supposed by Heyne and Wagner, to the burning of the ships by the Trojan women and the founding of the city of Acesta, is reference made in the words VEL QUAE PORTENDERET IRA MAGNA DEUM VEL QUAE FATORUM POSCERET ORDO. Compare Claudian's precise parallel (*De Bell. Getic.* 166):

"frigida ter decies nudatum frondibus Haemum
tendit hiems vestire gelu; totidemque solutis
ver nivibus viridem monti reparavit amictum,
ex quo iam patrios gens haec oblita Triones,
atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fixit
Threicio funesta solo; seu fata vocabant,
seu gravis ira deum, seriem meditata ruinis."

Nautes, having, from the frequent revelations made to him by Pallas respecting future events, acquired a reputation for supe-

rior wisdom and foresight, was a fitting person to advise, and accordingly did advise, Aeneas; but, observe, only *advised*; gave him no oracle, no oracular response received from Pallas on this particular occasion; as appears (*a*) from the total absence in his address to Aeneas of any reference to an oracle, or consulted or commanding deity; (*b*) from the several expressions, SEQUAMUR, SOLATUS, INCENSUS DICTIS SENIORIS AMICI, all of them expressions such as would naturally be used by, or applied to, a friend advising a friend; (*c*) from the immediately subsequent appearance of the shade of Anchises to give weight and authority to, and make imperative on Aeneas, the advice he had just received from his friend Nautes; and (*d*) from the words of the apparition expressly characterising the counsels of Nautes, not as the declaration of an oracle or the commands of heaven, but simply as sound and excellent advice:

CONSILIIS PARRE, QUAM NUNC PULCHERRIMA NAUTES
DAT SENIOR.

The expression *responsa dare* occurs again in the same sense, 10. 33.

IRA DEUM.—In modern parlance, judgment of God, visitation of God. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 17: "In Campo tamē Martis sepultus est [Britannicus], adeo turbidis imbribus, ut vulgus *iram deum* portendi crediderit adversus facinus." *Ibid.* 14. 22: "Iisdem diebus, nimia luxus cupido infamiam et periculum Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquae Martiae, ad urbem deductae, nando incesserat; videbaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam loci corpore toto polluisse: secutaque anceps valetudo *iram deum* affirmavit." Ovid, *Met.* 10. 399:

"sive est *ira deum*, sacris placabilis ira."

Boccaccio, *Decamer.*, giorn. 1, introd.: "Quando nella egregia città di Fiorenza, oltre ad ogni altra Italica bellissima, pervenne la mortifera pestilenza, la quale per operazion de' corpi superiori, o per le nostre inique opere, da giusta *ira di Dio* a nostra correzione mandata sopra i mortali, alquanti anni davanti nelle parti Orientali incominciata, quelle d' innumerabile quantità di viventi avendo private, senza ristare, d'un luogo in un altro continuandosi, verso l'Occidente miserabilmente s'era ampliata."

FATORUM ORDO.—The natural course of events. See Rem. on 4. 696.

VEL QUAE, &c., . . . ORDO (vv. 706-7).—She explained both the judgments of heaven, *i. e.*, the special interference of the angered deities for the punishment of crimes, and the decrees of the fates, *i. e.*, the events which happened according to the original decrees of the fates and in which there was no interference of a deity to be discerned. Compare Phaedr. 4. 11 :

“ secundo ostendit scelera non ira deum,
fatorum dioto sed puniri tempore.”

TRAHUNT RETRAHUNTQUE.—Not *draw and draw back*, but *draw and re-draw*, *i. e.*, *draw and draw over again, draw repeatedly*. Compare 6. 122 : “ itque reditque viam toties ; ” 4. 438 : “ fertque refertque soror ; ” 12. 866 : “ fertque refertque sonans.”

QUICQUID ERIT, SUPERANDA OMNIS FORTUNA FERENDO EST.—Wagner having both in his edition of Heyne and in his *Virg. Br. En.* interpreted these words specially, or as meaning “ quicquid per hoc ostendunt, portendunt dii,” has in his *Praestabilior* assigned them a general sense only, viz., that of “ quicquid obvenit.” Several reasons decide me to think that their sense is special—first, because if not there is no direct reference in the whole of the speech of Nautes to the remarkable event which alone caused Aeneas to apply to him for advice. Secondly, because, understood in this general sense, the words are unnecessary, convey no idea which is not conveyed in the immediately following OMNIS ; QUICQUID ERIT so interpreted being in fact the exact equivalent of OMNIS FORTUNA. Thirdly, because QUICQUID ERIT is so nearly the same as the special “ quicquid id est,” applied 2. 59 to the wooden horse (a similarly alarming portent, and concerning the import of which there was similar doubt and variety of opinion), that it becomes in a very high degree probable QUICQUID ERIT is special also.

SUPERANDA OMNIS FORTUNA FERENDO EST.—The old lie, and no less a lie at the present day than in the time of Virgil. The victory which we have over fortune by patience is the kind of victory the thief has at the gallows. Patience (FERENDO) is,

as the very word implies, suffering, *i. e.*, defeat, and the very opposite of victory. Your Nautes of the year of Christ 1864 uses the same logic, and for 1864 years the same logic has never been without a Nautes to use it. Compare Metast. *Siroe*, 2. 8 :

“l'ira del fato avaro
tollerando si vince.”

If the reader care to see the lie exposed by Virgil himself, let him turn to verse 22 above—“*superat quoniam fortuna, sequamur*”—often cited as parallel, but so far from parallel as to be point-blank opposite, the victory being there assigned to the victor, not, as here, to the vanquished, as I have expressed it in my *Thalia Petasata*, p. 3 :

. . . “up to the knoll,
from whence Malsch church commands the subject village,
lightfoot I mount, and take the prospect in
of breaking clouds and sunny glances bright,
and widening-out horizon, and return
with the glad tidings to my inn and Katharine ;
and full of hope laud patience to the stars,
to her ungrateful who alone can make
lighter the burden which must needs be borne,
for in its nature no less than its name,
patience is suffering, not a help to bear,
and Horace and his Maro both are wrong.”

718-759.

PERMISSO—ASTRIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 751).

N

EGENTES **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.* (thus : EGESTES). **II** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** Donat.
ad Terent. *Eun.* 4. 6 ; Princ. ; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 ; Mil. 1475 ;
Bresc. ; P. Manut. ; N. Heins. ; Phil. ; Pott. ; Haupt ; Ribb.

AGENTES **III** $\frac{1}{2}$.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 756).

TROIAM ■ Rom., Pal., Med.; "in plerisque antiquioribus TROIAM," Pierius.

■■ ¼. ■■■ Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

TROIÆ ■ ¼. ■■■ Princ.; Bresc.; P. Manut.; N. Heins.; Philippe.

TROIA ■ ¼.

PERMISSO (vs. 718).—"PERMISSO ab Aceste," Servius, Heyne. "PERMISSO ab Aenea," Peerlkamp, Forbiger, Wagner (*Praest.*), Conington. In the latter opinion I agree, first, because it was graceful in Aeneas to waive in favour of Acestes his own claim to have the city called after himself; secondly, because Nautes in thus asking him to waive his claim was making a request which Aeneas was little likely to refuse—the right of giving name to such a city of cowardly women and worn-out old men being one of which Aeneas had no need to be very tenacious; and thirdly, because PERMISSO so understood harmonizes well with the just preceding TRADE and SINE. It is as if Nautes had said "you will permit them to call the city Acesta." To have said "Acestes will permit them to call the city Acesta" would have been anything but a compliment to Aeneas, and would rather have afforded a reason for Aeneas's declining to follow, than for Aeneas's following, the advice Nautes was giving him. The opposite of "permissum nomen" was "vetitum nomen," as Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 9. 31:

"sic mea, lege data vincta atque inclusa, Thalia
per titulum vetiti nominis ire cupit."

TORQUET CURSUS (vs. 738).—Keeping before the mind the image BIGIS SUBVECTA presented above, verse 721.

DEPONUNT (vs. 751).—Not *they land*, for they are already landed, but as precisely as possible *drop, leave there behind them*.

NIL MAGNAE LAUDIS EGENTES (vs. 751).—"Non egens laudis est qui laborat inopia gloriae, qui gloriae non est appetens, utique inglorius et ακλης," La Cerda, making no less than three mistakes: first, confounding two very different things, the absence of the appetite for glory and the absence of glory itself, the former of which alone is in Virgil's mind; secondly, con-

founding two different words, *nil* and *non*, the former signifying total, downright, point-blank, absolute negation, the latter mere simple ordinary negation; and thirdly, making no account of and wholly ignoring *MAGNAE*, in which the main gist of the meaning lies. “*Illa vero egregia plane: ANIMOS NIL MAGNAE LAUDIS EGENTES, non desiderantes aut appetentes; non gloriae cupidos, sed ingloria et obscura vita . . . contentos,*” Heyne, avoiding La Cerda’s first and principal mistake, but equally committing both his others. *EGENTES* exactly corresponds to our English *wanting*, in its sense of *feeling want of, desiring; feeling a deficiency or absence of something, and not only feeling the deficiency or absence, but wishing to have the deficiency or absence supplied*, Gr. *ἡρηζοντες, ἡριζοντες*. *NIL* is not the least, no particle, no jot, as 2. 287: “*ille nihil; nec me quaerentem vana moratur*” [not one word of answer to my questions]; *Stat. Silv. 1. 5. 17*: “*veste nihil tectae*” [in no part covered, perfectly naked]. *MAGNAE* is added to *LAUDIS*, in order to signify the kind or degree of “*laus*” they did not want, had no occasion for, viz., “*magna laus*,” the great glory which Aeneas himself and the higher-minded of those who accompanied him were covetous of, the great glory of founding the great empire which was promised to them by the oracles. This kind of “*laus*” they felt not the smallest want of, though otherwise good people, desirous of “*laus*” in a small way. *NIL LAUDIS EGENTES* without the *MAGNAE* had cast a reproach on the colony of Segesta, than which nothing could be farther from Virgil’s mind, viz., that they were good-for-nothing, *i. e.*, unworthy, bad people, as all people necessarily are who do not care at all (*NIL*) for praise. All our author means is that they were people with less ambition than their comrades, content with a less high degree of glory, not caring at all for “*magna laus*.” Compare “*nil radicis egent aliae [silvae];*” *Manil. 4. 215*:

“denique in ambiguo fuerit quodcunque locatum,
et rectoris *egens*.”

AMBESA REPONUNT ROBORA (vv. 752-3).—“*Quod flammis ambesum est non reponitur, sed tollitur, pro eo aliud integrum*

reponitur. Fortasse scribendum

IPSI TRANSTRA NOVANT FLAMMIS AMBESA; REPONUNT
ROBORA NAVIGIIS,"

Peerlkamp—an ingenious solution, as Peerlkamp's solutions so often are, but as is equally true of so many of Peerlkamp's solutions not needed. Reponere means not alone to put back a removed thing into the place which it formerly occupied, as 1. 257: "sic nos in sceptrā *reponis*?" but also to restore a damaged, used, or worn-out thing to its former office or efficiency, as Tacit. *Annal.* 1. 63: "Caecinae dubitanti quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes *reponeret* . . . castra metari in loco placuit," not surely *put back the old broken-down bridges into their places* (not having been removed they could not be put back), but *make them good, restore them to their use and efficiency*; and so in our text, *restore the half-consumed timbers*. How the restoration was to be effected, whether by mere reparation of the old, or substitution of new, is not explained either by Virgil in the case of the ships, or by Tacitus in the case of the bridges; but in the case of the ships, at least, it is probable that mere reparation is meant, ROBORA signifying the strong beams of the ship, and these beams being on the one hand only partially burned, and on the other being contrasted with the TRANSTRA, which were of small comparative magnitude, and are described as being made entirely new (NOVANT).

EXIGUI NUMERO, SED BELLO VIVIDA VIRTUS (vs. 754).—Compare *Moret.* 63:

"exiguus spatio, variis sed fertilis herbis,"

an additional argument that the *Moretum* was written by Virgil.

VICINA ASTRIS (vs. 759).—Compare Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 721: ἀστρογειτονας κορυφας [Caucasi].

768-788.

MARIS—INSEQUITUR

VAR. LECT. (vs. 768).

NUMEN ■ *Pal.*,* Pierius.† ■■ §§; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Serv.; Donat.; Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 (Jenson), 1486; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Burm.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); Philippe; Wakefield; Wagner (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*)

U

NOMEN ■ *Med.* (thus: NOMEN, with the O crossed out). ■■■ N. Heins. (1676, 1704); Heyne; Dietsch; Haupt; Ribb.; Con.

CAELUM ■ *Rom.* ■■ ʒʒ; cod. Parrh. (Burm.). ■■■ Pott.

The passage is not quoted by Servius either as he is represented by the cod. Dresd. or by Lion.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 773).

FUNEM ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "in antiquis codd. quotquot vidi FUNEM legitur," Pierius. ■■ §§. ■■■ Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; N. Heins. (1671); Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

FUNES ■■ ʒʒ. ■■■ Ven. 1471, 1486; Mil. 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Philippe.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 785).

EXCEDISSE ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ §§. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Mil. 1475, 1492; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Pott.; Voss; Haupt; Ribb.; Con.

EXCEDISSE ■ *Vat.* (the E, worn much by time, † looks like, and has been taken by Bottari and Ribbeck for, an I). ■■ ʒʒ.

* The statement of Ribbeck that the Palatine reads NOMEN is incorrect.

† Pierius takes no notice at all of NOMEN, but after informing us that the Roman reads CAELUM, proceeds: "plerique alii codices NUMEN legunt, quae lectio nequam expungenda est."

‡ See "nexaeque," l. 452, *Var. Lect.*

EXSEDISSE **III** $\frac{3}{4}$.EXCIDISSE **III** $\frac{1}{2}$.EXIDISSE **III** $\frac{3}{4}$.*VAR. LECT.* (vs. 786).

NEC POENAM TRAXE PER OMNEM **III** $\frac{3}{4}$:ISS. .
Vat. (TRAXERE, the RE struck out with
 ancient ink, but the ISS superscribed being in modern ink), *Rom.*
 (PONAM), *Pal.** (TRAXERE PER OMNES, with the S crossed out,
 and the corrections made by the original hand), *Med.* (TRAXESSÈ,
 with the SSE crossed out: the first E seems to have been originally
 an I altered into E). **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** N. Heins. (1671); Philippe; Haupt;
 Ribb.; Pott.

POENAM TRAXISSE PER OMNEM **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (in one of which—viz., Bresl. 4—the
 EST, and in at least five others the NEC, of this verse has been omitted).
III Ven. 1471; Bresc.; P. Manut. (all with NEC omitted).

POENAM TRANSISSE PER OMNEM **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (viz., Dresd., Aug. B, Vad. C).

POENAM EXTRAXISSE PER OMNEM **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (viz., Goth. 239).

POENAM TRAXERE PER OMNEM **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (viz., Bamb. A). **III** Voss (who also
 reads ET for EST).

POENAM TRAXISSE PER OMNES **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (viz., Leipz. 35, Pomm. thus TRAXSE).
III Ven. 1472.

POENAS TRAXISSE PER OMNES **III** $\frac{3}{4}$ (viz., Erl. 859).

POENAM TRASSE PER OMNEM **III** Ven. 1475; Mil. 1475.

MARIS FACIES (vs. 768).—*The face of the sea*, exactly as Sil. 14.
 360:

. . . "salis icta frequenti
 albescit pulsu facies."

Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 5 (of chaos):

"ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum,
 unus erat toto Naturae *calvis* in orbe."

* EST NEC POEN., *Vat.*, *Rom.*, *Pal.*

Ibid. 3. 413 (of Narcissus):

“hic puer, et studio venandi lassus et aestu,
procubuit; *faciemque loci, fontemque secutus*”

[attracted by the look of the place and by the spring].

NUMEN (vs. 768).—“Mare inter deos numerat Hygin. *Fab. praef.*: ‘ex Aethere et Die Terra, Caelum, Mare,’” Wagner (1861). Very true, but nothing to the purpose. NUMEN is not used here in its concrete sense of deus, but in its abstract sense of will, pleasure, arbitrament. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 653 (Ocyrrhoe vaticinating and apostrophizing her father Chiron, who she foresees will be turned from immortal into mortal):

“teque ex aeterno patientem *numina* mortis
efficient; triplicesque deae tua fila resolvent”

[not suffering the deity or godhead of death, but the will, the pleasure, the arbitrament of death]. In like manner in our text it is not the deity of the sea, the god Sea, which had been intolerable to the Trojan matrons, but the will, the pleasure, the arbitrament, the caprice of the sea—they had not been able to think with patience of being exposed to the ill humour, the whims, the caprices of the sea—a sense in which, it will be observed, NUMEN agrees as well with FACIES as NUMEN in the sense of god or godhead is wholly incompatible with it. To the women the FACIES of the sea was ASPERA, the face of the sea, the look, the appearance of the sea, rough and disagreeable and uninviting; and the will of the sea, the temper of the sea, the whims and caprices of the sea, the arbitrament of the sea, not to be endured; in other words, the arbitrament, the will of the sea, was as intolerable as its sour face indicated it to be. Both words, both facies and numen, are similarly applied, and in one and the same verse, too, to the Mundus by Manilius, l. 111:

“omniaque ad numen *Mundi faciemque moveri*”

[all things are moved according to the will (the arbitrament) and look (sign given by the look) of the Mundus]. Compare also Hor. *Carm.* 3. 10. 7:

. . . “positas ut glaciet nives
puro *numine* Iupiter”

[with his mere “numen,” i.e., without visible agency, and by

his mere will or pleasure; the weather being clear, cloudless, and still, and nothing but the mere, pure *will* of Jupiter to produce the freezing effect]. Also Ovid, *Met.* 11. 392: "*numen adorandum pelagi est*" [the disposing will, pleasure, or behest of the sea]. See Remm. on "*numine laeso*," 1. 12; "*numen Iunonis adoret*," 1. 52; "*tua numina posco*," 1. 670; "*sanc-tum mihi numen*," 8. 382; "*numine divae*," 1. 451; "*haud numine nostro*," 2. 396; "*advertite numen*," 4. 611.

Wakefield, labouring under I know not what hallucination, separates NUMEN altogether from MARIS, and unless I mistake him, understands it to be the NUMEN or *δαιμων* of the women themselves. His words are: "Heyne miserably mars the passage by putting NOMEN for NUMEN, the beauty of which he did not discover [so far I entirely agree with Wakefield], into the text. NUMEN is the *δαιμων*, the existing circumstances, chiefly of a *melancholy complexion* (as those of our time and country), which influences or governs the man and his life at that crisis."

NON TOLERABILE (vs. 768).—*Δυσκομιστος*, Soph. *Antig.* 1345:

. . . τα δ' ἐπὶ κρατὶ μοι
ποτμος δυσκομιστος εἰσηλατο.

Neptune is described as "intolerandus" by Plautus, *Trinum.* 4. 1. 5:

"atque ego, Neptune, tibi ante alios deos gratias ago atque habeo summas,
nam te omnes saevumque severumque atque avidis moribus commemorant,
spurcificum, immanem, *intolerandum*, vesanum."

Is this our author's translation of the *αμεγαρτον* of Homer, *Od.* 11. 398:

ἦε σε γ' ἐν νηεσσι Ποσειδῶν ἐδαμασσαν,
ορσας ἀργαλεῶν ἀνεμῶν ἀμεγαρτον αὐτμήν;

rendered by Damm.: "*excitans difficilium ventorum intolerabilem flatum*"?

CAEDERE DEINDE IUBET SOLVIQUE EX ORDINE FUNEM (vs. 773). —"IUBET CAEDERE EX ORDINE, *i. e.*, rite peragi sacrificium, et sic SOLVI FUNEM. Sic in septimo (139): '*Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem invocat*,' *i. e.*, rite," Servius. No; but one after the other; first one, then another, and so on in succession; first one

ship to be loosed from the shore, then another, and then another, and so on. And so in the seventh book, verse 139 (wholly misunderstood by Servius), first the *genius loci*, then Tellus, then the Nymphs, then the Rivers, then Night and the Constellations, and so on, one after another, “*ex ordine*” belonging not to the Phrygian mother alone, but equally to all the personages mentioned. And so *Georg. 3. 341* :

“*saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem*”

[every day and night one after the other, the whole month through]; and *Stat. Theb. 3. 309* : “*tantosque ex ordine vidi delituisse deos.*” See Rem. on l. 460.

PROCUL IN PRORA (vs. 775).—“*In parte extrema,*” Servius. “*PROCUL* is not easy : perhaps it may refer to the distance from the shore, implying that the offering is thrown far into the sea ; or it may refer to the height of the prow above the waves,” Conington. I think the word serves to particularize and make a separate picture of Aeneas, *away on the prow*, and of course at a distance no less from Acestes and those whom he has committed to Acestes’ care (CONSANGUINEO LACRYMANS COMMENDAT ACESTAE) than from those who are sacrificing (TREES ERYCI VITULOS ET TEMPESTATIBUS AGNAM CAEDERE DEINDE IUBET) and those who are loosing the cables (SOLVIQUE EX ORDINE FUNEM).

PIETAS NEC MITIGAT ULLA (vs. 783).—The commentators, *ex. gr.*, Wagner (*Praest.*) and Conington, understand PIETAS to be *pietas Aeneae*, and the reference to be either to the general pietas of Aeneas, or his special pietas towards Juno, 3. 547, or to both. But query, is not the PIETAS spoken of, the pietas (pity) of Juno herself, appealed to by Venus and Aeneas as the pietas of Jupiter is appealed to by Aeneas, verse 688 :

. . . “*si quid pietas antiqua labores
respicit humanos ?*”

Compare Senior, *Essays on Fiction*, p. 69 : “*Varney belongs to the class . . . of villains . . . who select their objects with perfect selfishness and pursue them with unrelenting earnestness, softened by no compunction, and awed by no fear but that of failure.*” See Rem. on “*insignem pietate,*” l. 14.

INFRACTA (vs. 784).—Κατακλασθείσα, as Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 106 :

Ἥρῃ, σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆμος ἀηλῆες ἦτορ ἐκεῖτο·
οὐδὲ κατακλασθῆς τε καὶ ὠκτίσας, ἦνυκα πῆχεις
ἀμφοτέρους ὀρεγούσα, μᾶτην ἐφθεγγέτο τοια.

With regard to vv. 785-787, while on **the one** hand I object to the Wagnerian structure (edd. Heyn. and 1861) adopted by Forbiger, Ribbeck, and Conington :

NON MEDIA DE GENTE PHRYGUM EXEDISSE NEFANDIS
URBEM ODIIS SATIS EST, NEC POENAM TRAXE PER OMNEM ;
RELIQUIAS TROIAE, CINERES ATQUE OSSA PEREMPTAE
INSEQUITUR,

first that TRAXE URBEM PER POENAM OMNEM presents as awkward a picture as can well be imagined ; and secondly that RELIQUIAS TROIAE thrown to CINERES ATQUE OSSA PEREMPTAE, instead of adding to only takes from the strength of the apodosis ; I object on **the other** hand to the Heinsian and Heynian structure adopted by Thiel :

NON MEDIA DE GENTE PHRYGUM EXEDISSE NEFANDIS
URBEM ODIIS SATIS EST, NEC POENAM TRAXE PER OMNEM
RELIQUIAS : TROIAE CINERES ATQUE OSSA PEREMPTAE
INSEQUITUR,

first, that even the single word TROIAE added to the apodosis takes just so much from its strength and vigour ; and secondly, that two consecutive lines cannot gracefully commence with two metrically similar words, each separated by a pause from the remaining words of the verse to which it belongs. A new arrangement of the punctuation, necessary if these objections are well founded, is happily of no great difficulty :

NEC POENAM TRAXE PER OMNEM
RELIQUIAS TROIAE ; CINERES ATQUE OSSA PEREMPTAE
INSEQUITUR.

By the adoption of this structure, not only is the metrically awkward commencement of one verse with RELIQUIAS followed by a pause and of the next with INSEQUITUR likewise followed by a pause avoided, not only is TRAXE separated from an improper object (URBEM) and given to a proper object (RELIQUIAS

TROIAE), not only is the apodosis relieved by the removal from it of words which are only a weight and incumbrance to it, but the protasis is both increased in strength and made conformable to the history by its being made double, *URBEM EXEDISSE, TRAXE RELIQUIAS TROIAE* (the *RELIQUIAS TROIAE* being the Trojans during their seven years' peregrination).

NON MEDIA DE GENTE PHRYGUM EXEDISSE NEFANDIS URBEM ODIIS SATIS EST.—Compare Hom. *Il.* 4. 34 (Jupiter to Juno):

εἰ δὲ σὺγ' εἰσελθούσα πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ
ὦμον βεβρωτοῖς Πριάμον Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας,
ἀλλοὺς τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χολὸν ἐξαίεσαιο,

aptly quoted by Mr. Conington, and quite sufficient to establish the correctness of the reading *EXEDISSE*, and incorrectness of *EXCIDISSE* preferred in my "Twelve Years' Voyage." The same coarse metaphor is to be found also in authors of inferior rank, as Xenoph. *Anab.* 4, *sub fin.*: *τουτους, ην πως δυνωμεθα, και ωμους δι καταφαγειν*, and *Hellen.* 3: *το μη ουκ ηδεως αν και ωμων εσθειν αυτων*.

CINERES ATQUE OSSA PEREMPTAE INSEQUITUR (vv. 787-8).—The extreme height of wickedness; the dead body at least should be spared. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 1029 (Tiresias to Creon):

ἀλλ' εἰκε τῷ θανόντι, μὴδ' ὀλώλοτα
κεντεῖ. τίς ἀλκὴ τὸν θανόντ' ἐπικταίνει;

Cities and states are commonly represented, and even by prose writers, as dead, and as having corpses, as Cic. *ad Fam.* 4. 5: "cum uno loco tot *oppidorum cadavera* proiecta iaceant;" *La Riforma* (Florence newspaper), Febr. 5, 1869: "offerir sull' altare delle convenienze diplomatiche, non un popolo, ma il suo *cadavere*."

URBEM . . . POENAM TRAXE PER OMNEM.—The same, perhaps too strong, figure is used by Silius, 13. 318:

"ne flammam taedasque velint, ne templa sub uno
in cinerem traxisse rogo."

792-815.

IN—CAPUT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 813).

ACCEDET ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ 48. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1671); Phil.; Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

ACCEDAT ■■ 48.

ACCEDERE ■■ 48.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 814).

QUAERES ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.*; Pierius ("In exemplaribus omnibus antiquis quotquot habui, QUÆRES legitur"). ■■ 48; cod. Camer. (Bersm.) ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; R. Steph.; N. Heins. (in his note in Burm.); Ribb.; Conington.

QUAERET ■■ 48. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); H. Steph.; Burm.; La Cerda; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Wagner; Forbiger; Haupt.

IN REGNIS HOC AUSA TUIS (vs. 792).—Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 48 (of the wife of Calvisius Sabinus): "In ipsis principiis stuprum ausa."

PER SCELUS (vs. 793).—The commentators agree in understanding the structure to be ACTIS PER SCELUS, and the SCELUS spoken of to be the SCELUS of the matrons: "*In SCELUS, pro vulg. ad SCELUS adactis*," Heyne. "Ut δι' υβρεως μολουσαι s. αγομεναι apud tragicos Graecos," Wagner (*Praest.*), appropriating the parallel drawn by Ruhkopf ad Heyn. "*Den zum verbrechen angetriebenen, wie δι' υβρεως μολουσαι, αγομεναι, eigentlich durch alle stadien des verbrechens hindurch (aufkeimender gedanke, heraufreifender entschluss, ausführung der that),*" Ladewig. This is all, as it seems to me, in the highest degree incorrect. The SCELUS spoken of is not the SCELUS of the Trojan

matrons, but of Juno herself; the structure is not *ACTIS PER SCELUS*, but *PER SCELUS* (*scelerate*) *ACTIS* (*ad classem exurendam*); and the parallel adduced by Ruhkopf and so useful to succeeding commentators is a false parallel, has nothing whatsoever in common either with the Virgilian thought or the Virgilian expression. The *SCELUS* spoken of is not the *SCELUS* of the Trojan women, but the *SCELUS* of Juno herself, because it is Juno, Juno's wickedness, Juno's atrocity ("urit atrox Iuno," 1. 666), not that of the Trojan women, which is and has been all along Venus's subject, the one thing uppermost in her thoughts, and which she wishes most to impress on the mind of Neptune. Therefore, verse 781: *IUNONIS GRAVIS IRA, NEC EXSATURABILE PECTUS*—that *IRA* and that *PECTUS* which no length of time, no feeling of tenderness of her own, no command of Jove, no supreme will and authority of the fates had the smallest effect upon. Therefore, verse 785, the *NEFANDIS ODIIS* with which she, Juno, "exedit URBEM," and persecuted even the bones and ashes of the dead carcase. Therefore, verse 788, the *TANTI FURORIS* of the same Juno. Therefore, verse 792, the *AUSA*, the audacity with which she did this last even in Neptune's own realm; and therefore in our text the *SCELUS* with which by means of the Trojan matrons driven by her, excited by her, to the act, she burned the ships by a mean, unworthy, shabby, abominable, dirty trick (*FOEDE*). Accordingly, the words *PER SCELUS* are put in the emphatic position, and are followed by the exclamation *ECCE ETIAM*, pointing back to the previous enormities of Juno, and adding to them this additional one of the burning of the ships.

PER SCELUS.—*She wickedly—of malice prepense*, as we would say—and then Venus pauses, in order by the word *ECCE* to draw the attention of her auditor more particularly to the late new atrocity, while by the word *ETIAM* she adds it to the previous list. *PER SCELUS—ECCE ETIAM*: *She wickedly—see again—EXUS-SIT FOEDE PUPPES*; the words *TROIANIS MATRIBUS ACTIS* being interposed in order to explain by what agency the *SCELUS* of burning the ships was perpetrated. *PER SCELUS* = *scelerate*. Compare Cic. *pro Domo*, 58: "Domus per scelus erepta . . . scelera-tius etiam aedificata," where the "per scelus" in the former

clause corresponds to the “sceleratius” of the latter, as if he had said : “Domus scelerate erepta . . . sceleratius etiam aedificata,” or “domus per scelus erepta . . . per maius scelus aedificata.” See Remm. on 2. 229, 576.

QUOD SUPEREST, ORO, LICEAT DARE TUTA PER UNDAS VELA TIBI ; LICEAT LAURENTEM ATTINGERE TYBRIM (vv. 796-7).—“QUOD SUPEREST, nämlich : *zu sagen* ; also : *schliesslich*,” Lade-wig. “Reliqua classis,” Wagner (1861). “QUOD SUPEREST is to be explained of the remaining ships and their crews,” Conington. Both explanations are, as I think, erroneous. QUOD SUPEREST is : *what remains now, viz., for us in this our distressed condition—for the rest, as we say in English.* Compare 5. 691 :

“vel tu, *quod superest*, infesto fulmine morti,
si mereor, demitte”

[all that is left for you to do, in order to complete the work you have begun]. 9. 156 :

“nunc adeo melior quoniam pars acta diei,
quod superest, laeti,” &c.

[all that can be done now, at this hour of the day]. Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 5. 17 :

“quaeque gravi nuper plus quam quassata procella est,
quod superest, tutum per mare navis eat”

[for the remainder, for the rest ; all that remains now to be done]. Stat. *Achill.* 1. 48 :

“ibo tamen, pelagique deos, dextramque secundi,
quod superest, complexa Iovis”

[all that remained to be done ; my only remaining resource]. Sil. Ital. 12. 258 :

“‘macte Antenoride ; nunc,’ inquit, ‘rapta petamus,
quod superest, Libyci rectoris tegmina’”

[all that remains to be done]. Stat. *Theb.* 10. 47 :

“*quod superest*, duris affrangent postibus ungues
pectoraque, et siccos minuunt in limine dentes”

[all that they can now do]. And precisely so, Silius in his imitation, 17. 284 :

. . . "hoc satis irae
interea, genitor, satis ad maiora minarum.
caetera, parce, precor, pelago."

See Rem. on 5. 691.

LICEAT DARE TUTA PER UNDAS VELA TIBI.—"Sicher die segel dir anzuvertrauen auf dem meere," Ladewig. No; TIBI is not the dative depending on DARE, but the ethical dative, as 6. 773; and in this place is nearly equivalent to *be so good as; please*: LICEAT DARE TUTA VELA, TIBI, *be so good as to allow us to sail safely*. The two words DARE VELA express, not the two distinct ideas of giving and sailing, but the one single idea of sailing. Compare "*vela damus*," 3. 191, and see Rem. on 2. 199.

ÆNEAN . . . NUBE CAVA RAPUI (vv. 809, 810).—*In a hollow cloud*, or, as we would say, *in the hollow of a cloud*. Compare 1. 520: "*nube cava . . . amicti*;" and 2. 360: "*nox atra cava circumvolat umbra*," where see Rem.

TUTUS QUOS OPTAS PORTUS ACCEDET. AVERNI UNUS ERIT TANTUM AMISSUM QUEM GURGITE QUÆRES (vv. 813-4).—So Servius unhesitatingly punctuates: "Hic [viz., at ACCEDET] distinguendum, ne sit contrarium Veneris petitioni, quæ ait: LICEAT LAURENTEM ATTINGERE TYBRIM;" and Spence, Holdsworth, and Paldamus agree with Servius. It strikes me that besides the ground assigned by Servius for separating AVERNI from what goes before and joining it to what follows, there is no less strong ground that a Roman poet was much more likely to go out of his way in order to find a less ominous appellation for a veritable Portus Averni, had he been under the necessity of speaking of one, than to go out of his way in search of so unlucky an equivocal for the port of Baiæ.

UNUS ERIT TANTUM, &c.—"AMISSUM QUEM GURGITE QUÆRES, Misenum dicit. UNUM PRO MULTIS hic Palinurum significat," Servius. "Quorum versuum prior ad Palinurum spectat, quem in medio mari amissum Aeneas desideravit, 5. 867, quem ex undis servatum in terra 'gens crudelis' necavit, 6. 361; alter

ad Misenum, qui a Tritone, deo marino, 'spumosa immersus unda,' 6. 174, *unus* PRO MULTIS litatus esse deis recte dici poterat," Conrads (*Quaest. Virgil.*), following Pomponius Sabinus. Both interpretations are equally erroneous. There is but one death spoken of, viz., that of Palinurus, indicated here by AMISUM GURGITE, as at verse 867 by "amisso magistro;" and UNUM PRO MULTIS DABITUR CAPUT is only a repetition under another form, i. e., only a variation of UNUS ERIT AMISUM QUEM GURGITE QUÆRES, and so rightly Heyne and Wagner.

QUÆRES (vs. 814).—Whether we read QUÆRES or QUÆRET the meaning is not that there shall be actual search made for the lost individual, but according to a common use of the verb quaerere that there shall be a missing or desiderated individual, a person absent who should be present [compare Manil. 2. 259 :

. . . "lumina Cancro
desunt; Centauro superest et quaeritur unum."

Id. 2. 287 :

"Daemonien memorant Graii, Romana per ora
quaeritur in versu titulus."

Plin. 2. 13 : "ut quindecim diebus utrumque sidus *quaereretur*" [should be missing]], a use of quaerere exactly corresponding with that so well known use of desiderare, of which the following is a striking example, *Caes. Bell. Gall. 5. 23* : "Ac sic accidit, ut ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc, neque superiore anno, ulla omnino navis, quae milites portaret, *desideraretur*." Had Conrads perceived that it is in this, if I may so say, its secondary sense, not in its primary sense of seeking for, searching for, quaerere is on this occasion used by our author, he would not have thus argued (*Quaest. Virgil.* prefixed to the Progr. of the Gymnasium of Triers for 1863) in favour of the reading QUÆRET : "Atqui sciebat Venus, quippe dea, ubi sive Palinurus sive Misenuus vel tum esset vel futurus esset. Ergo Veneri 'quaerendus' non erat, Aeneae erat." Neither would Conrads, had he known that Wagner never even so much as saw either the Palatine or any other first-class MS., while, on the contrary, not only the Palatine but all the first-class MSS. were

diligently and laboriously collated by Ribbeck, have thus pitted the no authority of Wagner against the weighty authority of Ribbeck: "Qua auctoritate nitatur QUÆRET forma, viderint alii. In Palatino legi ait Wagnerus, negat Ribbeckius." All the first-class MSS. agree in the reading QUÆRES, and rightly; because, first, the missing individual being no less missing, desideratus, to Venus than to Aeneas, it was more polite and respectful in Neptune, addressing Venus, to speak of the lost individual being lost to her, than, omitting all notice of her loss, to speak only of Aeneas's; and because, secondly, the second person harmonizes better than the third with the immediately preceding second: TUTUS ACCEDET PORTUS QUOS OPTAS; UNUS ERIT TANTUM QUEM AMISUM QUÆRES.

UNUM PRO MULTIS DABITUR CAPUT (vs. 815).—The superstition of the scape-goat, or expiation by transference. Compare *Evang. Johan. 11. 49*: "Εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Καϊάφας, ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἰδατε οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ διαλογιζέσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ἡμῖν, ἵνα εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀποληταί.

820-871.

TONANTI—ARENA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 817).

CURRU **II** ††. **IIII** Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Junta; Bresc.; and all the editors down to N. Heinsius, exclusive.

AURO **I** *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "Vetera omnia MSS. IUNGIT EQUOS AURO GENITORUM uno exemplo legunt," Pierius. **II** ††. **IIII** Isidor.; N. Heins. (1671); Phil.; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 821).

Q. EX A

*VASTO AETHERE **■** *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* (FVGIVNTVASIOETHAERE, with the last A crossed out). **■** $\frac{1}{2}$. **■■■** *Princ.*; *Ven.* [1470], 1471, 1472, 1475; *Mil.* 1475, 1492; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); [*Phil.*]; *Heyne*; *Brunck.*; *Wakef.*; [*Pott.*]; *Lad.*; [*Haupt*]; *Ribb.*

FUGIUNTQUE EX AETHERE **■■■** *Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861).

VASTO AEQUORE **■■** **♂**.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 825).

TENET **■** *Rom.* (thus: TENT), *Med.* **■** $\frac{1}{2}$. **■■■** *Princ.*; *Ven.* 1472, 1475; *Mil.* 1475.

TENENT **■** *Pal.* **■■** $\frac{1}{2}$. **■■■** *Ven.* 1470, 1471; *Bresc.*; *P. Manut.*; *N. Heins.* (1671); *Philippe*; *Heyne*; *Pott.*; *Ribb.*

TONANTI (vs. 820).—"Seems to refer to the sounding of the sea," Conington. I think only to the weight and speed of the chariot, which is weighty and speedy inasmuch as belonging to and driven by so great a god.

STERNITUR AEQUOR AQUIS (vs. 821).—*The watery plain lies level.* That the allusion in STERNITUR is to the levelling, the laying level, of a road is shown by AXE TONANTI. The sea lies level, is laid level, under his chariot, as a road lies level under a vehicle which drives over it—STERNITUR, *is laid level*, as, l. 426 (where see Rem.): "strata viarum," *the leveled roads.* TUMIDUMQUE SUB AXE TONANTI STERNITUR AEQUOR AQUIS is thus the variation of the theme SUBSIDUNT UNDAE. See Rem. on l. 550.

VASTO (vs. 821).—A proper epithet for the sky, out at sea, where, no object impeding the view in any direction, it is seen in its whole *cant* extent.

* VASTO having been struck out of the heading and afterwards put back by me, I have placed between brackets those editions in which I am not able to ascertain that the reading is VASTO, though I am pretty sure if it had not been so I must have observed and noted the variety of reading.

BLANDA VICISSIM GAUDIA (vs. 827).—*Bland joys in their turn*, viz., after his previous anxieties; see vv. 700 and 720; also Rem. on 4. 80.

INTENDI BRACHIA VELIS (vs. 829).—He orders the arms (of the antennæ) to be stretched on the sails, *i. e.*, the sails to be spread on the arms of the antennæ. Both De la Rue and Jal, deceived by the apparently so similar, and yet really so dissimilar “intentaque brachia remis” of this very book, understand BRACHIA to be the arms of the sailors.—De la Rue: “Admoveri manus ad vela.” Jal, *Virg. Naut.*, § 4: “Que les bras de tous soient occupés à déployer les voiles”—a notable example, indeed, of the ambiguity inseparable from language; an ambiguity which arises, more perhaps than from any other single cause, from that double meaning, literal and metaphorical, of which all words not mere particles are capable in every language under the sun, and of which the expressions ο υιος του θεου and τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου afford examples as sure to be misunderstood by the uninformed reader, *i. e.*, by the mass of mankind, as the example in our text.

IAMQUE FERRE MEDIAM CAELI NOX HUMIDA METAM CONTIGERAT (vv. 835-6).—The point of rising and the point of setting being considered as two “metæ” (Ovid, *Met.* 3. 145:

“et sol ex aequo meta distabat utraque”),

the middle point between the two, *i. e.*, the zenith, is the “media meta;” or, regarding the point of setting alone as the “meta” *par excellence*, the zenith is “media meta” or half way to the “meta.” Compare 3. 512:

“necdum orbem medium Nox horis acta subibat.”

6. 535:

. . . “Aurora quadrigis
iam medium aethereo cursu traiecerat axem.”

Georg. 4. 426:

. . . “et medium sol igneus orbem
hauserat.”

Mr. Conington expresses an opinion “that Virgil may have considered the arch of the sky as a ‘meta’ or cone, of which the

topmost point is reached at midnight." Does Mr. Conington mean to say that Virgil may have intended to represent Night as driving *up* the "meta," to the top of the "meta," and may have designated this point, viz., the topmost point of the "meta," *MEDIAM METAM*?

AETHEREIS ASTRIS (vs. 838).—*Etherial sky*. See Rem. on verse 517.

SOMNIA TRISTIA (vs. 840).—Not *dreams of a sad character*, i. e., in which there were sad appearances, but *dreams which were to be productive of sad effects, which were sad in their consequences*; in other words: *sad that he dreamt at all, that he should dream at all*; in other words still: *well for him if he had not dreamed*, i. e., *if he had not gone to sleep*. Compare 9. 337:

. . . "felix si protenus illum
aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset."

AERUATAE SPIRANT AURAE (vs. 844).—"Opp. vento obliquo," Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*), Conington. I think not, but *blowing evenly*, *aequabiliter*; not in gusts, or now harder, and again softer, but *uniformly*, *uno tenore*.

DATUR HORA QUIETI (vs. 844).—"Susceptible of several meanings: (1) 'the hour is given (you) for rest'; (2) 'the hour is sacred to rest'; (3) 'the hour is being given (by others) to rest,' i. e., everyone is asleep. On the whole, the second seems preferable, though I know of no parallel expression in Virgil or elsewhere which might place it beyond doubt," Conington. I have no doubt at all that the second alone is the meaning: *it is the hour of rest*, *HORA DATUR QUIETI*, as Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1. 5. 47:

"cum dedimus somno, quas corpus postulat, horas;"

Ibid. 2. 4. 10:

"nec data iucundis tempora paucis iocis;"

Id. Met. 12. 579: "Nox est data cetera somno;" the difference between which passages and our text being, that in them the hour is given by the respective actors, whilst in our text it is given by nature; the conclusion, that it should therefore be given by the actor, being subjoined.

PONE CAPUT, FESSOSQUE OCULOS FURARE LABORI (vs. 845).—As if Somnus had said: lay down your head and go to sleep, for it is the hour of sleep—*namque* DATUR HORA QUIETI; or, in the words of our own poet, Spenser, *Visions of Bellay*, 1:

“ it [is] the time when rest, soft sliding down
from heaven's height into men's heavy eyes,
in the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown
the careful thoughts of mortal miseries.”

The right understanding of the passage is materially impeded by the period placed at QUIETI, which has the effect of separating the clause DATUR HORA QUIETI from PONE CAPUT, and throwing it entirely to AEQUATAE SPIRANT AURAE, with which clause it is of course connected, but not so as to be separated from PONE CAPUT. On the contrary, FERUNT IPSA AEQUORA CLASSEM, AEQUATAE SPIRANT AURAE, DATUR HORA QUIETI are three co-ordinate clauses, three premises, if I may so say, from which the conclusion is drawn, PONE CAPUT, &c.; and the pause at QUIETI should be only a semicolon, in order that the reader may pass on easily, directly, and without interruption from premises to conclusion.

MENE SALIS PLACIDI VULTUM FLUCTUSQUE QUIETOS IGNORARE IUBES? (vv. 848-9).—Not “Do you *bid* me?” but “Do you bid *me*?” “Is it *me* you bid, me, Palinurus, who have so often experienced the fickleness of the sea?” (verse 851). See Rem. on 2. 247, and compare 1. 621 and Rem., and 4. 314 and Rem.; also 1. 11 and Rem.

CREDAM (vs. 850).—Exactly our English *trust*, i. e., *give, expecting the thing so given to be safe*. Compare Liv. 2. 7: “*quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas*.” Sil. 13. 508 (of Scipio Africanus the elder): “*creditus ante annos Marti*.”

CLAVUM (vs. 852).—See Rem. on 5. 177.

CUNCTANTIQUE NATANTIA LUMINA SOLVIT (vs. 856).—“Solvuntur corpora, lumina, cum remittitur illa vis, qua agitantur,” Wagner (*Praest.*). I think the word is not used in this sense on the present occasion, but in its other and more ordinary sense of *loosing*. Somnus *looses* the eyes of Palinurus, of course not literally but metaphorically—metaphorically *looses*, *unyokes*,

unties them; in other words, relieves them from their office, discharges them from their duty, lets them go and rest. I understand the word to be used in the same manner, 4. 55 :

“*spemque dedit dubiae menti, solvitque pudorem*”

[loosed modesty, discharged modesty from her office, let modesty go about her business]. The metaphor is taken from the unyoking of oxen after their day's work, as *Georg. 2, ult. vers.* :

“*et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.*”

The oxen, literally loosed or unyoked, are at liberty to take rest, to go to sleep: the eyes, metaphorically loosed, are discharged from their office, exercise the same liberty of going to sleep. That this is the sense of the “solvere” of our text might be inferred, if from nothing else, from the striking similarity of the expressions *NATANTIA LUMINA SOLVIT* and “*fumantia solvere colla*”—both being expressions of one and the same author.

VIX PRIMOS INOPINA QUIES LAXAVERAT ARTUS (vs. 857).—“*PRIMOS* has really the force of *primum*, but it is also meant to be taken of those limbs or that part of them which were first affected by sleep. We should say ‘sleep had scarcely begun to relax his limbs,’ looking at the process as separated into parts, though the effect of each part would extend equally to the whole body. Virgil chooses to suppose one part of the body affected before another,” Conington. Incorrectly, unless we extend the same double meaning of *primus* to other similar instances of the use of the word, *ex. gr.*, to “*primam urbem*,” 6. 810; “*primas arces*,” 7. 61; “*primas urbes*,” *Sil.* 13. 533. As this cannot well be done, and as besides the doing so affords no advantage—on the contrary, confuses instead of clears up—I limit the force of “*primus*,” in our text and the parallel passages adduced, to the act, and separate it from the thing acted on; in other words, I regard “*primam*,” *PRIMOS*, and “*primas*” in these passages as strictly equivalent to the adverb *primum*, and not as at one and the same time equivalent to *primum* and retaining their adjectival force. See *Rem.* on 6. 810.

NUDUS IN IGNOTA, PALINURE, IACEBIS ARENA (vs. 871).—IGNOTA, "peregrina, ante non visa," Servius. "Am fremdlingstrand," Voss. But was it not on this very shore that Palinurus and all his comrades and Aeneas himself were so anxious to live the remainder of their days, and there lay their bodies; and was it not on this very shore, this shore of Great Hesperia, that in the beginning of the seventh book Caieta is congratulated as having died? Either therefore our author is inconsistent with himself, or IGNOTA ARENA does not mean *foreign shore*, *a shore unknown to Palinurus*, but *unknown sand*; IGNOTA being applied to the sand, not because it was the sand of Italy, *i.e.*, of a country unknown to Palinurus, but because all sand is unknown, *i.e.*, not visited, unfrequented, and where the dead body may lie unseen and without anyone knowing it is there. Exactly similar is the use of *ignotus*, ll. 865:

"illum expirantem socii atque extrema gementem
obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquant,"

where "ignoto" cannot well mean other than *unknown to everyone, undistinguished, unmarked*; and where "pulvere camporum," *the dust of the plain*, corresponds as accurately as possible with ARENA, not in the sense of *Italian shore*, but in the sense of *sea-sand*. The parallelism of the two passages is remarkable, Opis in the one case flying up to heaven after she has left her victim weltering "ignoto camporum in pulvere," and in the other case Somnus flying up to heaven, leaving his victim to lie naked in IGNOTA ARENA.

As in our text IGNOTA ARENA is the sand, whose existence indeed was well known, but of which nothing more was known to anyone than its mere existence; and as, ll. 865, "ignoto camporum pulvere" is the dust of the plains similarly well known with respect to its existence, and similarly unknown with respect to all its particularities; so, ll. 527, "ignota planities" is the level summit of the mountain, known indeed to be there, but (because out of the way) unvisited, unfamiliar, unknown. See Rem. *ad loc.*, and compare Tacit. *Histor.*, 3. 68: "Repentina vis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat; occultae

Caium insidiae; nox et *ignotum rus* fugam Neronis absconderant; *Piso et Galba* tanquam in acie cecidere. In sua concione Vitellius, inter suos milites, *prospectantibus* etiam feminis . . . adsistenti consuli . . . *exsolutum a latere pugionem, velut ius necis vitaeque civium, reddebat,*” where “*ignotum rus*” can only be *unknown*, in the sense of *not known to anyone, obscure, neglected*.

END OF BOOK V.

AENEIDEA,

BOOK VI.

AENEIDEA.

VI.

1.

SIC FATUR LACRYMANS CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS

“Aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum secutus est, qui ait, *Od. 4. 782* :

ηρτυναντο δ' ερετμα τροπιδις εν δερματινοισιν,”

Servius. “Est vero CLASSI HABENAS *immittere* vel clavum novum substituere . . . vel funes nauticos laxare ad navigationem,” La Cerda, Lemaire. “Hier sind die ‘habenae’ die segel,” Thiel. This is to take the figure too narrowly and specially. The “habenae” of our text are not real material habenae, whether “funes” (rudentes?), or oars, or sails, or rudder, but unsubstantial habenae, the same unsubstantial, purely figurative “habenae” which (α) are given loose to the vine-shoot of *Georg. 2. 363* :

. . . “dum se laetus ad auras
palmes agit, *laxis* per purum immissus *habenis* ;”

which (β) are given loose to the figurative Vulcan, *Aen. 5. 626* :

. . . “furit *immissis* Vulcanus *habenis*
transtra per et remos, et pictas abiete puppes ;”

with which (e) Aeolus is empowered to hold the winds now tighter, now looser, 1. 67 :

“ et premere et *lazas* sciret dare iussus *habenae* ;”

which (d) Aeneas deals out so freely to his own passion, 12. 499 :

“ irarumque omnes effundit *habenae* ;”

which (e) Latinus drops when his subjects insist on his making war, 7. 600 :

“ sepsit se tectis, rerumque relinquit *habenae* ;”

which (f) Neptune commands the river gods to throw loose to their rivers, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 279 :

“ aperite domos ac, mole remota,
fluminibus vestris totas immittite *habenae* ;”

and with which (g) Eur. in Cic. recommends you to hold friendship loose and easy, so as to be able to draw them tighter or give them out more freely at pleasure, *de Amicitia*, 13 : “ *commodis simum esse, quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae; quas vel adducas cum velis, vel remittas.*”

And why so? Why are the “*habenae*” of our text so general, so unsubstantial? Why are they not those special, those substantial *habenae* which belong to every ship, the “*funes*” (*rudentes*?), or the sails, or the oars, or the rudder? First, because it is not likely Virgil would begin a book with anything so minute and trivial; and secondly, because the meaning so assigned to *immittere habenas* is neither of the two established recognized meanings of that very common and well-known expression, is neither its primary and literal meaning, viz., *to give loose the chariot reins*, nor its secondary and derived meaning, *let go at full speed, let go without restraint or impediment*, but a third meaning of which its propounders produce no examples. To which arguments it may be added with respect **to** the interpretation “*funes*” (*rudentes*?) specially, that if such were the meaning, the expression would not have been *CLASSI IMMITTIT HABENAS*, but *velis IMMITTIT HABENAS*, the *rudentes* properly belonging not to the fleet but to the sails, and

being especially ascribed to the sails in precisely the same connexion, 10. 229: "et velis immitte rudentes;" with respect to the interpretation "clavum novum," that if such were the meaning, the expression would not be CLASSI IMMITTIT HABENAS, but *navi* IMMITTIT HABENAS; **and** with respect to the interpretation "vela," that there is, so far at least as has yet been shown no example of vela said to be immissa.

If it be alleged, as perhaps it will be alleged, that Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 593:

"vincitur ars vento, nec iam moderator *habenis*
utitur, at votis,"

applies not indeed the phrase immittere habenas, but the word "habenae" to the tackling of ships, signifying with that word either the rudentes, the vela, the oars, or the rudder, no matter which, then I answer, no; such interpretation of the Ovidian passage is but a repetition of the mistake already made with respect to the Virgilian. Ovid's "habenis" is no less figurative, unsubstantial, and general than Virgil's HABENAS; and the sense of the passage not that the manager of the vessel ceases to use sheets, or oars, or sails, or rudder, but that he ceases to use reins; as if he had said that the ship's coachman throws down the reins and betakes himself to prayers; and how little the word "habenae" is intended either by Ovid or by Virgil to be suggestive either of the whole or any particular part of the ship's tackling is shown by *Flor. 2. 2*: "Romana classis prompta, levis, expedita, et quodam genere castrensis, ad similitudinem pugnae equestris, sic *remis*, quasi *habenis*, agebatur," where the oars of a ship are expressly compared to "habenae" understood to mean horses' reins—a comparison which Florus had not made, had the word habenae of itself been suggestive either of oars or of any other part or of the whole of a ship's tackling; **and** is still further and more plainly shown by Seneca's (*Med. 346*):

"palluit audax Tiphys, et omnes
labente manu misit *habenae*,"

where Tiphys dropping the rudder is said to drop "omnes ha-

benas," not surely all the rudders, or all the rudentes, or all the oars, or all the sails, or all the tackling of the ship, but all the reins, *i. e.*, all the rule, management, and guidance.

The metaphor is a Greek metaphor, and, with the exception that the word used is not *ἡνιαι* (*habenae*), but *χαλινα* (*frena*), has been applied by Oppian, *de Piscat.* 227, exactly as by our author in the text :

καὶ τῆς μὲν λῖνα πάντα περὶ προτονοῖσι μεμυκε,
ροχθευσὶν δὲ καλῶες, ἐπημνεὶ δὲ κεραίῃ,
ρίπῃ ἐπειγομένη, πρυμνὴ δ' ἐπὶ πάντα χαλῖνα
ἰθυήτηρ ἀνιήσιν, ἐπισπερχὼν ὁδὸν ἀλμῆς.

While, however, the *χαλινα* of Oppian are thus to be understood, *viz.*, not as figuring the ship's tackling, but as forming a part of the figurative expression *ανιεναι χαλινα* (exactly as the HABENAS of our text are not figurative of the ship's tackling but form a part of the figurative expression "immittere HABENAS"), the *χαλινωτηρια* of Eurip. *Hec.* 538 (the prayer of Pyrrhus to deceased Achilles, as related by Talthybius) :

. . . πρευμένης δ' ἡμῖν γένου,
λῦσαι τε πρυμνας καὶ χαλινωτηρια
νέων δὸς ἡμῖν,

not forming part of a figurative expression, but joined in construction with the material *λῦσαι πρυμνας*, is to be understood as figuring the material retinacula of the ship, so as to give the sense "solvere puppes et retinacula navium."

Compare, 6. 100, the similarly purely metaphorical :

. . . "ea frena furenti
concutit, et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo;"

also the similarly purely metaphorical "frena remittat," Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 22 :

"haec fatus, ventis veluti si frena remittat
Aeolus, abrupto gentes sic obice fudit,
laxavitque viam bellis."

CLASSI.—"Aut suae navi quae 'classis' dicta est ἀπο τῶν

καλων, i. e., a lignis, unde Horatius :

‘ me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
classis releget;’

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur. Palinuri enim implet officium,” &c., Servius. “Ponitur autem CLASSI pro *navi*,” La Cerda. “Excepto velis expansis vento cursum urgebat classis, et navem regebat Aeneas, qui in Palinuri locum successerat,” Heyne. “Ponitur autem CLASSI pro cunctis navibus,” Lemaire. We never should have had CLASSI made the subject of a gloss if it had not been for the previous false interpretation of IMMITTIT HABENAS. The false interpretation of IMMITTIT HABENAS made a false interpretation of CLASSI necessary. Hence Servius’s “Aut suae navi quae ‘classis’ dicta est ἀπο τῶν καλῶν,” and La Cerda’s “Ponitur autem CLASSI pro *navi*,” and Heyne’s “vento cursum urgebat classis, et navem regebat Aeneas,” the last a mere blinking of the difficulty, a mere vain attempt to force CLASSI rightly interpreted into harmony with IMMITTIT HABENAS wrongly interpreted, viz., by assigning to CLASSI both meanings at once, viz., that of *fleet*, and that of *ship*. The necessity of the consequence not being perceived by Lemaire, that critic tacks to La Cerda’s false exposition of IMMITTERE HABENAS, repeated word for word, and put forward as his own, his own true interpretation of CLASSI: “Ponitur autem CLASSI pro cunctis navibus,” and so presents us with the absurd sense *supplies rudders to all the ships, or lets go the sheets of all the ships*. IMMITTIT HABENAS once rightly understood, CLASSI takes its usual sense, requires no comment. Aeneas takes leave of Palinurus and sails before the wind.

6-8.

QUAERIT PARS SEMINA FLAMMAE
 ABSTRUSA IN VENIS SILICIS PARS DENSE FERARUM
 TECTA RAPIT SILVAS INVENTAQUE FLUMINA MONSTRAT

QUAERIT PARS SEMINA FLAMMAE ABSTRUSA IN VENIS SILICIS.—
 Compare Prudent. *Cathem.* 5. 5 :

“quamvis innumero sidere regiam
 lunarique polum lampade pinxeris,
incussu silicis lumina nos tamen
monstras saxigeno semine quaerere.”

Seneo. *Med.* 834 :

“adde venenis stimulos, Hecate,
 donisque meis *semina flammæ*
 condita serva.”

PARS DENSE FERARUM TECTA RAPIT SILVAS.—“Quid est RAPIT? si *corripit, colligit, comportat*, aut *diripit*, nihil potest ieiunius dici grandibus istis et turgidis verbis: DENSE FERARUM TECTA. Igitur poeta necessario debuit ita accipere: RAPIT *cursu, rapido cursu perlustrant* SILVAS, ut vel fontem aquæ investigent, vel ferarum prædam ad epulas exquirant,” Heyne, followed by Ladewig. To which reasoning I object, first, that DENSE FERARUM TECTA is not a more grand and turgid expression than INVENTA FLUMINA MONSTRAT, understood to mean “fontem aquæ investigant.” Secondly, that such exaggerated expressions are to be found everywhere in Virgil [let two examples out of a thousand suffice—7. 722, the earth is not merely alarmed by the tramp of a marching army, but so alarmed as to tremble: “pul-suque pedum *tremat* excita tellus;” 12. 701, Aeneas, hastening to the duello with Turnus, is as huge as Athos or Eryx, or snow-topped father Apennine himself, and thunders on his shield as

terribly as the holm oaks of one of those mountains roar during a storm :

“quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
quum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras”].

Thirdly, that the hewing of wood for the pyre of Misenus is described in not very dissimilar terms only a few verses further on :

“itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum :
procumbunt picene, sonat icta securibus illex,
fraxineaeque trabes, cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur; advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.”

Fourthly, that the striking of fire described in the words QUÆRIT PARS SEMINA FLAMMAE ABSTRUSA IN VENIS SILICIS absolutely requires the foraging of wood, for we must not take the Trojans for fellow-countrymen of Heyne's, with every man his pipe in his pocket. **For these reasons**, as well as because *lignatio*, or the foraging of wood, whether for fuel or fence, has always been a prime necessity for explorers just arrived on a wholly unknown shore, and was therefore most fittingly placed in the same category with the no less necessary *agratio* or procuring of water [compare our own explorers *passim*, *ex. gr.*, Anson's *Voyage*, 5th ed., bk. 1, c. 5, p. 42 : “Our next employment [viz., on touching at the island of St. Catharine's on the coast of Brazil] was *wooding and watering* our squadron.” *Ibid.* bk. 2, c. 13 : “Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our *wooding and watering*, and in short every one of our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan, were completed.” *Ibid.* bk. 1, c. 9 : “There are many ports on the western side of Patagonia . . . where ships might ride in great safety, might recruit their *wood and water*, and might procure some few refreshments.” *Ibid.* bk. 2, c. 4 : “Former writers have represented it [the island of Juan Fernandez] as a small barren rock, destitute of *wood and water* . . . whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea.” *Ibid.* bk. 2, c. 8 : “The island of Quibo is extremely convenient for *wooding*

and watering, since the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea" (accompanied by map of the island of Quibo, in which the ground is represented studded with trees, and in which two streams are not named but merely marked "fresh water," "fresh water")], **I reject** the Heynian interpretation (although approved by Ladewig, Jahn, Thiel ("der erste zweck davon wird durch FERARUM TECTA angedeutet, nemlich wild zu erlegen"), and even by our own Alexander, bishop of Derry, in his translation, "Specimen of a translation of Virgil," *Afternoon Lectures on Literature and Art*, Dublin, 1869 :

"part strike the seeds of flame from flints, part wind
swift through the leafy lairs, and forest fountains find"),

and give my suffrage in favour of the rival interpretation of Ruæus and Scheller, "SILVAS diripit et lignum ad ignem alendum colligit," between which and the Heynian Gossrau attempts in vain: "RAPIT est *celeriter percurrit*, ut 'acrior et sonipes rapit,' Stat. *Theb.* 5. 3. Sed recte observatum est, silvas densas *rumpi* potius quam *rapi*. Iam vero quæ potest caussa reperiri tam rapidi per silvas cursus, statim postquam appulerunt? Quod si quis 'rapere SILVAS' explicat *colligere arborum ligna*, scilicet ne scintilla ex silice extrusa extinguatur, cum eo disceptare non est in animo. Sed is etiam neo TECTA FERARUM cur dicantur hoc loco, nec cur addatur epexegei SILVAS, satis ieunum, poterit explicare." And Conington does not even so much as attempt to decide: "It is questioned whether Densa FERARUM TECTA RAPIT SILVAS refers to scouring the woods for game, water, &c., or to stripping them for fuel. RAPIT in the latter case would be parallel to 'rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama,' 2. 347; in the former to 'campum sonipes rapit,' Stat. *Theb.* 5. 3."

Lest, however, arguments, whether devised by others or myself, in favour of the interpretation of Ruæus and Scheller, should appear less cogent to my reader than to me, and he should remain as undecided as Gossrau or Conington in whose footsteps to follow, I beg to refer him to Silius, 3. 189 :

"ecce iugis *rapiens silvas*, ac *robora vasto*
contorta amplexu, tractasque per invia rupes,
 ater letifero stridebat turbine serpens,"

where not only is the identical expression, viz., "*rapere silvas*" used in the identical sense (viz., that of tearing away and carrying off trees) assigned to it in our text by Ruæus and Scheller, but that it is used in this sense is placed beyond all possibility of doubt by the author's own paraphrase added a few lines later, viz.:

"quantus per campos populatis montibus *actas*
contorquet silvas squalenti tergo serpens,
 et late humectat terras spumante veneno;
 tantus perdomitis decurres Alpibus, atro
 involvens bello Italiam, tantoque fragore
 eruta convulsis prosternes oppida muris;"

to Stat. Theb. 7. 625:

"ventus uti primas struit inter nubila vires,
 lenis adhuc, frondesque et aperta cacumina gestat,
 mox *rapuit nemus*, et *montes patefecit opacos*,"

where "*rapere nemus*," to all intents and purposes the same as "*rapere silvas*," is to tear away and carry off the wood, nay, to tear away and carry off the wood so clean as to deprive the mountains on which it stood of the shade to which they had been accustomed ("*montes patefecit opacos*"); to Sil. 3. 638 (ed. Ruperti):

"noctem operi iungunt, et *robora ferre* coactis
 appropriant humeris, ac *raptas* collibus *ornos*,"

where we have not only, as in the two preceding examples, the "*rapere*" with the addition of the scene where it was effected, viz., the mountains, but the specification of the kind of wood, viz., "*robora*" and "*orni*," and even of the manner in which it was carried, viz., on the shoulders of persons forced to that service; and to Sil. 4. 491:

"interdum *rapta* vicinis saltibus *alno*,
 flumineam textit, qua transvehat agmina, classem,"

where we have, added to the "*rapere*," besides the specification

of the scene, and precise kind of wood, the specification also of the purpose to which the wood was to be applied.

SILVAS.—Is it merely to prevent hiatus that the plural number is used here, while it is the singular which is used verse 179? Far from it. The plural number is used here because the plural number expresses more accurately than the singular the object intended, viz., the brush- or under-wood, which is on the one hand more properly the **TECTA** or habitation of the wild animals than the *silva* or tall forest, and on the other hand affords fuel in so convenient a form, and is so commonly used for fuel, that even the wood of the funeral pyre of Drusus is called "*silvae*," *Epiced. Drusi*, 253 :

" flamma diu cunctata caput contingere sanctum,
erravit posito lenta sub usque toro ;
tandem ubi complexa est *silvas*, alimenta^{que} sumsit,
aethera subiectis lambit et astra comis."

QUAERIT, RAPIT, MONSTRAT.—**QUAERIT**, *seeks or searches for that which is hidden and requires to be found*; **RAPIT**, *takes with violence that which requires force but no searching* (as 2. 374 :

. . . "alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
Pergama ;"

7. 749 :

"convectare iuvat praedas et vivere *raptō*");

MONSTRAT, *points out* (viz., one to another) *that which, once found (INVENTA), may be taken at a more convenient time without either violence or searching.*

INVENTAQUE FLUMINA MONSTRAT.—"INVENTA FLUMINA, non *reperita*, quia casu in ea incidunt, non quaerentes ea reperiunt," Forbiger, referring to *Caes. Bell. Gall. 4. 20*, and *Döderl. Lat. Syn. 2*, p. 142. I am sorry I cannot agree in the criticism of one of Virgil's most trustworthy, most honourable commentators, and my own most respected friend ; but I cannot, for—not to insist on our author's own "*inveni, germana, viam*" and

" *inventas* aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,"

or Ovid's

" possidet *inventas* sanguine miles opes,"

and “*inventum medicina meum est*,” and

“*inventor curvae, furibus apte, fidis—*”

we have Statius's (*Theb.* 3. 127) :

“*scrutantur galeas frigentum, inventaque monstrant
corpora, prociduae super externosque suosque,*”

and Ovid's (*Met.* 15. 53) :

“*vixque pererratis, quae spectant littora, terris,
invenit Aesarii fatalia fluminis ora,*”

in the former of which passages the bodies which, when found (“*inventae*”), they show (“*monstrant*”) have been found in consequence of search made for them (“*scrutantur*”); and in the latter of which passages it is precisely a river which is found (“*invenit*”) after a similarly express search made for it :

“*i, pete diversi lapidosas Aesaris undas.*”

9-157.

AT—ANTRUM

I shall lay before the reader in as few words as possible the picture which this description presents to my mind. The principal object, and, as being well known, supposed rather than specially described by our author, is the hill of Cumae, a nearly circular or orbicular hill rising from the plain, and on one side overhanging the sea ; the lower part of this hill, on one of the sides not next the sea, sloping and thickly planted with a sacred grove (TRIVIAE LUCOS, vs. 13) ; the upper or central part or kernel of the hill very rocky and almost perpendicular (EUBOICAE LATUS INGENS RUPIS, vs. 42) ; on the sloping part of the hill an hypaethral temple (ARCES QUIBUS ALTUS APOLLO PRAESIDET, vs. 9 ; AUREA TECTA, vs. 13 ; IMMANIA TEMPLA, vs. 19 ; ALTA TEMPLA,

vs. 41) having the sacred grove on both sides and in front; in the front, sculptured doors (FORIBUS, vs. 20); in the fourth or hinder side consisting merely of the bare perpendicular rock of the hill; a number of other doors (ADITUS CENTUM, OSTIA CENTUM, vv. 43 and 81; LIMEN, vs. 45; FORES, vs. 47; MAGNA ORA DOMUS, vs. 53) leading into a vast cave (ANTRUM IMMANE, vs. 11; SECRETA SIBYLLAE, vs. 10; ANTRO, vs. 77; ADYTO, vs. 98; ANTRUM, vs. 157) in the substance of the rock; in front of these last-mentioned doors an altar (ARAS, vs. 124). The way to the cavern lying through the sacred grove and the temple, opportunity is taken to relate by whom and on what occasion the latter was built, and particularly to describe the subjects of the carvings on its doors (IN FORIBUS LETUM ANDROGEI, &c., vs. 20). Whilst Aeneas is admiring these carvings, Achates, who had been despatched by him to inform the Sibyl of his having come to consult the oracle, returns accompanied by her, and she invites Aeneas and the Trojans with him to enter the temple (VOCAT ALTA IN TEMPLA SACERDOS, vs. 41), and conducts them straight through it to the entrance of the cave in its further side (VENTUM ERAT AD LIMEN, vs. 45). Here the priestess begins to be inspired by the nearer presence of the deity (NUMINE PROPIORE DEI, vs. 50), and having informed Aeneas that the doors (sciz. of the ANTRUM or "adytum") will not open until he has made his vows and prayers, enters the cavern by a private passage, and leaves him and the Trojans standing before its still closed doors; whilst Aeneas prays and vows, the inspiration of the priestess within the cavern arrives at its full height, and he has scarcely finished when the doors, spontaneously flying open, give passage to the oracular responses; which terminated, Aeneas retires, that is to say, leaves the spot where he was standing before the "adytum," and returns by the way by which he had arrived, viz., through the temple.

The above view of the position of the Sibyl's cave being adopted, viz., that it was neither under the temple (Voss), nor outside and at a distance from it (Heyne and Wagner), but opening into it through the perpendicular face of the rock which formed its posterior wall, Virgil's description, hitherto found so

perplexed and obscure, not to say unintelligible, becomes all at once simple, clear, graphic, and consistent with the use in other oracular temples. Compare Lucan, 5. 71, *et seqq.*, where we have the similar hill, “iugum Parnassi” (“mons Phoebo Bromioque sacer”), with its similar “rupes” or rocky side containing the similar “antrum;” the similar “templum” entirely dependent on, more modern than, and affording access to, the “antrum;” the identical term “limen” applied; as not only in the text, but *Aen.* 3. 371, to the entrance, not of the temple, but of the “antrum;” and as if to remove all doubt after what original the whole drawing is made, the express comparison (vs. 183):

“qualis in Euboico vates Cumana recessu,” &c.

The hill of Cumae is thus described by the Canonico Andrea de Jorio, in his *Guida di Pozzuoli e Contorni, col suo Atlante* (Napoli, 1830): “Lo stato attuale del promontorio di Cuma, che sotto a’ tuoi occhi trionfa la spiaggia nel mezzo della vasta pianura, è il seguente. Egli è un piccolo promontorio vulcanico della più remota antichità, ed inaccessibile da tutti i lati menochè da mezzogiorno. Gran parte del colle essendo di tufo, è traforato con molteplici e vaste grotte. Una di esse sicuramente era quella della Sibylla.” So convinced was the Canonico that the Sibyl’s cave was to be found among these caverns [as to spend some money and much time and trouble in exploring them, until at last, as he informs us, his guide, or, as perhaps the malicious reader will be inclined to think with me, not only the guide but the good Canonico himself, becoming alarmed at the increasing gloom and depth of the cavern, and the sight of some human bones lying on its floor, made a precipitate retreat and abandoned the undertaking. The Canonico seems not to have recollected that we have the authority of Agathias (*Hist.* lib. 1) for the fact that the Sibyl’s cave was destroyed nearly 1300 years ago by Narses when besieging Aligernus and the Goths, who had retreated into Cumae with much treasure and fortified themselves there.

ARCES QUIBUS ALTUS APOLLO PRAESIDET (VV. 9, 10).—“Erat templum in montium iugis; hinc Apollo ALTUS, et PRAESIDET

arci, quatenus templum tuetur, et cum eo urbem, πολίουχος," Heyne; and so Forbiger: "ARCES: templum in summo monte situm." This is not correct. There is as yet no word of the temple. Aeneas seeks ARCES, *the steep hill* above Cumae, and the secret abode (in it) of the Sibyl; in other words, Aeneas seeks the abode of the Sibyl in the hill of Cumae. Aeneas's business is with the Sibyl, who resided in the hill of Cumae, not with the temple of Apollo. Therefore Aeneas seeks not the temple of Apollo on the hill of Cumae, but the cave of the Sibyl on the hill. The temple of Apollo being built round the cave, Aeneas has, of course, to pass through the temple in order to get to the cave, and opportunity is taken of his doing so to describe the temple and its origin. That "arx" is primarily the steep hill, not the building on it, appears from verse 17:

CHALCIDICAQUE LEVIS TANDEM SUPERASTITIT ARCE,

where the hill over Cumae is called "arx" before any temple has been yet built on it, and from *Georg. 2. 535*:

"septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces;"

also from Ovid, *Met. 1. 467*:

"impiger umbrosa Parnassi constitit arce,"

and Stat. *Theb. 1. 114*:

. . . "abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron
occurrit caelo."

In the same way as Apollo is here said to preside over the hill (of Cumae) because he has his temple on it, the same god is called president of Delphi on account of his temple at that place, Ovid, *Met. 10. 167*:

. . . "orbe
in medio positi caruerunt praeside Delphi,
dum deus Eurotan, immunitamque frequentat
Sparten;"

and Juno is styled ακραια θεος, goddess of the hill (of Corinth)—exactly the "Madonna del monte" of the moderns—because she has her temple on that hill, Eurip. *Med. 1376*:

φερουσ' es Ηρας τεμενος ακραιας θεου.

HORRENDÆQUE PROCUL SECRETA SIBYLLÆ (vs. 10).—The immediate juxtaposition of **PROCUL** and **SECRETA SIBYLLÆ** has given rise to the strange notion that the cave of the Sibyl was at some distance (greater or less, according to the precise idea which each expositor had of the force of the word **PROCUL**) from the temple of Apollo. Hence inextricable confusion in the views which have been taken, and the accounts which have been given, of Aeneas's visit to the Sibyl. The simple solution of the whole matter is, that **PROCUL** belongs, not to **SECRETA**, but to **PETIT**, the construction being: **AENEAS PETIT PROCUL** (far from, or more properly, apart from those of his companions whose occupations have been just described) **ARCES, QUIBUS APOLLO PRAESIDET, SECRETAQUE SIBYLLÆ**. A false understanding of this word no longer leading us astray, we perceive at once (see above) that the **ANTRUM** of the Sibyl was not at any distance, greater or less, from the temple of Apollo, but was a part of it; actually constituted (as might *a priori* have been expected) the "adytum" out of which the Sibyl delivered the responses of the god whose priestess she was, and who presided over the temple.

Exactly similar to the words **PROCUL**, **PETIT**, in our text, only twice as widely separated from each other, are the words "deinde," "dividit," 1. 199, 201. Compare Sil. 7. 416:

"tum magno percussa metu Nereia turba
attonitæ propere refluunt ad limina nota
Telebœum medio *surgunt* qua regna profundo
pumiceacque *procul* sedes,"

where the structure is "*surgunt procul*." Our author has a fancy, if I may so say, for separating Aeneas now and then from his companions, and loves to set him *in solo* before the reader. Compare 5. 774: "ipse . . . stans *procul* in prora."

ALTUS APOLLO (vs. 9).—"Contendit ad Apollinem, cuius templum situm in sublimi parte Cumarum; ideo ipse Apollo **ALTUS**, ideo templum **ARCES**," La Cerdà. "**ARCES**: erat templum in montium iugis: hinc Apollo **ALTUS**, et **PRAESIDET arci**, quatenus templum tuetur, et cum eo urbem," Heyne. No; **ALTUS** has reference, not to the high situation of the temple, but

to the dignity of the god. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 3. 284 :

. . . “quantusque et qualis ab *alta*
Iunone excipitur.”

Ibid. 12. 505 :

. . . “qui tantus erat, Iunonis ut *altas*
spem caperet.”

Id. Art. Amat. 2. 38 :

“da veniam coepto, Iupiter *alte*, meo.”

Id. Fasti, 3. 333 :

“ut rediit animus, ‘da certa piamina,’ dixit,
‘fulminis, *altorum* rexque paterque deum.’

And especially Virgil himself, *Aen.* 10. 875 :

“sic pater ille deum faciat, sic *altus Apollo*.”

HORRENDÆ (vs. 10).—A term of respect, and exactly corresponding to our English *awful*. Compare 11. 507, where the same term is applied to Camilla, the “decus Italiae” :

“Turnus ad haec, oculos *horrenda* in virgine fixus ;
‘O decus Italiae, virgo,’ ” &c.

Compare also Lucret. 3. 28 :

“his ibi me rebus quaedam divina voluptas
percipit atque *horror*.”

I know of no German synonym.

DELIUS INSPIRAT VATES (vs. 12).—Apollo, the VATES of Jove, as the Sibyl was of Apollo. Compare 3. 251 :

“quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo,
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando ;”

and Lucan, 5. 93 (of the oracular cavern of Apollo at Delphi) :

. . . “forsan terris inserta regendis,
aere libratum vacuo quae sustinet orbem,
totius pars magna Iovis, Cirrhaea per antra
exit, et aethereo trahitur connexa Tonanti.
huc ubi virgineo conceptum est pectore numen,” &c.

CONTRA, ELATA MARI, RESPONDET GNOSSIA TELLUS (vs. 23).—"RESPONDET, *aspicitur*, nam contra Athenas est posita," Servius. "In unis forium valvis expressas puta Athenas, . . . in alteris valvis Cretam," &c., Heyne. These explanations express the meaning of CONTRA, but wholly omit that of RESPONDET, which is, that the two views were what is technically called companions, matches, or pendants, *i. e.*, similar or related in subject, and of the same size and general appearance; *corresponded*.

NON HOC ISTA SIBI TEMPUS SPECTACULA POSCIT (vs. 37).—Compare "non tali auxilio," &c., 2. 521, and Rem.

VOCAT ALTA IN TEMPLA SACERDOS (vs. 41).—"Fallunt viros doctos ALTA TEMPLA, quæ nunc non sunt Apollinis aedes, sed ANTRUM Sibyllæ," Heyne. This criticism is certainly incorrect; first, because the Sibyl could not be properly said to call the Teucri *into* (IN) a temple, at which neither she nor they had yet arrived (see VENTUM ERAT AD LIMEN, four verses later), and whose doors were not only shut, but would not open until after a certain process had been gone through (vs. 52); secondly, because the Teucri might and did enter the temple of Apollo, but no one except the Sibyl herself dared enter the ANTRUM, which was in the case before us identical with the "adytum"—inquirers stood before the FORES (vs. 47); and thirdly, because it cannot be believed that Virgil would have applied the same term, TEMPLA, within the space of a few lines, to two objects so wholly dissimilar as the stone or marble temple of Apollo, built by Daedalus (POSUITQUE IMMANIA TEMPLA, vs. 19), and the cavern of the Sibyl.

EXCISUM EUBOICÆ LATUS INGENS RUPIS IN ANTRUM, &c. (vs. 42).—Not very dissimilar is the account given by Justin (24. 6) of the oracular cave at Delphi: "In hoc rupis anfractu, media ferme montis altitudine, planities exigua est atque in ea profundum terræ foramen, *χασμα γης*, quod in oracula patet: ex quo frigidus spiritus vi quadam velut vento in sublime expulsus mentes vatum in vecordiam vertit, impletasque deo responsa dare cogit." The whole cast of the sentence—nay, the very rhythm of the verses—shows that it is not, as supposed by Heyne and Wagner (ed. Heyn.), a mere epexegetis of the preceding

ALTA TEMPLA, but the commencement of a new description, viz., of the description of the ANTRUM of the Sibyl, to which the Teuceri accompanied by the Sibyl, having entered the ALTA TEMPLA, are now approaching.

RUPIS.—“Rupes” is here, as very frequently elsewhere, not merely *a rock*, but *a mountain* (see Rem. on 3. 646), precisely as with us the mountain of Gibraltar (Gebel Tarik, or Mountain of Tarik) is commonly denominated the Rock of Gibraltar. EUBOICAE RUPIS is, therefore, not merely *the Euboean rock*, but *the Euboean mountain*, i. e., the Cuman mountain, or the mountain on the top of which was seated the ancient city of Cumae (see Agathias, quoted below); the expression “Euboica rupes” exactly corresponding to the expression “Trinacria rupes” used by Catullus (*ad Manl. 53*) to designate Aetna, and “Parnassia rupes” by our author, *Ecl. 6. 29*, to designate the Parnassus.

LATUS.—The side of this mountain facing the sea. The mere seacoast is often, especially when high or in the form of a bluff, denominated *latus* (= *costa*, whence our *coast*). Compare 3. 417:

. . . “venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo *latus* abscidit;”

8. 416:

“insula Sicanium iuxta *latus* Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen;”

and Lucan, 5. 194 (Phemone to Appius):

“effugis ingentes, tanti discriminis expers,
bellorum, Romane, minas; solusque quietem
Euboici vasta lateris convalle tenebis”

(where “Euboici lateris” is the coast of the island of Euboea). Of course the term is so much the more appropriate when the coast rises in the form of a mountain, as the *latus* is then not merely the side of the land (or, as we more commonly say, *the sea side*), but the side of the mountain also. Compare Mela, 1. 18: “Ab his fit arctius mare, nec iam alluit terras, sed rufus dividens, angusto Hellesponti freto litus obviam findit: scitaque ut iterum terrae, qua fluit, *latera* sint.”

From Agathias, *Hist.* lib. 1, it appears that the side in which was the cave of the Sibyl was the eastern side, or that turned towards the bay of Pozzuoli: *εν τω προς ηλιον ανισχοντα του λοφου τετραμμενων αγκωνι*. The following is the account given by Agathias of this once so important, and still so famous locality: *πολισμα δε Ιταλικον η Κυμη εχυρωτατον, και οιον ου ραστα πολεμιοις αλωναί' ιδρυται μεν γαρ επι λοφω τινι δυσπροσοδω τε και αναντει' εστι δε εν περιωπη του πελαγους του Τυρσηνικου (επι γαρ τη ακτη ο λοφος ανεχει). . . . εν τω προς ηλιον ανισχοντα του λοφου τετραμμενη ν αγκωνι, αντρον τι υπεστιν αμφηρεφεις τε και γλαφυρωτατον, ως αδυτα τε εχειν αυτοματα και κυτος ευρυ και βαθρωδεις. ενταυθα δη παλαι φασι την Σιβυλλαν την πανυ την Ιταλην ενδαιτωμενην φοιβοληπτον τε ειναι και ενθουν, και προαγορευειν τα εσομενα τοις πυνθανομενοις. λεγεται δε και Αινειαν ποτε τον Αγχισου αυτου αφικομενον, απαντα οι την Σιβυλλαν φαναι, τα υστερον ξυνενεχθεντα*. Agathias goes on to relate that the Romans under Narses introduced a great many men into this cave, and hollowed it out so that the upper surface would have immediately fallen in if they had not supported it with beams of wood, and then, when all was ready, introduced fire, burnt the props, and caused the hill to fall in so as to cause the fall of the walls of the town of Cumae above, and so open a passage for themselves into the town, where the Goths under Aligernus, and with much treasure, were fortified. Justin Martyr (*Oratio Paraenetica*) supplies other interesting particulars relating both to the temple, the cave, and the Sibyl herself, said by him to be the daughter of Berosus. *Ταυτην δε [nempe Σιβυλλην] εκ μεν Βεβυλωνος ωρμησθαι φασι, Βηρωσσου του την Χαλδαιικην ιστοριαν γραψαντος θυγατερα ουσαν, εις δε τα μερη της Καμπανιας ουκ οιδ' οπως διαβασαν, εκει τους χρησμονς εξαγορευειν εν τινι Κουμα ουτω καλουμενη πολει, εξ σημειοις διεστωση Βαιων' εθεασαμεθα δε εν τη πολει γινομενοι και τινα τοπον, εν ω βασιλικην μεγαστην εξ ενος εξεσμενην λιθου εγνωμεν, πραγμα μεγαστον, και παντος θαυματος αξιον, ενθα τους χρησμονς αυτην απαγγελλειν οι ως τα πατρια παρειληφοτες παρα των εαυτων προγονων εφασκον. εν μεσω δε της βασιλικης επιδεικνουν ημιν τρεις δεξαμενας [solia] εκ του αυτου εξεσμενας λιθου, ων πληρουμενων υδατος*

λουεσθαι αυτην εν αυταις ελεγον, και στολην αναλαμβανουσαν, εις τον ενδοτατον της βασιλικης βαδιζειν οικον εκ του αυτου εξεσμενον λιθου, και εν μεσω του οικου καθεζομενην επι υψηλου βηματος και θρονου, ουτω τους χρησμονς εξαγορευειν.

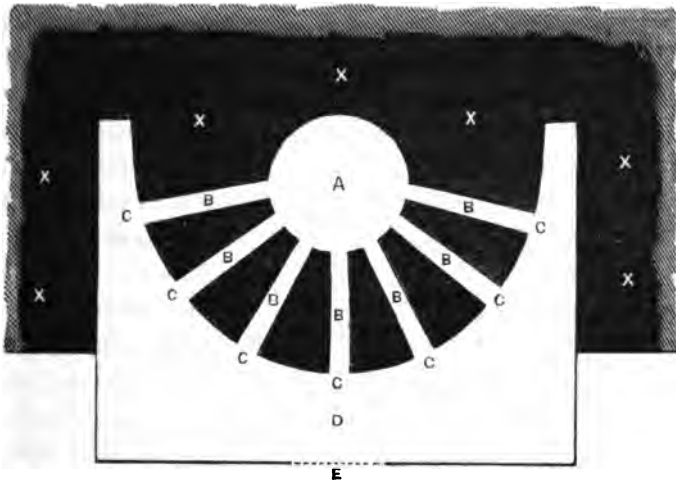
ADITUS CENTUM, OSTIA CENTUM (vs. 43).—Virgil's usual *υστερον προτερον*, the OSTIA being in point of fact the first in order (*i.e.*, next the temple), and the ADITUS being beyond the OSTIA. ADITUS are passages cut in the solid rock, and leading out of the *ιερος περιβολος* into the cavern excavated in the rock farther inwards; OSTIA the actual doors, door-valves (FORES, vs. 47) of these passages. Servius, quoting from Vitruvius, says: "*Ostium* dicitur per quod ab aliquo arcemur ingressu, ab *ostando* dictum." Compare Stat. *Theb.* 6. 617: "*primus ferit ostia portae*" (where "*ostia portae*" are the "*fores*" of verse 641, following), and Phaedr. *Fabul. Gudian.* 1. 32: "*ne ostium aperiret*" (where "*ostium*" is the "*fores*" of the next line but one). The meaning follows the word into the Italian, in which language *l'uscio* signifies, not the opening which is closed or filled up by the door, but the door itself which closes or fills up the opening.

CENTUM.—Not the precise number *one hundred*, but a *great number*, *very many*. See Rem. on "*tercentum*." The expression remains in Italian, and is common in many languages—using our author's own manner, I might say in a hundred languages. Compare *La Nazione* (giornale polit. quotid.), Firenze, Gennaio 16, 1862: "*Ha fatto cento sforzi il governo, per,*" &c.; *ibid.* Feb. 12, 1862: "*La libertà, che col senno e col valore avete riconquistata, apre cento aditi al vostro pensiero,*" in the last of which sentences we have not the CENTUM only, but the ADITUS also.

In the subjoined plan, A is the Sibyl's cave (ANTRUM, "*adytum*"); BBBBBBB, the ADITUS; CCCCCC, the OSTIA (*antri*), FORES (*antri*), LIMEN (*antri*). The part marked thus XXX is the solid rock; D, the temple, *ιερος περιβολος*; E, the FORES (*templi*).

QUO LATI DUCUNT ADITUS CENTUM, OSTIA CENTUM (vs. 43). [*Aliter*].—"ADITUS: puta, *subterranei meatus*; συριγγες, ut

in Aegypto appellabantur: hos meatus statuendum est duxisse ad unum aliquod penetrale, cuius est LIMEN, v. 45; et FORES, v. 47; et ORA, v. 53; OSTIA, v. 81. Quod si itaque in interiore antro, adyto, Sibylla vaticinia effaretur, remeabat vox per infinitos hos canaliculos, seu spiramina et exitus, quæ res ad religiosum horrorem valde accommodata esse debuit," Heyne. To this view of Heyne, viz., that the CENTUM ADITUS are numerous subterranean passages leading to numerous doors (OSTIA CENTUM) which opened directly into the "adytum" or interior part of the cavern, at the LIMEN of one of which doors Aeneas and the Sibyl are described as arriving, in the words VENTUM ERAT



AD LIMEN (vs. 45), there seem to me to be these strong objections: first, that the poet was bound in common propriety to have furnished Aeneas and the Sibyl with light, when he placed them thus together at the further and closed end of a subterraneous passage; secondly, that we are informed at vs. 40, that the inquirers heard the responses issuing through CENTUM ADITUS, OSTIA CENTUM; whereas, if Heyne's interpretation be correct, they reached Aeneas through only one "ostium," and no "aditus;" thirdly, that aditus is not "meatus" (whether subterranean or above ground), but the *approach* to a place, through a meatus, door, gate, or other opening; the *access*

afforded by a road, passage or opening, not the road, passage, or opening itself. Compare *Georg.* 4. 9: "quo neque sit ventis *aditus*;" *Aen.* 2. 494: "rumpunt *aditus*" [not *break the door*, or road, or opening, but a *passage through it*; *force an entrance, burst in*]; also Cic. *de Oratore*, 1. 204: "sic ego intelligo, si in haec, quae patefecit oratione sua Crassus, intrare volueritis, facillime vos ad ea, quae cupitis, perventuros ab hoc *aditu* ianua-que patefacta" [*by the access through this opened door*]. And so in our text, *into which there is access through a hundred wide doors*; as if Virgil had written *in quod itur per CENTUM OSTIA lata*. Compare, exactly parallel, Ammian. 17. 4: "Urbem [Thebas] . . . portarum centum quondam *aditibus* celebrem" [*celebrated for its hundred entrances through a hundred gates*]. Even Servius and La Cerda seem to have been of this opinion—"Non sine causa et ADITUS dixit et OSTIA, nam Vitruvius, qui de architectonica scripsit, *ostium* dicit per quod ab aliquo arcemur ingressu, ab *ostando* dictum; *aditum* ab *adeundo*, per quem ingredimur," Servius. "ADITUS, OSTIA: non est tautologia, ut multi volunt, sed elegans oppositio vocum. Nulla in Virgilio tautologia," La Cerda, who then goes on to quote Servius as above. In the following line we have the exactly similar structure TOTIDEM VOCES, RESPONSA SIBYLLAE; RESPONSA being the explanation of VOCES, as in our text OSTIA is of ADITUS. Compare 11. 525:

"angustaeque ferunt fauces *aditusque* maligni;"

where the meaning is, not that the place was approached through narrow gorges and other difficult passages, but that the approach to the place, being through a narrow gorge, was on that account difficult.

There seems to me to be no ground whatever for the view which some commentators (amongst others Süpfle and Ladewig) have taken of the CENTUM OSTIA, viz., that by one of these OSTIA only the cave communicated with the temple, while by the others it communicated with the exterior, i. e., with the open country. Not only had such a structure of the Sibyl's cell been totally inconsistent with the mystery and sanctity so indispensable to an oracle, but we are told expressly, vv. 81, 82, that the answer

to Aeneas's question was returned through all the doors. Who can believe that this answer, returned through all the doors, was conveyed to Aeneas through only one, and through the remainder carried out quite beyond the precincts of the holy place, and published to the whole world?

VENTUM ERAT AD LIMEN (vs. 45).—"Quod sane non potuit esse CENTUM ostiorum, sed tantum unius," Heyne. No; LIMEN is the threshold neither of CENTUM OSTIA nor of "unum ostium," but of ANTRUM, to which it refers past the two immediately preceding lines, which, being merely descriptive of ANTRUM, may be regarded as parenthetical; as if Virgil had said:

EXCISUM EUBOICAE LATUS INGENS RUPIS IN ANTRUM.

VENTUM ERAT AD LIMEN.

See Remm. on 1. 4; 3. 571; 5. 522, 659; 6. 83, 431, 739. Accordingly, while Aeneas stands here AD LIMEN (or, as expressed in vs. 47, ANTE FORES), the FORES (CENTUM OSTIA, vv. 43 and 81) fly open, and he hears the responses issuing out through them and then borne through the open air (PER AURAS) to where he is standing *sub dio*, within the temple, *ἄρον*, or sacred enclosure of Apollo.

In justice to Wagner, I must take on myself the responsibility of the point-blank contradiction which the views of the topography of these places put forward in his *Praestabilior* present to those taken of them in his Heynian edition, and *Virg. Br. En.* The latter alone are his, the former are mine, Latinized, and transferred by him out of my almost unknown "Twelve Years' Voyage" into his widely circulated and useful work.

18-36.

TIBI—GLAUCI

TIBI, PHOEBE, SACRAVIT REMIGIUM ALARUM, POSUITQUE IMMANIA
 TEMPLA (vv. 18, 19).—Υστειρον προτειρον: *built a temple, and hung
 his wings up in it.*

CORPORA (vs. 22).—"Mirum Virgilium non scripsisse funera,"
 Peerlkamp. The mistake which I have already pointed out at
 l. 74, viz., that of taking corpora for *corpses*. CORPORA here
 means not *corpses*, but *living bodies*, the Athenian victims being
 always delivered up alive, to be devoured alive by the Mino-
 taur. The precise force of SEPTENA CORPORA NATORUM is *seven
 sons bodily; seven sons, flesh and blood*. See Rem. on "*disiice
 corpora ponto*," l. 74.

DEIPHOBÉ GLAUCI (vs. 36).—Holdsworth thinks that the
 person here spoken of is not the Sibyl (who, he informs us,
 does not make her appearance until verse 82), but only the
 priestess (SACERDOS), whose business it was to attend both on the
 temple and the Sibyl. He observes: "Deiphobe . . . was not
 the name of any of the Sibyls. The Sibyl was a goddess, and
 as such required an introductress to her; and Scipio, in Silius . . .
 has the priestess Autonoe to conduct him to this very Sibyl." It
 will, I think, be owned by every unprejudiced reader that there
 are some grounds for this opinion, as well as for the further
 opinion of Holdsworth, that "without this distinction between
 the 'vates' and SACERDOS, this whole passage would be very
 unintelligible," and I shall just mention what these grounds
 are. First, it seems scarcely consistent with the dignity of the
 Sibyl, that the interpretress of the divine will should appear on
 Aeneas's summons, and attend him in the character of *cicerone*.
 Secondly, it does, indeed, appear at first sight very unlikely that
 the VIRGO who conducts Aeneas to the LIMEN of the cave from
 whence the RESPONSA SIBYLLAE are to issue, and who stands

with him at the door of the cave instructing him how he is to proceed in order that the doors of the cave may be opened, so as to give passage to the *RESPONSA* of the Sibyl, can be really the Sibyl herself. Thirdly, it seems at first sight no less unlikely that Deiphobe being the Sibyl herself, there should be no account whatever either of her leaving Aeneas and entering the cave in order to deliver her responses, or of her rejoining Aeneas afterwards. These grounds, however, are all very much more apparent than real. The attendance of the Sibyl, on Aeneas's summons, and her acting the part of *cicerone* within her own precincts, the temple, was surely not more inconsistent with her dignity than her leaving those precincts and accompanying him expressly as his *cicerone* on his tour through the underworld; and even if it were, the dignity of the ministers of religion has been in all countries and ages, and under all dispensations, as they are called, rather of an equivocal kind, as will have occurred to anyone who has observed how little above that of menial servants is the status in society of the lower orders of the clergy in Catholic countries at the present day, and how entirely, even in our own country, respect for the cloth varies in the direct ratio of the secular rank and fortune of the wearer. But no matter what the ministerial dignity of the Sibyl, a greater than the Sybil was there—one of those for whose use and behoof the Sibyl and her whole confraternity existed; and if the office she was called on to perform had been still more servile, perform it she must. As well might an archbishop of Paris have denied himself when a little Napoleonide was to have the innate devil cast out of it by means of a sprinkling of lustral water, as the Sibyl have kept aloof when Achatas was sent to fetch her. Still further, did not Helenus—not a seer and priest alone, but a king—come out of his city to meet Aeneas, escort him into it, and even lead him by the hand into his temple of Apollo—

. . . "meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit?"

And what poet, ancient or modern, ever knew better than Virgil that laurel crowns are less likely to drop down upon the head,

and pensions into the pocket, out of the clouds of heaven, no matter how honoured and cultivated, than out of the grateful hands of a discriminating and politic Caesar?

Nor is the next ground much more substantial, viz., that no sufficient hint has been given the reader that this obsequious attendant is no less a personage than the Sibyl herself. For (a) neither is Virgil's narration history, and therefore requiring the formal introduction and announcement of each successive personage; nor (b), even regarding the narration as mere history, has a formal introduction and announcement been omitted. We have been told that her name is Deiphobe; that she is the daughter of Glaucus, and that she is the priestess of Phoebus and Trivia. Here, then, is not only name, but pedigree and office; and if the cognomen is absent, reserved until some seventy lines later, it is only not to crowd too much on the audience at once; not to spend, as it is said, all the powder on the first shot. But how know that this Deiphobe, the daughter of Glaucus, this priestess of Phoebus and Trivia, is the Sibyl, the very Sibylla of verse 98? Ah! reader, I see plainly that, like Mr. Holdsworth and Mr. Spence, you belong to a new sect, that your heart is cold, responds but slowly, rather responds not at all, to the spirit-stirring call. Had your chance been to have lived in the times when, and for which especially, Virgil wrote, you would not have required to be told, either by Virgil or by me, that Deiphobe, the daughter of Glaucus, the priestess of the Cuman Phoebus and Trivia, was, could be, none other than the Cuman Sibyl; that *the priestess of Cuman Apollo and Trivia* was only another way of saying *Sibyl*; you would have known beforehand, and as soon as you had read

“at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane petit, magnam cui mentem animamque
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura” —

say, as soon as you had read the two words “Euboicis Cumarum” in the second verse of the book—that the very first person, not to say the very first woman, you should meet afterwards would be the Sibyl, the “insana vates” to whom you had been

referred by "vates Helenus" from the far side of the Adriatic and before you had ever set your foot in Italy, and to visit whom was your sole business in Cumæ. And if you had been so dull as not to understand these broad and repeated hints, how could you have shut your eyes against the clear and explicit evidence afforded by that *εὐθυσιαζειν*, that miraculous transfiguration, while you still stood outside the cave, and the doors had not yet opened? When you saw her countenance change and her colour come and go—when you saw her hair dishevel of itself, her chest heave and her heart swell with transport of passion—when her stature enlarged, and her voice was no longer that of a human being, but of the god who spoke by her lips—who did you think she was, if not the Sibyl? Ah! hard, indeed, and stony of heart, what miracle will convince you, this having failed? How am I to convince you—I who speak to the reason only—I whose only weapon is mere dry argument, cold common sense, that in matters of religion goes, by universal consent, for nothing; ay, for less than nothing, for mere impiety and blasphemy? But the poet might at least have told us that having conducted Aeneas to the door, she then went in herself leaving him standing outside. To be sure, he might if he had thought proper, but he did not think proper, and that is all about it. He was, as the saying is, master of the situation, and might do what he liked; and he did exactly what he liked, what he is so excessively fond of doing (see Rem. on 6. 529)—instead of telling you what actually happened, he told you circumstances which made it necessary that it should so happen, and left you free to conclude for yourself that it did actually so happen. Which conclusion, if you are not able to draw or do not care to draw for yourself, then here am I and yonder is Servius as ready to help you and explain everything to you as ever the Sibyl herself was to explain everything to Aeneas—to take you by the hand as she took him by the hand, and lead you through these "loca senta situ," this almost "profunda nox," these at best dimly moonlit vistas of a language dead and gone now nearly these thousand years. Content, you say, and let us go; and there is Scipio, as Mr. Holdsworth told us, led by Autonoe to this selfsame Cuman

Sibyl; Deiphobe was her Autonoe, her mistress of the ceremonies, in the time of Aeneas. Stay, good Mr. reader, it's not you who are to teach me, but I you. That Autonoe of Silius Italicus is not the Sibyl's mistress of the ceremonies—how could she, the Sibyl being at the time long dead, and *reposita* in Hades?—but she is the successor and living representative of the dead Sibyl, discharging the same duties towards Phoebus and Trivia as had been discharged by her predecessor, and showing to Scipio the same civilities her predecessor had shown to Aeneas. Thus the argument deducible from Silius turns out to be all in my favour, and point-blank against Messrs. Holdsworth and Spence, and there remains only the argument from the name, as if Virgil were not as good authority as Pausanias what was the name of the Sibyl, or as if the Sibyl might not have had more names than one, just as Dido, another of our author's heroines, had two names and Iulus no less than three.

If I do not discuss the right of the Sibyl, as a goddess, to have an attendant, it is no less because the claims of the Sibyl to goddess-ship itself rest wholly on the misappropriation to her of the term “*dea*,” applied by our author to Hecate at verse 258, than because the point at issue is not whether the Sibyl has a right to have an attendant, but whether Virgil has acknowledged her possession of such a right.

46-54.

CUI TALIA FANTI

ANTE FORES SUBITO NON VULTUS NON COLOR UNUS
 NON COMTAE MANSERE COMAE SED PECTUS ANHELO
 ET RABIE FERA CORDA TUMENT MAIORQUE VIDERI
 NEC MORTALE SONANS AFFLATA EST NUMINE QUANDO
 IAM PROPIORE DEI CESSAS IN VOTA PRECESQUE
 TROS AIT AENEA CESSAS NEQUE ENIM ANTE DEHISCENT
 ATTONITAE MAGNA ORA DOMUS ET TALIA FATA
 CONTICUIT

This account of the ecstasy of the Cumaean Sibyl is by no means a *lusus poeticus*, a mere exaggeration for the purpose of exciting a pleasurable emotion of wonder in the reader's mind. It is a plain truthful description of the excited state into which the human being is capable of bringing himself or of being brought by the operation of adequate causes. Anyone who has ever had the good fortune to hear a Kirwin, or an Irving, or a Spurgeon preach, or has seen a howling dervish dance, or an Italian *improvisatore* improvise, need be at no loss to realize it. Tiraboschi (3. 4. 9) gives the following account of the improvising of Andrea Marone at the court of Leo X.: "Al suono della viola ch' egli stesso toccava, cominciava a verseggiare, e quanto più avanzavasi, tanto più pareva crescergli la facondia, la facilità, l'estro, e l'eleganza. Lo scintillar degli occhi, il sudore che gli piovea dal volto, il gonfiarsegli delle vene, facea fede del fuoco che internamente lo ardeva, e teneva sospesi e attoniti gli uditori, ai quali sembrava che il Marone dicesse cose da lungo tempo premeditate;" and it is related of Metastasio (*Encycl. Metrop.*, art. "Improvisatore") that he has been so exhausted at the conclusion of one of his improvisations as to have swooned and been carried home insensible, and only to have recovered consciousness by the aid of cordials, and after the lapse of four-and-twenty hours. See Rem. on vs. 101, *infra*.

NON VULTUS, NON COLOR UNUS.—“UNUS, *i. e.*, idem atque antea,” Forbiger, Thiel, Voss, Conington. If this interpretation be correct, the picture presented by the poet is that of a transfiguration, like that of Giuseppe, while he is in the act of explaining to his Egyptian wife the nature of the God of the Jews, *Metast. Giuseppe Ricon.*:

ASEN. “ah qual raggio divino
ti [Giuseppe] balena sul volto! In questi accenti
un non so che risuona
più che mortal. Tremo in udirti; e mentre
tu ti sollevi a Dio,
dove resto io comprendo, e chi son io.”

But the interpretation is, I think, incorrect, and the picture presented by our author somewhat different. The interpretation is incorrect; because, first, if a single change of VULTUS and COLOR had been meant, the expression would surely have been, not NON UNUS, but *alius*, as *Georg. 4. 254*:

“continuo est aegris *alius color*; ~~hanc~~ vultum
deformat macies,”

where we have, as in our text, both “color” and “vultus,” and where the change, being single, is expressed not by *non unus*, but by “*alius*.” Secondly, because *unus* elsewhere is usually opposed to numbers or variety, not to a single change (compare Quintil. 12. 10: “Non *unus color* prooemii, narrationis, argumentorum, perorationis servabitur” (where the meaning is a different character for each of the four different parts of the oration, *i. e.*, four different characters, or a character changing four times); Plaut. *Mil. 3. 1. 129*: “ne *uno* exemplo omnes vitam viverent” [different persons should live in different manners]). Thirdly, because a frequent change of VULTUS and COLOR agrees, better than a single change, with the state into which the Sibyl is brought by the divine “afflatus,” with her “rabies,” with her FERA CORDA, with her PECTUS ANHELUM, with her NON COMTAE MANSERE COMAE, with her “os rabidum,” with the efforts of the untamed colt to shake off and unseat the mounted deity. Fourthly, because this frequent change of

colour and countenance was the well-known and acknowledged characteristic of the Phœbas, as Lucan, 5. 208 :

. . . " tunc pectore vatis
 impactae cessere fores, expulsaque templis
 prosiluit : perstat rabies, nec cuncta locutae,
 quem non emiait, superest deus. ille feroces
 torquet adhuc oculos, totoque vagantia caelo
 lumina, nunc vultu pavido, nunc torva minaci;
stat nunquam facies; rubor igneus inficit ora,
 liventesque genas; nec qui solet esse timenti,
 terribilis sed pallor inest."

AFFLATA EST NUMINE QUANDO IAM PROPIORE DEI.—Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 760 :

. οταν θεου
 μαρτοσυνη πνευσσῃ ἀναγκαι.

AFFLATA is the very word used in like cases by the pious Christians of the present day. See "Joseph Alleine, his companions and times: a memorial of Black Bartholomew, 1662," by Charles Stanford (London, 1861), page 111: "They [the Puritans] observed no saints' days, because the Scriptures appointed none; but many were their days of special religious solemnity, because this was the custom of inspired men, and what they did as well as what they said, from the *afflatus* of inspiration, was viewed as having the authority of law."

CESSAS IN VOTA PRECESQUE? TROS, AIT, AENEA, CESSAS?—The editors read CESSAS IN VOTA PRECESQUE, TROS, AIT, AENEA? CESSAS? They should have observed that CESSAS by itself is weak; that the cadence of the second line is spoiled by the two complete breaches in its middle, and that the IN VOTA PRECESQUE of the first line makes TROS AENEA a necessity for the second; and finally that such balancing of his sentences is usual with Virgil, who never on any occasion crowds all the thought into one clause, but divides fairly between his clauses, giving a portion to each.

ATTONITAE (vs. 53).—" *Stupendae, non stupentis. Ergo, facientis attonitos,*" Servius, followed by H. Stephens, La Cerda, and all the older commentators. "Der von des gottes gewalt erschütterten kluft," Voss (*Randglossen*). "Ut rei inanimatae

tribuatursensus idem, qui est in iis, qui repente revelli fores audiunt ['Hoc probo, ut in re magna et horrenda,' Wagner]. . . . Scilicet debebat esse *attonito tibi* propter fores, ubi revellentur; transfertur doctius epitheton ad fores," Heyne. No, just the contrary; *ATTONITAE* is applied strictly and specially to the *DOMUS*, which being "*attonita*," will not, or cannot, open its mouth; remains with closed mouth, like a man who is so astounded that he cannot speak. That this is the true interpretation is shown, first, by the more appropriate sense thus obtained. Secondly, by the terms *DEHISCENT* (compare 3. 314) and *ORA*, plainly personifying the *DOMUS*. Thirdly, by the peculiar and proper force of the word *attonitus*, which is to be so astounded as to be deprived of the power of speech and motion (compare 7. 814: "*attonitis inhians animis*;" 5. 529: "*attonitis haesere animis*;" Apuleius, *Met.* 4. 22: "*huic me operi attonitum clara lux oppressit*;" and Hildebrand ad Apul. *Met.* 11. 14: "*attonitus enim, quaquasignificatione usurpatur, semper primariam habet stupendi notionem de eo, qui ita quasi defixus in re vel conspicienda vel perficienda est, ut discedere ab ea nequeat*"). And fourthly, by the use which the Italians still make of the word in this precise sense, as Manzoni, *Il cinque Maggio*:

"ei fu; siccome immobile,
dato il mortal sospiro,
stette la spoglia immemore
orba di tanto spiro,
così percossa, *attonita*
la terra al nunzio sta."

Compare the application of the term by Valerius Flaccus (1. 43) to a table at which a murder was committed:

"hunc ferus Aëtes, Scythiam Phasinque rigentem
qui colit, (heu magni Solis pudor!) hospita vina
inter et *attonitae* mactat solemniamensae;"

and by Claudian (*de Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 238) to the house of Maria, the bride of Honorius, astonished, struck dumb with amazement, at the unexpected entrance of Venus:

"quum procul augeri nitor, et iucundior aer
attonitam lustrare domum, fundique comarum
gratus odor."

Compare also the junction of "tacuere" (exactly Virgil's NEQUE DEHISCENT) to "attonitae domus" by Lucan, 2. 21:

. . . "sic funere primo
attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum
conclamata iacent."

Happy am I to see that Wagner, instructed by my "Twelve Years' Voyage," has at long last, viz., in his *Praestabilior*, arrived at the true sense: "Sentit etiam domus praesentiam dei, et quasi stupens torpensque fores retinet clausas."

CONTICUIT.—This word has much force, on account first of its composition, *con* always signifying *much, entirely, completely* (compare 2. 1: "conticuere omnes"), and secondly, on account of its position (see Rem. on 2. 247). The effect produced by the single word CONTICUIT placed thus emphatically is greater than could have been produced by a long sentence such as: *she said no more, and a deep silence followed*, placed in a different part of the line.

69-96.

TUM—SINET

VAR. LECT. (vs. 69).

TEMPLA ■ *Pal.* ■■ $\frac{4}{5}$. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Mod.; Bresc.; Pierius; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersm.; Paris. 1600; La Cerdá; D. Heins.

TEMPLUM ■ *Rom., Med.* ■■ $\frac{4}{5}$. ■■■ N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyn.; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Con. (who objects to my quotations that "templa" in them is used for the metre's sake).

VAR. LECT. (vs. 84).

TERRA ■ *Rom.*; "in codd. quibusdam admodum vetustis TERRAE genitivo casu legitur . . . magis tamen placet TERRA adverbialiter," Pierius. ■■ ‡. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; Philippe; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.

TERRAE ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ ‡; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Brunck; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Voss; Peerlk.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Con.

VAR. LECT. [*punct., &c.*] (vs. 91).

ABERIT . CUM or ABERIT : CUM ■ *Med.* (ABERIT . CUM) ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670) (:); Heyne; Brunck (:); Wakef.; Voss (:); Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Verg.*); Ribb. (:).

ABERIT, CUM ■■■ Jahn; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (ed. 1861).

ABERIT . QUEM ■■■ Phil.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 96).

QUA ■ "In plerisque veteribus codd. quae legere est," Pierius. ■■ ‡. ■■■ Seneca (*Ep. 82*); Rom. 1473; Ven. 1475 (Jenson); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Wakef.; Haupt; Ribb.

QUAM ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1475 (Rubeus); La Cerda; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Philippe; Pott.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Con.

quo ■■ ‡.

TEMPLA (vs. 69).—Wagner prefers *TEMPLUM*, the reading of the Medicean, and considers the reading *TEMPLA* to have arisen from the form (*TEMPLU*—) in which *templum* is found written in that MS. I prefer *TEMPLA*, in the sense of a single temple (compare 3. 84 :

"*templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto.*"

6. 41 :

. . . "*Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.*"

6. 841 :

"*ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.*"

9. 626 :

"*ipse tibi ad tua templa feram solemnia dona.*"

And, precisely parallel, *Stat. Theb.* 2. 728 :

“ aurea tunc mediis urbis tibi *templu* dicabo
collibus.”

Also *Sil. Ital.* 8. 229 :

“ ast ego te compos pugnae Carthaginis arce
marmoreis sistam *templis*.”

Stat. Silo. 1. 1. 105 (addressing Domitian) :

. . . “ et quae tibi *templa* dicamus
ipse colas”),

first, because the plural is more dignified than the singular; secondly, because in Ovid's account of the matter (*Met.* 14. 128) it is “*templa*,” not *templum*; thirdly, because *TEMPLA* is adopted by Pierius, although at the same time informing us that he found *TEMPLUM* both in the Rom. and the Longobard.; fourthly, because of forty-seven * MSS. examined by myself personally forty-two* read *TEMPLA*, five* only *TEMPLUM*, which latter reading was first, so far as my search has gone, introduced into the editions by Nicholas Heinsius.

IN ANTRO BACCHATUR VATES (vv. 77, 78).—The actual entry or passage of the Sibyl into the cave is left unmentioned, as being a minor circumstance deducible from the context. See Remm. on “*impulit ac venti*,” l. 86; and on 6. 529.

FINGITQUE PREMENDO (vs. 80).—“*Dura prius argilla, cera, digitis premitur, subigitur, et fingitur, atque ita ad formam componitur*,” Peerlkamp. Altogether erroneous: first, because the Sibyl was not patient and plastic like potter's clay or wax, but resistant and rebellious; and secondly, because it is perfectly plain, from vv. 100, 101, and 102, that the image is that of a wild horse undergoing the *manège*; and so, correctly, the other commentators. See Rem. on. verse 100. The tyranny of the god of love is figured by Dante (*Sonetti*) under the same metaphor:

“ io sono stato con Amore insieme
dalla circolazione del sol mia nona,
e so com' egli affrena e come sprona,
e come sotto lui si ride e geme.”

* Subsequent searches made the numbers 66, 56, 10, respectively.

For the expression FINGITQUE PREMENDO compare *Georg.* 2. 407: "fingitque putando."

SED TERRAE GRAVIORA MANENT (vs. 84).—These words (as wholly parenthetic as MITTE HANC DE PECTORE CURAM in the next line, and "non indebita posco regna meis fatis," vs. 66) express an idea suggested by the just preceding PELAGI, but not forming a part of the current thought, which passes from PERICLIS to IN REGNA LAVINI DARDANIDAE VENIENT. The period at MANENT should therefore be removed, as splitting the body into two exactly in the middle, leaving the head and shoulders on the left hand, and the tail on the right; i. e., leaving on the left hand "O thou who hast gone through the sea's great perils, but land's greater perils yet await thee;" and leaving on the right hand "the Dardanidae shall come into the Lavinian realms." Nothing has contributed more to the complete misunderstanding and consequent misrepresentation of our author than the ignorance manifested by Virgil's best commentators of this, the usual, structure of his sentences. See Remm. on 5. 705, 659; 6. 743, 880, 45.

Here again, and for the hundredth time, profiting by my "Twelve Years' Voyage," and here, again, and for the hundredth time, without thanks or acknowledgment, Wagner has in his *Praestabilior* removed the point he had placed at MANENT both in his edition of Heyne and in his own *Virg. Br. En.*, and has enclosed the words SED TERRA GRAVIORA MANENT in a parenthesis.

TERRAE, not TERRA, is the true reading. Compare Val. Flacc. 5. 575:

"audit et Alciden infando errore relictum,
defletosque duces, terraeque marisque labores;"

Claud. *Lans Serenae*, 26:

. . . "terrae pelagique labores
et totidem saevi bellis, quot fluctibus, anni
coniugii docuere fidem;"

and Virgil himself, *Aen.* 10. 57:

"totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae"

—almost a repetition of the words of our text. It is besides, and independently of all these parallels, probable that Virgil wrote *TERRAE* if it were only to avoid the equivocal *GRAVIORA quam terra*, which had been necessarily introduced into the passage by the ablative *TERRA*. Besides all which it is not the singular *terra* but the plural “*terris*” which Virgil has used in the similar connexion, 1. 7: “*multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* ;” while, on the contrary, it is precisely the genitive “*terrae*” which he has used in the similar connexion, 10. 57:

“*totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae.*”

NEC TRUCRIS ADDITA IUNO USQUAM ABERIT (VV. 90, 91).—Compare Schiller, *Maria Stuart*, act 4, where Elizabeth, speaking of Mary, says:

“*sie ist die Furie meines lebens ; mir
ein plagegeist, vom schicksal angeheftet.*”

This sense is however solely derivable from the context, not at all contained in *ADDITA*, a word employed, like its Greek equivalent *προσκειμενη*, indifferently whether the meaning intended to be conveyed is good, bad, or indifferent, as *Aen.* 8. 301:

“*salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,*”

which single instance is to me sufficient to prove the incorrectness of the whole of Heyne’s disputations on the passage, and how erroneously the *ADDITA* of our text is rendered by Macrobius “*affixa, et per hoc infesta*,” and by Servius, “*inimica*.” A similar example of the use of the word in a good sense is afforded by Statius, *Theb.* 1. 22: “*tuque o Latiae decus addite famae* ;” and another by Ovid, *Met.* 13. 146 (*Ajax* speaking):

“*est quoque per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis
altera nobilitas* ;”

while again it is used in an indifferent sense by Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 43: “*Centurio is praetoriae cohortis a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus* ;” and, finally, in a bad sense (the sense in which the context shows it to be used in our text), both by Tacit. *Annal.* 4. 67: “*Manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas,*

quam Seianus augere etiam in Urbe suetus acriusturbabat, non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis, quibus *additus* miles nuntios, introitus, aperta, secreta, velut in annales referebat;” and by Statius, *Theb.* 2. 320 :

“ et, qua non gravior mortalibus *addita* cura,
spes, ubi longa venit ;”

and *ibid.* 2. 579: “intorquet iacula et fugientibus *addit*,” in which last two adduced instances, as well as in our text, the word corresponds, as nearly as a different part of speech can correspond, to the *addosso* of the Italians.

CAUSA MALI TANTI CONIUX ITERUM HOSPITA TEUCRIS (vs. 93), theme; EXTERNIQUE ITERUM THALAMI, variation.

TU NE CEDE MALIS, SED CONTRA AUDENTIOR ITO QUA TUA TE FORTUNA SINET (vv. 95, 96).—Notwithstanding the contrary weight of MS. authority, I read QUA not QUAM, (¶) on account of the necessity of the sense, the sentiment afforded by QUAM, viz., “eo AUDENTIOR obsiste MALIS, quo minus res tuae te sinere videbuntur” (Wagner, 1861), being as monstrous as it is in direct opposition to the *mores* not of the Aeneid only but of all antiquity, with which Fortuna was of co-ordinate authority with Fate itself; all events whatsoever, when considered in relation to a supposed irresistible will, being said to be the work of Fate; and all events whatsoever, when considered without such reference, being said to be the work of Fortune. To think of opposing or evading Fortune, therefore, as little entered into the mind of a Sibyl, or a hero, or a poet, as to think of opposing or evading Fate; and the command conveyed to Aeneas in the words of our text is not to resist, thwart, or oppose that Fortuna which was inevitable, but to go boldly hand-in-hand with Fortune as far as inevitable, omnipotent Fortune (8. 334 :

“ Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile Fatum”)

allowed him. Compare 5. 22 :

. . . “superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter.”

Eurip. *Ion*, 976: τα δύνατα νυν τολμησον. And (¶), I read

QUA and not QUAM on account of the exact parallelism, **no less** of 12. 147:

“qua visa est Fortuna pati, Parcaeque sinebant
cedere res Latio, Turnum et tua moenia texi”

(where the reading is “qua,” and cannot by possibility be quam), and of 9. 291: “audentior ibo in casus omnes” (where not only is the general meaning the same as that of our text, but, by a singular coincidence, (a) the very same comparative “audentior” is again used in precisely the same manner as in our text, and (b) the words “in casus omnes” may be regarded as a modified form of the QUA TUA TE FORTUNA SINET of our text), **than** of 11. 128:

“et te, si qua viam dederit Fortuna, Latino
iungemus regi;”

10. 49:

“et quamcunque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur;”

and Statius, *Silv.* 2. 6. 55:

. . . “sed laudum terminus esto
quem Fortuna sinit,”

with which compare Liv. 30. 15: “quantum res sineret,” and the so ordinary forms of expression, “qua datur,” 11. 293; “qua licet,” Ov. *Met.* 10. 164; “qua potes,” Id. *Trist.* 3. 7. 54; and especially Hor. *Sat.* 1. 2. 50:

“qua res, qua ratio suaderet, quaque modesto
munifico esse licet.”

The comparative AUDENTIOR induced the ignorant scribe to write QUAM instead of QUA, and the ignorant scribe led, as usual, in his train not only the more modern, but even the most ancient, commentators, Servius included.

This passage serves in no small degree to confirm me in three opinions to which I had already arrived in the course of this work; first, that in many instances the true reading of a Virgilian text cannot be arrived at so long as we hold ourselves bound by authority, whether that authority be manuscript or editorial; secondly, that the alterations made by Nicholas Heinsius (who

here reads QUAM) in the readings of Daniel Heinsius (who here reads QUA) are often, I had almost said generally, for the worse; thirdly, that the same is true of the alterations made by Wagner (who here reads QUAM) in the Heynian text (which here reads QUA).

AUDENTIOR (vs. 95).—Much less than *audens*; not *boldly*, but *with some degree of boldness*. See Remm. on 1. 232; 3. 377; and compare 7. 46, “senior,” *beginning to be old, somewhat advanced in age*; and 12. 615, “segnior,” *rather dull, somewhat dull*. *Audens* itself is, besides, to be carefully distinguished from *audax*, the former signifying a becoming or proper kind of boldness (as Ammian. 26. 9: “ut pro imperiali germine . . . pugnarent *audentius*, iras militum accendebat.” Tacit. Hist. 2. 2: “Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas inde Syriam *audentioribus* spatiis petebat”), the latter, according to the necessary force of the termination *ax*, an excessive or improper kind. Contrast “*audax iuventa*,” Georg. 4. 565, with “*audentes* Fortuna iuvat,” Aen. 10. 284; and see Remm. on “*sternacis equi*,” 12. 364; and “*sequacibus undis*,” 5. 193.

100-123.

EA—ALCIDEN

EA FRENA FURENTI CONCUTIT, ET STIMULOS SUB PECTORE VERTIT APOLLO (vv. 100, 101).—Continuation of the metaphor of verses 77-80, where see Rem. Compare Lucan, 5. 169 (of Phemonoe):

. . . “bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phoebeaque sarta.
iratum te, Phoebe, ferens, nec verbere solo
uteris et stimulis; flammās in viscera mōgis;
accipit et frenos.”

EA FRENA FURENTI.—“Ita temperat Apollo concitatum Sibyllae pectus, ut ei non liceat simplicem rerum veritatem promere, sed ut ambagum obscuritate involvat verum,” Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*). This is not the meaning. OBSCURIS VERA INVOLVENS is the mere supplement of

TALIBUS EX ADYTO DICTIS CUMAEA SIBYLLA
HORRENDAS CANIT AMBAGES ANTROQUE REMUGIT,

and the reference made by EA FRENA FURENTI is not to this mere supplement, but to the whole preceding account of the Sibyl's demeanour, from “at Phoebi nondum patiens,” vs. 77, to URBE, vs. 97. To which whole preceding account TALIBUS EX ADYTO DICTIS, vs. 98, also refers; TALIBUS EX ADYTO DICTIS and EA FRENA FURENTI being co-ordinate, and the sense being the same as if Virgil had written TALIBUS EX ADYTO DICTIS . . . *tal*ia FRENA FURENTI. This whole demeanour and the whole preceding speech of the Sibyl are accordingly again referred to together in the very next line,

UT PRIMUM CESSIT FUROR, ET RABIDA ORA QUIERUNT,

where the FUROR spoken of (the self-same fury expressed by FURENTI, vs. 100) is not the fury *involvendi* VERA OBSCURIS, but the fury manifested by the Sibyl in her whole conduct, words, and demeanour. This passion of the Sibyl is not mere poetical ornament, the ancient doctrine being that in the passion futurity was revealed, even though not understood by the prophet or prophetess herself. See Ammian. 21. 1: “Aperiunt tunc quoque ventura, cum aestuant hominum corda, sed loquuntur divina. Sol enim (ut aiunt physici) mens mundi, nostras mentes ex sese velut scintillas diffunditans, cum eas incenderit vehementius, futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllae crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammaram . . . Sufficiet dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus, et non ideo nec grammatica, nec musica, nec medicina subsistit.” See Rem. on vv. 46-54, *supra*.

OMNIA PRAECEPI (vs. 105), theme; ATQUE ANIMO MECUM ANTE PEREGI, variation. Compare Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 101

(Prometheus speaking) :

. . . παντα προῦξεπισταμαι
σκεθρως τα μελλοντ', ουδε μοι ποταινιον
πημ' ουδεν ηξει.

TENEBROSA PALUS ACHERONTE REFUSO (vs. 107).—Commentators, and especially Heyne, discuss at some length what lake precisely is here designated by the term TENEBROSA PALUS—some imagining that it is a certain Lacus Acherusius situated between Baiae and Misenum (“Fuit tamen in his ipsis locis ad Cumas palus Acherusia (cf. excurs. 2 et 9 extr. ad h. libr.) ad quam Virgilius respicere debuit,” Heyne. “Palus Acherusia Cumis vicina quam ex Acheronte exundante (REFUSO) ortam putabant,” Wagner (1861). “Erat autem ‘Acherusia palus Cumis vicina,’” Plin. *N. H.* 3. 5, Gossrau. “REFUSO must here be taken in the sense of *overflowing*, as it was the overflow of the river that formed the ‘palus Acherusia,’” Conington), and others with more reason setting it down to be the lake of Avernus (“Avernum significat, quem vult nasci de Acherontis aestuariis,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Acheron, fluvius infernus ex quo Avernus originem habet,” Cynth. Cenet. “Der Lacus Avernus welcher vom ausgetretenen wasser des unterweltlichen flusses Acheron entstehen soll,” Thiel). I say “with more reason,” and might have said with all reason, because, unless this be one of the places in which our author is inconsistent with himself, the INFERNI IANUA REGIS here spoken of can be no other than the “spelunca alta vastoque immanis hiatu,” verse 237, through which Aeneas immediately afterwards passes as through an open door to Hades; and that “spelunca” is expressly stated, in a passage, too, which is little more than an expansion of our text, to be on the lake of Avernus:

“acrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
tendere iter pennis, talis sese halitus atris
faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat,”

where “lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris” is the TENEBROSA PALUS of our text, and the poisonous effluvia of the water over

which no winged thing could fly with impunity exactly such as might be expected to exhale from a reservoir of Acheron. Compare Silius, 12. 120 :

“ ille olim populis dictum Styga, nomine verso
stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat *Avernus* :
tum tristi nemore atque umbris nigrantibus horrens,
et formidatus volucris, lethale vomebat
suffuso virus caelo, Stygiaque per urbes
relligione sacer, saevum retinebat honorem.
hinc vicina palus, fama est *Acherontis ad undas*
pandere iter, caecas stagnante voragine fauces
laxat, et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus,
interdumque novo perturbat lumine Manes ”

(where, however, there is a confusion, still to be cleared up, in “*hinc vicina palus*,” which seems to indicate a lake different from that of Avernus spoken of in the immediately preceding lines); also Id. 13. 397 :

“ hortatur vicina palus, ubi signat Avernus
squalentem introitum stagnans Acherusius humor
.....
‘ vade age, et a medio cum se nox humida cursu
flexerit, ad fauces vicini castus Avernus
duc praedicta sacris duro placamina Diti’
.....
consurgit stratis pergitque ad turbida portae
ostia Tartareae
tum qua se primum rupta tellure recludit
invisum caelo specus, atque *eructat acerbam*
Cocyti laxo suspirans ore paludem,” &c.,

where “*eructat acerbam Cocyti paludem*” is exactly the **TENE-BROSA PALUS ACHERONTE REFUSO** of our text. For the overflowing so often ascribed to the rivers of Hades see Plat. *Phaed.* ad fin.

ILLUM EGO PER FLAMMAS ET MILLE SEQUENTIA TELA ERIPUI HIS HUMERIS (vv. 110, 111), theme; **MEDIOQUE EX HOSTE RECEPI**, variation.

ITQUE REDITQUE VIAM TOTIES (vs. 122).—Not *goes and returns* or *comes back*, but *goes and re-goes*; *goes over and over again*. See Rem. on “*trahunt retrahuntque*,” 5. 709. We have, how-

ever, on the contrary, Hor. *Ep.* 1. 7. 55 : "It, *redit et narrat*," where "it, *redit*" can only be *goes, comes back*.

QUID THESEA, MAGNUM QUID MEMOREM ALCIDEN? (vv. 122-3). —"MAGNUM QUID MEMOREM ALCIDEN? Melius sic distinguitur, licet quidam legunt QUID THESEA MAGNUM, ut epitheton ei dent, qui per se non est magnus," Servius, followed by the two Heinsii, Heyne, Peerlkamp, Jahn, and Gossrau. "Rectius post MAGNUM interpungitur in Mediceo; nimis enim, qui antea nominantur deprimuntur prae Hercule, si hoc epitheton in hac versus sede collocatum ad hunc trahere malis. Accedit, quod finita post medium versum superiore sententia ineleganter conciditur versus, si novum ordinem post THESEA ordimur," Wagner (ed. Heyn.), preceded by Voss (*Anmerkung.*), and followed by Forbiger, Ribbeck, and Conington. I entirely agree with Servius, and to the arguments of Wagner reply (1), that the interpunction of the Medicean is of no use or authority either here or elsewhere (see prefatory remarks). (2), that it is not to the first but to the second in order the laudatory epithet should generally be attached, for the plain reason that the narrative should always rise to, not fall from, a climax. (3), that if there is any character whatever which pre-eminently distinguishes the writings of Virgil and Horace from those of inferior poets, it is precisely the skill and effect with which they both break the sing-song of the verse, while at the same time they excite the expectation and interest of the reader, by occasionally pausing either immediately before the last foot or last word, or immediately after the first foot or first word of the verse. Let anyone compare one hundred lines of the *Aeneid* with an equal length of the *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis*, and say whether he does not prefer the varied cadence of the frequently broken and interrupted verses of the former to the unbroken monotonous smoothness of the latter. The difference between the two is of the same kind as in our own language between the perpetually smooth verses of Surrey's translation of the *Aeneid*, in which the pause is regularly at the end of the line, and the noble verses of *Paradise Lost*, in which it is, as often as the author can by possibility so place it, either in the middle, near the begin-

ning, or before the end. (4), that in the very similar citation of examples, 1. 103, the very similar laudatory epithet "ingens" is separated nearly in the same manner from the preceding part of the verse in order to exalt the second character mentioned, viz., Sarpedon in the next line, while the previously mentioned character, Hector, has to remain contented with the very doubtful praise "saevus." And (5), that while on the one hand all depreciation of Theseus is obviated by the assignment to him of the first place, Hercules has no more than his due in the epithet MAGNUM. To assign to Theseus not only the first place but the laudatory epithet, and especially the epithet MAGNUM, so peculiarly the well-earned and, even by our poet himself elsewhere, acknowledged right of Hercules, as 5. 414 (where see Rem.): "his *magnum* Alciden contra stetit;" 8. 102:

. . . "rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae *magno* divisque ferebat"

[compare Ovid, *Met.* 9. 134 :

. . . "actaque *magni*
Herculis implerant terras."

Hor. *Od.* 4. 5. 35 :

. . . "laribus tuum
miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
et *magni* memor Herculis."

Seneca, *Med.* 647 :

"morte quod crimen tener expiavit
Herculi *magno* puer irrepertus ?"

Id. *Herc. Oet.* 772 :

"hoccine ille summo *magnus* Alcides eat
ad fata et umbras atque peiorem polum !"

Ibid. 1988 (chorus apostrophizing deified Hercules) :

"sed tu domitor *magne* ferarum,
orbisque simul pacator ades."

Ibid. 1755 :

. . . "sed quid hoc ? maestam intuo
sinu gerentem reliquias *magni* Herculis."

Ibid. 417 (Dejanira, speaking of Hercules):

“errat per orbem, non ut aequetur Iovi,
nec ut per urbes *magnus* Argolicas eat.
quod amet requirit: virginum thalamos petit.”

Id. Herc. Fur. 439 (Amphitr. to Megara):

“miseranda coniux Herculis *magni*, sile.”

Ibid. 827:

. . . “densa sed laeto venit
clamore turba, frontibus laurum gerens,
magnique meritas Herculis laudes canit.”

Sil. 3. 512:

“nec mora; commotum promissis ditibus agmen
erigit in collem, et vestigia linquere nota
Herculis edicit *magni*, crudisque locorum
ferre pedem, ac proprio turmas evadere calle.”

Stat. Theb. 5. 441:

“audet iter *magnique* sequens vestigia mutat
Herculis, et tarda quamvis se mole ferentem
vix cursu tener aequat Hylas.”

Ibid. 6. 346:

“it Chromis Hippodamusque, alter satus Hercule *magno*,
alter ab Oenomao”],

and to leave Hercules without any praise at all, **is** to shock even our modern, how much more all ancient, sentiment. Who would say or write now: “not to mention Andrew, the great apostle, or Paul?”

127-192.

NOCTES—HEROS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 180).

SEREBANT ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*; Pierius. ■■■ Servius; D. Heins.; Haupt; Ribb.
FEREBANT ■■■ N. Heins. (1670).

VAR. LECT. (vs. 186).

ET SIC VOCE PRECATUR *OMITTED OR STIGMATISED* ■■■ Haupt;
Peerlk.; Gruppe.

VOCE ■ *Rom.* ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$. ■■■ N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Burm.; Heyne;
Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Jahn.

FORTE ■ *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■ $\frac{4}{5}$. ■■■ Princ.; *Rom.* 1473; *Ven.* 1470, 1471,
1472, 1475, 1486; *Mod.*; *Mil.* 1475; *Bresc.*; R. Steph.; D. Heins.;
Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); *Forb.*; *Lad.*; Haupt; Ribb.

ORE ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$; cod. Longobard. (Pierius). ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerdà; Philippe.

NOCTES ATQUE DIES PATET ATRI IANUA DITIS: SED REVOCARE
GRADUM SUPERASQUE EVADERE AD AURAS, HOC OPUS, HIC LABOR
EST (vv. 127-9).—"Virgil makes use of the thought [viz., of
Aesch. *Pers.* 689 :

. . . οἱ κατὰ χρόνον θεοὶ
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθίαναι]

for his purpose here, though it does not seem very suitable.
The difficulty is for a living man to make the journey: this, as
we find afterwards, can only be surmounted by obtaining a pass-
port of a particular kind; but when it has once been surmounted,
the return does not appear to be less easy than any other part of
the journey; at least we do not find that Aeneas had any obstacle
to overcome, verse 898," Conington—incorrectly, as I think.
The return is more difficult than the going down only because
the going down is final and without return. All go down, and
it is the easiest thing in the world to go down, and if you please

to go there is nothing to hinder you. But, then, you must go as others go—i. e., you must die. This you don't wish to do, and there is the rub. This difficulty is got over by the means prescribed, and with it the difficulty of returning. To expect Aeneas to have any difficulty in returning, after he is admitted on the condition of returning—in other words, after all difficulty both of going and returning has been cleared away—is to contradict the entire scope and meaning of the passage.

PAUCI QUOS AEQUUS AMAVIT IUPITER, AUT ARDENS EVEXIT AD AETHERA VIRTUS DIS GENITI POTUERE (vv. 129-131).—Viz., the demigods. Compare Lucan, 9. 5:

“qua niger astriferis connectitur axibus aer,
quodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus,
semidei manes habitant, quos ignea virtus,
innocuos vitae, patientes aetheris imi
fecit, et aeternos animam collegit in orbes.”

SI TANTUS AMOR MENTI (vs. 133), theme; SI TANTA CUPIDO EST, first variation; ET INSANO IU VAT INDULGERE LABORI, second variation.

HUNC TEGIT OMNIS LUCUS (vv. 138-9), theme; ET OBSCURIS CLAUDUNT CONVALLIBUS UMBRAE, variation.

PRIMO AVULSO NON DEFICIT ALTER AUREUS (vv. 143-4), theme; ET SIMILI FRONDESCIT VIRGA METALLO, variation.

PRAETEREA IACET EXANIMUM TIBI CORPUS AMICI [vs. 149] (HEU! NESCI), &c.—The common trick of fortune-tellers in our own days, viz., to make themselves acquainted with some particular circumstance relating to the previous or present circumstances of the inquirer, in order that the (wise!) inquirer may conclude from their real knowledge of this circumstance that their pretended knowledge of his future circumstances is real also. See verse 188, where we have Aeneas formally drawing this very conclusion:

QUANDO OMNIA VERE,
HEU NIMIUM, DE TE VATES, MISENE, LOCUTA EST.

SEDIBUS REFER SUIS (vs. 152), theme; CONDE SEPULCRO, variation.

PRESSO ORE (vs. 155).—*The mouth being closed*, viz., by the

pressing of the lips together, exactly as 9. 487: "pressi oculos," *closed the eyes*, viz., by the pressing of the lids together.

VESTIGIA FIGIT (vs. 159).—As we would say, *plants his steps, walks deliberately, treads slowly*. See Rem. on vs. 197, and compare Claud. *de Bell. Get.* 169:

"ex quo iam patrios gens haec oblita Triones,
atque Istrum transvexa semel, *vestigia* *faxit*
Threicio funesta solo"

[not *fixed its foot in one place*, or stood, but *trod, trod firmly*].

IT COMES (vs. 159), theme; PARIBUS CURIS VESTIGIA FIGIT, variation.

MULTA INTER SESE VARIO SERMONE SEREBANT (vs. 160).—This is another of those numerous instances in which Nicholas has altered so much for the worse the text of Daniel Heinsius. Why he should have done so is the more unaccountable, as his favourite MS. has SEREBANT, the true reading, as I doubt not; and with the exception of Heyne the one happily adopted by modern editors. SEREBANT is literally *were throwing out, as a sower throws out of his hand; threw out and left there as a sower throws seed out of his hand, and lets it lie without looking after it*; a very appropriate term wherewith to express *conjecturing, guessing, chatting over the matter, as distinguished from ratiocinating, reasoning, arguing, discussing*. Compare Seneca, *Med.* 26: "querelas verbaque incassum *sero*." Stat. *Theb.* 2. 148:

. . . "postquam mediis in sedibus aulae
congressi, inque vicem dextras iunxere, locumque
quo *serere* arcana aptum atque evolvere curas,
insidunt, prior his dubios compellat Adrastus."

Id. *Achill.* 2. 35 (of Diomedes and Ulysses):

"sic segnes heroes eunt, campumque patentem
qui medius portum celsamque interiacet urbem
alterno sermone serunt; prior occupat acer
Tydides: 'qua nunc verum ratione paramus
scrutari? namque ambiguo sub pectore quondam
verso, quid imbelles thyrsos mercatus et aera
urbibus in mediis, Bacchaeaque terga, mitrasque
huc tuleris, varioque aspersas nebridas auro:'"

Tacit. *Hist.* 5. 11: "Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus pro portis praelia *serebant*" [skirmished before the gates]. The Greeks used *σπειρειν* and *κατασπειρειν*, and the Italians of the present day use *seminare* in a similar manner. See *Acta Apostl.* 17. 18: *Τι αν θελοι ο σπερμολογος ουτος λεγειν*; (better translated by Wickliffe than in our authorized version, "What wole this sower of wordis seie?"). *Evang. Marc.* 4. 14: *Ο σπειρων τον λογον σπειρει*. Soph. *Ajax*, 1004 (Teucer, beholding the dead body of Ajax):

ω δυσθεατον ομμα και τολμης πικρας,
οσας ανιας μοι κατασπειρας φθινεις.

Varchi, *Stor. Fiorent.* 10, p. 327: "onde i Panciatichi erano iti *seminando* che Pistoia s'aveva a spoliare di tutte le grasse," &c. Nay, has not Servius observed that the very word *sermo* springs from this root, and have we not the very expression "*sermo viae*" for the talk of persons walking together on the road?—Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 287:

. . . "mentisque calorem
non *sermone viae*, non inter pocula rumpi."

In like manner *subserere* (Amm. 16. 2) is to suggest.

Köne, adopting *SEREBANT*, accounts for the use of the term in a manner much less creditable to our author (*Ueber die Sprache der Römischen Epiker*, p. 157): "*Simplex pro composito* est eine beliebte formel womit man viele schwierigkeiten geschwind abthut. Diese erklärung passt auch zu

MULTA INTER SESE VARIO SERMONES SEREBANT.

Denn hier steht offenbar *SEREBANT* für *disserebant*, weil dies compositum die gewöhnliche rede durchaus verlangt, wie Cicero sagt: 'quae inter me et Scipionem *disserebantur*' (*Lael.* 10. 33), und andere. Aber *disserebant* passte nicht in den vers."

AERE CIERE VIROS (vs. 165), theme; MARTEM ACCENDERE CANTU, variation.

ET LITUA PUGNAS INSIGNIS ORIBAT ET HASTA (vs. 167).—Compare *Kriemhilde's Rache*, von Alfred Reumont: "Volker, der kühne spielmann, also genannt weil er fiedeln konnte und fechten mit gleicher meisterschaft."

STABULA ALTA FERARUM (vs. 179).—The STABULA of the wild beasts are said to be ALTA, not because they are formed by trees which are tall, but because stabula are always alta, and alta, therefore, the standing epithet of stabula. See Remm. on “stabula alta,” 9. 388, and 10. 723.

PARIBUSQUE ACCINGITUR ARMIS (vs. 184).—Compare Theodosius’s directions to his son Honorius, Claud. *de 4 Cons. Honor.* 344 :

. . . “silvam si caedere provocat usus,
sumta ne pudeat quercum stravisse bipenni;”

and Quint. Curt. 8. 11 : “Ipse [Alexander] primus truncam arborem iecit; clamorque exercitus, index alacritatis, secutus est, nullo detrectante munus, quod rex occupavisset.”

SIC VOCE PRECATUR (vs. 186).—I prefer the reading VOCE to FORTE, not only as making the better sense (*prays aloud*; see verse 190, and compare “voce vocantem,” 12. 638), but as occurring again in the same context, 11. 784. FORTE has probably crept in from verse 190.

GEMINAE QUUM FORTE COLUMBAE CAELO VENERE VOLANTES (vv. 190-1).—Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 62 : “Laetum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die, *aquila* leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux *viae praecolavit*, longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.”

HEROS (vs. 192).—See Rem. on 1. 200.

197-206.

SIC EFFATUS VESTIGIA PRESSIT

OBSERVANS QUAE SIGNA FERANT QUO TENDERE PERGANT
 PASCENTES ILLAE TANTUM PRODIRE VOLANDO
 QUANTUM ACIE POSSENT OCULI SERVARE SEQUENTUM
 INDE UBI VENERE AD FAUCES GRAVEOLENTIS AVERNI
 TOILLUNT SE CELERES LIQUIDUMQUE PER AERA LAPSAE
 SEDIBUS OPTATIS GEMINAE SUPER ARBORE SIDUNT
 DISCOLOR UNDE AURI PER RAMOS AURA REFUISIT
 QUALE SOLET SILVIS BRUMALI FRIGORE VISCUM
 FRONDE VIRERE NOVA QUOD NON SUA SEMINAT ARBOS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 203).

GEMINAE ■ *Rom.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$; cod. Longobard. (Pierius). ■■■ Ven. 1472; La Cerda; Burm.; Heyne; Voss; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Dorph.; Haupt; Conington.

GEMINA ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ $\frac{2}{3}$. ■■■ Donat. *Ars Gr.*; Sergius, *Explan. in Donat.* (Keil 4, p. 518); Arusian.; Diomed.; Priscian, *Inst. Gr.* 14. 51 ("i.e., in GEMINA ARBORE SIDUNT SUPER"); Beda (Cologne, 1688, vol. 1, p. 24); Cynth. Cenet. ("GEMINA, i. e., magna"); Rome, 1469, 1473; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475, 1486; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; Albinus (who observes: "Hypallage est, ipsae GEMINAE SIDUNT"); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Gossrau; Lad.; Ribb.

VESTIGIA PRESSIT.—"VESTIGIA PRESSIT Aeneas columbarum praecedentium," Gesner *in voce vestigia*. "Inhibuit incessum, i.e., substitit," Wagner, and Forbiger, referring to verse 331 and following Servius, who adds: "quia, ad captanda auguria post preces, immobiles vel sedere vel stare consuerant." I agree with Wagner and Forbiger in understanding VESTIGIA to be the VESTIGIA of Aeneas, not of the pigeons, but think that the picture is not of Aeneas standing still to observe the pigeons, but

of Aeneas following the pigeons *presso gressu*. Compare (a), Ovid's exactly parallel description of Cadmus's following the steps of the cow which was to be his guide to the site of his future city, *Met.* 3. 15 :

" incustoditam lente videt ire iuvencam,
nullum servitii signum cervice gerentem.
subsequitur, pressoque legit vestigia gressu "

[not stops, but follows with pressed steps, i.e., steps pressed firmly on the ground and dwelt upon, not taken in a hurry, but slow and deliberate, nearly our *measured*, such steps as a stalker uses stalking game]. (b), Val. Flacc. 2. 454 (of Hercules and Telamon hearing the cries of Hesione) :

" attoniti pressere gradum, vacuumque sequuntur
vocis iter "

[not stopped, for they follow on ("sequuntur")]. (c), Lucr. 2. 355 (ed. Lachmann) :

" at mater virides saltus orbata peragrans .
noscit [vulg. *linguit*] humi pedibus *vestigia pressa* bisulcis,
omnia convisens oculis loca, si queat usquam
conspicere amissum fetum "

[marks of the foot pressed on the ground, marks made on the ground by the pressure of the foot, footmarks]. (d), Cic. *in Verrem*, 4 (ed. Lamb., p. 169) : " Qui huiusmodi hominum furta odore aut aliquo leviter *presso vestigio persequabantur* " [slightly impressed step, i.e., slight footmark]. (e), Auct. *Bell. Hispan.* : " Nostri *pede presso* propius rivum *appropinquassent*." (f), Mrs. Barbauld, *Corsica* :

" . . . " Liberty,
the mountain goddess, loves to range at large
amid such scenes, and on the iron soil
prints her majestic step "

[presses her foot with such force as to leave its prints on the ground—the opposite of Camilla, whose foot, so far from leaving its print on the ground, would not have dwelt long enough on the ears of the standing corn to harm them, or on the surface of the sea to become wet ("nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas . . . cele-

res nec tingeret aequore plantas”)]. (g), Curtius’s description of the army of Alexander the Great following the guidance of a flock of crows to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, 4. 7 (ed. Bipont.): “Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima signa antecedentes; et modo humi residebant, *cum lentius agmen incederet*; modo se pen- nis levabant, antecedentium iterque monstrantium ritu” (where the abated speed with which the army marched after the birds is expressed by “*cum lentius agmen incederet*,” exactly as in our text the abated speed of Aeneas is expressed by VESTIGIA PRESSIT, *pressed his steps, dwelt on his steps*). Also (h), Liv. 8. 8: “si hastati profligare hostem non possent, *pede presso* eos *retrocedentes* in intervalla ordinum principes recipiebant.” (i), Id. 28. 14: “presso gradu incedere iubet.” (j), *Aen.* 11. 788: “multa premimus vestigia pruna” [not *stand still on live coals*, but *press our steps on live coals, walk slowly and with firm steps over live coals*]. And especially (k), Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 429:

. . . “viduae, quibus ille [Rufinus] maritos
abstulit, orbataeque ruunt ad gaudia matres,
insultantque alacres. laceros iuvat ire per artus,
*pressa*que calcato *vestigia* sanguine tingi.”

And (l), Nemesian. *Cyneg.* 9:

. . . “iuvat aurato procedere curru,
et parere deo; virides en *ire* per herbas
imperat: intacto *premi*mus *vestigia* musco.”

Even in the passage referred to by Wagner as showing that *premere vestigia* is to *stop*, the meaning is not to *stop*, but as in our text to *go slowly and dwelling on the step, to hang on the step*, the hanging on the step being placed after the stopping, according to our author’s usual *στέρον προτερον*, and the meaning being: *hung on his step, and stopped; pressed his feet more firmly on the ground, and stopped; no longer went at the pace at which he had been going, but went slower and stopped*. Add to all which, that the immediately succeeding words—

QUANTUM ACIE POSSENT OCULI SERVARE SEQUENTUM—

represent Aeneas not as watching the birds from the spot in

which he was when he first saw them, but as actually following them.

The meaning of *premere*, in connexion with *pedem*, *gressum*, or *gradum*, will appear still more clearly from a comparison with *reprimere* and *comprimere*, in the same connexion. The degree of pressure or check on the gait expressed by *premere* amounts, as I have said, to no more than diminishing the full swing of the *incessus*, dwelling on the step, taking a firmer, more deliberate, and therefore slower step. This is what Aeneas does in our text, and thereby gains time for observation, has leisure to observe :

. . . VESTIGIA PRESSIT,
OBSERVANS QUAE SIGNA FERANT, QUO TENDERE PERGANT.

The next degree of pressure is that expressed by *reprimere*, where the pressure amounts to a stop—a stop however no more than temporary, the onward motion being intended to be resumed as soon as the obstacle is removed, as 2. 378 :

“obstupuit, retroque *pedem* cum voce repressit”

[checked his foot, and not only this but, “retro” being added, checked it to such a degree as to draw it back, not, however, with an absolute determination of going no further, but only surprised and frightened by the unexpected obstacle, and not unlikely to go on again as soon as that obstacle is removed]. So also Ennius in *Scipione*, quoted by Macrobian. 6. 2 :

. . . “mundus caeli vastus constitit silentio,
et Neptunus saevus undis asperis pausam dedit.
sol equis itor repressit unguis volantibus”

[stopped for the moment, interrupted his journey]; and Ammian. 14. 2: “Viso itaque exercitu procul auditoque liticinium cantu, *represso gradu parumper steterere praedones*” [checked their step and stood still—not, however, with a settled intention of going no further, but “parumper,” for a little while, and until they had made their observations]. The last degree of pressure is expressed by *comprimere* (con, with all force, by all means at command), expressive of a complete and full stop, all intention of going fur-

ther being renounced, as 6. 389 :

“fare, age, quid venias, iam istinc, et *comprime gressum*”

[*Hold! or Halt!* as we say, *hold your foot there, and don't go one step further*]; and Sil. 3. 548 (of the passage of the Alps by Hannibal):

. . . “hic nescia vinci
paulatim glacies cedit tepecta cruore,
dumque *premit* sonipes duro *vestigia* cornu,
ungula perfossis *haesit compressa* pruinis,”

where we have not only “*premere vestigia*,” expressive of the firm pressure of the horse's foot on the ice, but “*compressa*” also, expressive of the full and complete pressure of the ice on the foot, the holding of the foot by the ice, and “*haesit*,” the consequent complete stop. The same correlation of *premere* and *haerere* with respect to the hand is to be found in Silius, 4. 387 :

“Eumachus inde Capyn : sed tota mole tenebat
ceu fixum membris tegimen ; tamen improbus ensis
annexam parmae decedit vulnere laevam,
inque suo *pressa* est non reddens tegmina nisi
infelix *manus*, atque *haesit* labentibus armis,”

where we have again “*pressa*,” the pressure, and “*haesit*,” the consequent adhesion—that adhesion to the thing or place which in the step we call stop.

SIGNA (vs. 198).—Understood by Servius to mean *auguries, omens* : “Hinc iam optimum significatur augurium quod pascebant.” And so Heyne and Forbiger : “QUAE SIGNA, quale augurium, quid ostendant.” Peerlkamp is nearer the truth : “quo pergerent et ita viam monstrarent ; quam viam pergendo signarent.” But neither has Peerlkamp observed the entire sense, or how the words QUAE SIGNA FERANT come to mean “quo pergerent et ita viam monstrarent.” We shall find this out by considering what *ferre signa* is. Now *ferre signa* is never anything else than *ferre vexilla*, *ferre aquilas*, *carry the standards*, the *signs* which the army is to follow. See Liv. *passim* : “signa ferri iubet ;” Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 4 :

“tradita qui toties, te duce, *signa tuli* ;”

Id. *Amor.* 2. 3. 10 :

“sint tibi cum domina signa ferenda tua.”

And so exactly in our text *QUAE SIGNA FERANT*, *what standards they carry*, i. e., *whither they lead*, as explained in the immediately following words *QUO TENDERE PERGANT*, which thus become the variation of the theme *QUAE SIGNA FERANT*. See Rem. on 1. 550. *SIGNA* is not with Servius and Heyne “*auguria, omina*,” because the birds themselves were the “*auguria*,” the “*omina*,” being Venus’s birds they were themselves the best omens Aeneas could have, and, having seen the birds, all that he had now to do was to watch well whither they would lead him :

OBSERVANS, QUAE SIGNA FERANT, QUO TENDERE PERGANT.

QUAE SIGNA FERANT.—*What signs do they carry?* = *in what direction do they carry their signs?* exactly as we say in English, *what wind is blowing?* = *in what direction is the wind blowing?*

OBSERVANS QUAE SIGNA FERANT.—Compare 1. 458: “*quae fortuna sit urbi . . . miratur.*”

PASCENTES ILLAE (vs. 199), not PERGANT PASCENTES; first, because it was not the feeding of the birds which should have been observed by Aeneas—it was indifferent to him whether they were feeding or not—but simply QUO TENDERE PERGANT; secondly, because a pause after PASCENTES, first word in the line, would have bestowed on it an emphasis disproportioned to its importance (see Rem. 2. 247); thirdly, because we have, 1. 401, “*reduces illi*,” exactly corresponding to PASCENTES ILLAE; and finally, because, as observed by Wagner, PASCENTES joined to ILLAE explains TANTUM PRODIRE VOLANDO QUANTUM, &c.

[*Utter*]. Not PASCENTES ILLAE, but PERGANT PASCENTES; first, because the good omen of the feeding of the birds should have a strong emphasis, and in order to have a strong emphasis it should be joined with the preceding verse and separated from the succeeding words of its own verse by a pause; secondly, because we have in Manilius’s “*ulterius pascentes tendere gaudent*” an exact parallel to QUO TENDERE PERGANT PASCENTES —

Manil. 5. 138 :

“ ut nova per montes quaerunt arbusta capellae,
semper et ulterius pascentes tendere gaudent ;”

and thirdly, and principally, because we can picture to ourselves the birds feeding while they TENDERE PERGANT, but cannot picture to ourselves the birds feeding while they PRODIRE VOLANDO.

SEDIBUS OPTATIS.—“ ARBORE quam volatu petierant,” Heyne. “ *A place where they loved to be*, for the myrtle was consecrated to Venus, as everybody knows,” Warburton (*Divine Legation*). “ SEDIBUS OPTATIS seems to mean *having chosen their place to settle*,” Conington. This is not the meaning. The birds neither loved the place nor were accustomed to haunt it, neither did they choose their place, but were sent to it specially on the present occasion by Venus, as Aeneas’s guides. OPTATIS SEDIBUS is, therefore, SEDIBUS OPTATIS *ab Aenea*. “ Referendum ad votum Aeneae,” La Cerda, Voss, Ladewig, Wagner (1861). See vv. 187-8 :

SI NUNC SE NOBIS ILLE AUREUS ARBORE RAMUS
OSTENDAT NEMORE IN TANTO !

and vv. 194-6 :

ESTE DUCES, O, SI QUA VIA EST, CURSUMQUE PER AURAS
DIRIGITE IN LUCOS, UBI PINGUEM DIVES OPACAT
RAMUS HUMUM.

GEMINAE SUPER ARBORE SIDUNT.—GEMINAE and not GEMINA is the correct reading, **not** at all because *geminus* may not be used to signify *of two different natures*, for we find it applied in that sense by Ovid both to Chiron, *Met.* 2. 630 : “ *geminique tulit Chironis in antrum* ;” and the Minotaur, *ibid.* 8. 169 :

“ quo postquam tauri *geminam* iuvenisque figuram
clausit ;”

and by Statius to Triton, *Silv.* 3. 2. 35 : “ *geminoque huic corpore Triton prae-natat* ;” **but** (1), because it is according to Virgil’s custom thus to repeat his subject just before the verb ; see Rem. on l. 504. (2), because the repetition of the subject in the word GEMINAE places the picture of the *two* birds perched

on the tree vividly before the eyes. (3), because the double nature of the tree is sufficiently described in the following line. (4), because **as** our author has, on every one of the forty other occasions of his use of the word *geminus*, used it in its proper sense of not merely *two in number*, but *two of the same kind, two resembling each other* (“*geminum solem*,” “*gemino muro*,” “*geminos Triones*,” “*gemini scopuli*,” “*gemini angues*,” “*geminæ nares*,” “*gemina cornua*,” “*gemina tempora*,” “*geminos cestus*,” “*geminos iugales*,” “*geminas aras*,” etc.; and compare Serv. ad l. 166: “‘*gemini*,’ pares, similes;” ad 2. 415: “‘*gemini*,’ pro *duo*, quod habet excusationem, quia fratres sunt propter similitudinem;” ad 7. 450: “‘*geminos*,’ similes;” and Ovid, *Met.* 14. 6 :

“navifragumque fretum, *gemino* quod littore pressum
Ausoniae Siculaeque tenet confinia terrae”

[not one shore of two different natures, but two different shores]), **so** it is in a very high degree improbable that he should here, in this single instance, use it in the improper sense of *two of different kinds*, whose diversity of nature he is actually at the moment engaged in pointing out and making clear to the reader. (5), because the words “*gemina arbore*,” both where they occur in Statius, *Theb.* 10. 841 :

. . . “*gemina* latus arbore clusus
aerium sibi portat iter;”

and where they occur in Rutil. *Itin.* 457 :

“incertas *gemina* discriminat arbore fauces,
defixasque offert limes uterque sudes;”

no less than where they occur in Ovid, *Met.* 8. 719 :

. . . “ostendit adhuc Tyaneius illic
incola de *gemina* vicinos arbore trunco,”

mean, not one tree of two different natures, but two distinct trees.

And (6), because we have the very expression “*geminas sedisse columbas*” in Silius Italicus, 3. 677 :

“nam cui dona Iovis non divulgata per orbem,
in gremio Thebes *geminas* sedisse columbas?”

Sacred or vaticinating pigeons—I speak, of course, only of the ancient mythology—go, like our modern sisters of charity, always in pairs (compare, besides Sil. Ital. just quoted, Soph. *Trachin.* 166 :

τοιαυτ' ἐφραζε πρὸς θεῶν εἰμαρμένα
 τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐκτελευτᾶσθαι ποσὼν, .
 ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὼν ἀνδρῶν ποτε
 Δωδωνὶ δισσῶν ἐκ πελειαδῶν ἐφη),

and a solitary vaticinating pigeon had been as great a curiosity to a college of augurs as a *columba solitaria* would be to one of our royal zoological societies. See Rem. on “duplices,” 1. 97.

DISCOLOR (vs. 204).—*Of a different colour from the rest of the tree*, and therefore conspicuous, as the body of Pompey the Great, Lucan, 8. 723, “conspicitur,” *is conspicuous*, being “cano discolor aequore.” That it is intended that the conspicuousness of the branch should be inferred from its being DISCOLOR is further shown by the conjunction of “indiscretus” with “concolor,” Lucan, 9. 715 :

“concolor exustis atque indiscretus arenis
 ammodytes,”

with which compare 8. 82 :

“candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
 procubuit, viridique in littore conspicitur sus”

[is seen conspicuously owing to the contrast of the white and green colours]. Compare also Sil. 15. 99 : “niveis Victoria concolor alis” [snow-white Victory with her snow-white wings].

QUOD NON SUA SEMINAT ARBOS.—“Natum in aliena arbore,” Wagner (1861), connecting together NON and SUA. But this is neither the structure nor the meaning. The structure is QUOD SUA ARBOS NON SEMINAT, and the meaning is : *which is not the produce of its own tree*, i. e., of the tree on which it is found, of the tree on which it grows. Compare *Ecl.* 1. 37 :

“cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma.”

The sentence is thus not, with Wagner, an affirmation, viz., that

a strange tree sows the plant, a meaning which would exclude the sowing of the tree by birds, and display a knowledge of the plant which it is unlikely was possessed by Virgil, but a negation, viz., the plant was not the produce of the tree on which it was found, a negation exactly similar to that of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 17. 44, concerning the same plant: "Omnino autem satum nullo modo nascitur [viscum], nec nisi per alvum avium redditum, maxime palumbis et turdi." Coluth. *Rapt. Helen.* 179:

οἷα τε κυδισαῖς ἀνεμῶλιος, Ἀτρυνῶνη!
 ἦν γὰμος οὐκ ἐσπείρε, καὶ οὐ μαιώσατο μήτηρ.

SUA ARBOS.—The tree on which it is found, the tree on which it grows, as Ovid, *Met.* 7. 204 (Medea speaking):

"vivaque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terra,
 et silvas moveo"

[the ground in which they are found, the ground in which they grow].

210-269.

REFRINGIT—REGNA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 242).

UNDE—AVERNUM [or AORNON] ■ *Rom.* ■■ §§ (in seven of which, however, it is added in a later hand); cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ All the old editions which I have examined; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Wakef.

UNDE—AVERNUM OMITTED ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* (has been written in margin and afterwards erased). ■■ §§. OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Iad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 242).

AVERNUM ■ Rom.; Pierius. ■■ 43. ■■■ Princ.; Rom. 1473; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Phil.

AORNUM ■■ 28. ■■■ N. Heins. (1676, 1704).

AORNON ■■ 46. ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.; Lad.; Wagn. (1861); Ribb.

CUNCTANTEM (vs. 211).—*Yielding slowly and unwillingly*, i. e., *stiff*, and therefore requiring force to break it off the tree; *tough*. Compare *Georg. 2. 236*: “glebas cunctantes,” a *stiff, tough, resisting soil*, and which therefore cannot be ploughed without much labour. How what our author here tells us of the toughness of the branch is to be reconciled with what the Sibyl tells Aeneas at verse 146, I know not. It is remarkable not only that at the distance of no more than sixty-five lines from each other, two so point-blank opposite accounts should be given of the resistance of the branch, but that, as if purposely to render the contradiction the more striking, both accounts should be given in the language of metaphor, the words employed being in the one case “volens facilisque,” in the other CUNCTANTEM.

REFRINGIT (vs. 210).—This word, so much stronger than frangit, expresses the great force which Aeneas was obliged to exert in order to overcome the resistance of the branch. Whatever objection we may make to the contradiction between the account given here and that given at verse 146, it must be owned that the account given in our text affords a more lively and striking picture than if the branch had been represented as broken off by Aeneas with the ease with which he might have broken off a dead or rotten branch. So also at verse 146, in order that the contrast between the person fated to pull the branch and all others should be complete, it was necessary to represent the branch not merely as yielding to the efforts of the former, but as going “volens facilisque” with him, while it resisted the utmost efforts of the latter, and even their cutting instruments. In numerous other places in the Aeneid, as well

as very frequently in all other great poems, it will be found that a desire to make the picture in hand as perfect as possible has caused the author, whether inadvertently or advertently it is not always possible for the reviewer to say, to disfigure his work with incongruities.

INGRATO (vs. 213).—*Thankless.*

PRINCIPIO PINGUEM TAEDIS ET ROBORE SECTO INGENTEM STRUXERE PYRAM (vv. 214-5).—I entirely agree with Wakefield that this passage is to be thus punctuated :

PRINCIPIO, PINGUEM TAEDIS, ET ROBORE SECTO
INGENTEM, STRUXERE PYRAM.

See Rem. on 4. 504.

SPARGENS RORE LEVI ET RAMO FELICIS OLIVAE (vs. 230).—
“A quibusdam *rosmarinus*, ut *Georg. 2. 213* :

‘vix humiles apibus casias roremque ministrat;’

et quanquam ad sensum accommodatius est aquae asperginem et rorem intelligere, tamen aspergillum partim e rore marino partim ex oliva felici fuisse factum non incitum omnino sit existimare,” Turnebus. No, no; RORE is here, as so frequently elsewhere, water minutely divided and falling in drops, as dew is supposed to fall. Compare 5. 854 :

“ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora,”

where we have as in our text both “ramum” and “rore,” and where “rore” cannot by any possibility be *rosmarinus*; *Georg. 4. 430* :

. . . “eum vasti circum gens humida ponti
exultans rorem late dispergit amarum;”

and so *Aen. 12. 339* (of blood falling in drops): “spargit rapida ungula rores sanguineos.” In like manner *rorare*, 8. 645; 11. 8; 3. 567; 12. 512.

SPELUNCA ALTA FUIT, VASTOQUE IMMANIS HIATU, SCRUEA (vv. 237-8).—Compare epigr. attributed to Theocritus, *Anthol. Pal. 9. 433* (ed. Dübner): *λασιανχενος ενδοθεν αντρον*, where

Dübner: "quam iure Hermannus vocavit 'prodigiosam (*abentheuerliche*) metaphoram.'" *Quo iure?* and is not our text a very elegant paraphrase of said "*abentheuerliche* metaphor," VASTO IMMANIS HIATU being the *αὐχὴν*, and SCRUEA the *λασίος*?

IMMANIS HIATU.—These words are no less happy in sound than in sense, and a good reader or reciter will open his mouth wide in pronouncing them, and dwell on the long *a* in the middle of each so as to symbolize the wide yawning mouth of the cave. The letters *a* and *u* occurring very frequently in this description of the cave leading to Hades, viz., *a* nine times and *u* six times, in ten words, and the same letters occurring with a similar frequency in the corresponding description by Ennius (ed. Hessel., p. 243), viz., *a* fifteen times, and *u* seven times in sixteen words:

"adsum, atque advenio Acherunte vix via alta, atque ardua,
per speluncas saxeis structas aspereis pendentibus
maxumeis;"

I do not hesitate to give my adhesion to the Ennian commentator, when he says (*l. c.*): "Sed nescio quid occultioris artificii in his lateat, ut cum Acherontis meminerunt poëtae, semper fere *a* literam inculcent, crebrisque utantur collisionibus, quod in illis etiam patet versibus quos in *Andromache* retulimus:

'Acherusia templa, alta Orci, pallida
leti, obnubila, obsita tenebris loca.'

Huiusmodi quoque observatione digna quidem sunt illa Maronis VI.:

SPELUNCA ALTA FUIT, VASTOQUE IMMANIS HIATU,
SCRUEA, TUTA LACU NIGRO,

in quibus ultimis verbis, ut speluncae denotaret obscuritatem, tres dictiones unamquamque *u* habentem elegit."

As here IMMĀNIS HIĀTU, of the cave leading to Hades, so verse 493, of the shades themselves attempting to raise a shout, "inceptus clāmor frustrātur hiāntes;" and verse 576, of the Hydra:

"quinquāgintā ātris immānis hiātibus Hydra."

HIC (vs. 243) not to be taken too literally, or as meaning *in this cave*, for the cave is not entered until after the sacrifice, verse 262: FURENS ANTRO SE IMMISIT APERTO. HIC, therefore, is: *at this point, viz., arrived at the cave, at the cave's mouth*. That it was usual to offer sacrifices at the lake of Avernus appears from Livy, 24. 12 (of Hannibal): "Cum cetero exercitu *ad lacum Avernī* per speciem *sacrificandi*, re ipsa ut tentaret Puteolos, quodque ibi praesidii erat, descendit."

INVERGIT VINA (vs. 244).—Compare Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 1. 62: "inclinat dextra pateram;" id. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 69 (of the Hermus):

. . . "laetatur in antro
amnis, et undantem declinat prodigus urnam."

LIBAMINA PRIMA (vs. 246).—As we would say in English, *the first taste*, viz., of the sacrifice which was about to be offered. Compare Silius, 10. 550:

"ipse manu celsam pinum flammaque comantem
attollens ductor Gradivum in vota ciebat,
primitias pugnae et laeti *libamina* belli."

Stat. *Theb.* 6. 193:

"at genitor sceptrique decus cultusque Tonantis
iniicit ipse rogis, tergoque et pectore fusam
caesariem ferro minuit, sectisque iacentis
obnubit tenuia ora comis, ac talia fletu
verba pio miscens: 'alio tibi, perfide, pacto,
Iuppiter, hunc crinem voti reus ante dicaram,
si pariter virides nati *libare* dedisses
ad tua templa genas;'"

and *ibid.* 2. 253:

. . . "hic more parentum
lasides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret aetas,
virgineas *libare* comas, primosque solebant
excusare toros."

TUM STYGIO REGI NOCTURNAS INCHOAT ARAS (vs. 252).—INCHOAT, "perficat," Servius. "Exquisite positum pro *facit*," Heyne. "Inchoare; incipere," Gesner. Inchoare or inchoare is neither "perficere," nor "facere," nor "incipere,"

but to *sketch*, make in outline or first rough plan; *ébaucher*, *abbozzare* (compare *Georg.* 3. 42: "te sine nil altum mens *inchoat*" [plans nothing without thee]. *Cic. Orat.* 33: "Oratorem perfectum *inchoare et informare*" [sketch, and when sketched fill up]. *Hor. Od.* 1. 4. 15:

"vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat *inchoare* longam"

[*not* begin a long hope, *but* plan a long hope, lay out a long hope, to be perfected afterwards]. *Suet. Claud.* 3: "Portentum hominis, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum *inchoatum*" [a sketched outlined work, a work without the final finish or polish]. *Cic. De Rep.* 1. 35: "Expediri quae restant vix poterunt, si hoc *inchoatum* reliqueris" [if you leave this only in the sketch]. *S. Ambros. Hymn.* 7 (*Grimm, Hymn. Vet. Eccl.*):

"te universa creatura
mundi fatetur dominum,
iussu patris *inchoata*,
tuis perfecta viribus"),

and such is the only notion which suits our text. Aeneas does not in the short space of time he has at command make altars complete and finished in every particular, but rude, rough, hasty work, just sufficient to receive his sacrifice; and such precisely is the definition of *inchoare* given, or rather intended to be given, by Fronto: "*Inchoat* qui incertum facit, *incipit* cuius exitum sperat." No two words can in their proper use be more distinct than *incipere* and *inchoare*—*incipere* being to perform so much of the perfect work as leaves nothing imperfect so far as the *inceptio* goes; *inchoare* on the other hand being to perform the whole work, whether in the mind, and then it is to *plan*, or with the hands, and then it is to *sketch*, *abbozzare*, in a rude imperfect manner, completing and finishing off no part. So entirely opposed is Servius's comment to the true notion of *inchoare*, that it occurs to me that the words *facit*, *non* have fallen out of his text before "*perficit*."

PROCUL O, PROCUL ESTE (vs. 258), theme; TOTO ABSISTITE LUGO, variation. For PROCUL ESTE, PROFANI, compare Callim.

Hymn. in Apollinem, 2: εκας, εκας, οστις αλιτρος. Stat. Silv. J. 3. 13:

. . . "procul hinc, procul ite nocentes;
si cui corde nefas tacitum, fessique senectus
longa patris; si quis pulsatae conscius umbram
matris, et inferna rigidum timet Aeacon urna:
insontes, castosque voco."

Grat. Falisc. *Cyneg. 446:*

. . . "ipse manu ramum pallente sacerdos
termiteum quatiens: 'procul hinc extorribus ire
edico, praesente deo, praesentibus aris,
quis aelus aut manibus sumptum, aut in pectore motum est,'
inclamat."

INVADE VIAM (vs. 260).—*In-vadere viam* (exactly the opposite of "*e-vadere viam*," *Aen. 2. 731*; and see Rem. on 2. 458) is to enter upon a journey, set out.

NUNC ANIMIS OPUS (vs. 261), theme; NUNC PECTORE FIRMO, variation.

LOCA NOCTE SILENTIA LATE (vs. 265); RES ALTA TERRA ET CALIGINE MERSAS (vs. 267); IBANT OBSCURI SOLA SUB NOCTE PER UMBRAM, PERQUE DOMOS DITIS VACUAS ET INANIA REGNA (vv. 268-9).—The concrete of Job's no less grand abstract: "*Antequam vadam, et non revertar, ad terram tenebrosam, et operam mortis caligine: terram miseriae et tenebrarum, ubi umbra mortis et nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat.*"

SIT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI (vs. 266), theme; SIT NUMINE VESTRO PANDERE RES ALTA TERRA ET CALIGINE MERSAS, variation.

NOCTE (vs. 268).—Not literally the night, or night in the sense of night-time, but figuratively the night, *i. e.*, night in the sense of darkness; first, because the time is morning, just at sunrise (verse 255: PRIMI SUB LUMINA SOLIS ET ORTUS); and secondly, because this "*nox*," this darkness or figurative night, is compared with the darkness of real literal night in the words *QUALE . . . UBI . . . REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM*. As if he had said: the darkness in which they were walking resembled the darkness of night. It is remarkable, and, perhaps, an

instance of negligence of style, that the same word should be used both figuratively and literally in the same paragraph; and it requires some attention on the part of the reader well to distinguish between the two nights, the underground night, *i. e.*, darkness in which the party is walking, and the upper-world night (not at that time present even above ground) with which it is compared.

PERQUE DOMOS DITIS VACUAS ET INANIA REGNA (vs. 269).—
Compare Byron, *Cain*, 2. 2:

“ o ye interminable, gloomy realms
of swimming shadows and enormous shapes.”

DOMOS.—“Simpl. pro *locis*,” Heyne. No, no; but, as clearly shown, first, by the Homeric exactly corresponding $\delta\omega\mu'$ *Aĩdao*, *Il.* 15. 251, and, secondly, by the immediately following REGNA, the dwelling, residence (DITIS) of Dis, *i. e.*, Hades considered in the word DOMOS as the dwelling, residence, exactly as in the word REGNA it is considered as the realm—they went through the void dwelling, through the unsubstantial realms—of Dis.

270-272.

QUALE PER INCERTAM LUNAM SUB LUCE MALIGNA
EST ITER IN SILVIS UBI CAELUM CONDIDIT UMBRA
IUPPITER ET REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 270).

INCERTAM ^A **■** *Vat.* (thus INCERTUM, with the U crossed out, the A being added *a pr. m.*), *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* **■** $\frac{1}{2}$; *cod. Canon.* (Butler). **■■■** *Princ.*; *Ven.* 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; *Rom.* 1473; *Milan*, 1475; *Mod.*; *Bresc.*; all the older editors; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.*; *Philippe*; *Pott.*; *Haupt*; *Wagn.* (*Praest.*); *Ribb.*

INCEPTAM or INCOMPTAM **■■** $\frac{1}{2}$. **■■■** Mentioned by Servius.

QUALE.—Existing in Italian at the present day, and used in the same manner, as *Metast. Temistocle*, 3. 2 :

“ sia luminoso il fine
del viver mio: *qual* moribonda face
scintillando s’ estingua.”

INCERTAM LUNAM is the general enunciation: LUNAM, *the moon*; INCERTAM, the general character of the moon, viz., that she is uncertain—sometimes giving very good light, as, viz., when she is at the full; sometimes bad or scanty light, viz., when she is new or waning. The particular kind of light she is giving on the present occasion is fixed, by the precisising terms, LUCE MALIGNA; she is new or waning. It is therefore the new or waning moon, not the clouded moon, which is spoken of. SILVIS diminishes this scanty light, as the traveller is in a wood. The remainder of the description fixes the time to be night, nothing else. For the phrase INCERTAM LUNAM, compare *Georg. 1. 115*: “*incertis mensibus*,” *the uncertain months*, i. e., *the months in which the weather is unsettled*, where see Forbiger’s (4th ed.) note.

[*Aliter*]. I formerly thought (see “*Twelve Years’ Voyage*”) that INCERTAM here indicated the general character of the moon, i. e., of all moonlight. On further reflection, however, I have come to the conclusion that it indicates only the specific or casual character. This seems to me to be shown by its being so prominently placed; almost the very first word in this long sentence (see Rem. on 2. 247). Our author does not say PER LUNAM INCERTAM, but emphatically PER INCERTAM LUNAM, *during the uncertainty of the moonlight, while the moonlight is uncertain*, i. e., when the moon, although actually in the sky, is not yet fully risen, is not yet *certa*, has not yet quite put to flight the darkness and asserted her supremacy; is not yet the “*imminens luna*” of Horace (*Od. 1. 4. 5*). I think *certus* and *incertus* when applied, without explanation or adjunct, to the sun or moon, are always used in reference to this certainty or uncertainty of the light, viz., that certainty or uncertainty which depends on the sufficient or insufficient height of the shining body above the horizon. Compare Ovid, *Met. 2. 808*:

"ut glacies *incerto* saucia sole," where the ice is only partially, not fully, thawed ("saucia"), because the sun, although up, is not high up and strong; as in our text the light is dim and scanty (LUCE MALIGNA), because the moon, although up, is not yet high. When the sun or moon is *incertus* from any other cause than this every-day occurring cause—insufficient height in the sky—the cause is always specified. Compare 3. 203: "*incertos caeca caligine soles*"—the very passage which has given rise to the false interpretation of *certus* and *incertus* as applied to the sun and moon elsewhere, commentators falsely concluding that because "*incertos caeca caligine*" meant *uncertain because clouded*, *incertus* without similar adjunct should have the same meaning. The logical conclusion would have been, that *incertus* applied to the sun with the adjunct "*caeca caligine*" meaning *clouded*, *incertus* applied without any such adjunct probably, almost necessarily, meant something quite different. Compare, also, Horace's (*Od.* 2. 16. 1):

"otium divos rogat in patenti
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
condidit lunam, *neque certa* fulgent
sidera nautis,"

where "*neque certa*" is not to be understood of uncertainty arising from insufficient height above the horizon, but of uncertainty produced by the "*nubes*" specially mentioned in the preceding line. In like manner, when the sun is *certus* in any other sense than that of being well and completely risen, and shining clearly in consequence, the precise sense in which it is *certus* is explained by an adjunct, *ex. gr.*, Val. Flacc. 2. 57:

. . . "*certusque ad talia Titan*
integer in fluctus et in uno decidit Euro,"

where the sense is not *completely risen and surely shining*, but "*certus ad talia,*" *sure prognosticator of the weather*. This sentence should therefore not have been cited by Wagner (*ad locum*) as an instance of the use of *certus* corresponding to that of *incertus*, *Aen.* 3. 203. Precisely similar to our author's application of *incertus* to the moon is Sallust's application of

the same term to the daylight, *Fragm. Hist. lib. 4*: “Cum interim, lumine etiam tum *incerto*, duae Gallae mulieres conventum vitantes, ad menstrua solvenda, montem ascendunt.”

Nor is there in this use of *certus* to express the sure, certain, unequivocal manifestation of a luminary above the horizon, anything strange, anything discordant with the general force and general application of the term. On the contrary, anything which from being doubtful has become sure, and can no longer be doubted, is properly called *certus*; for a remarkable instance of which, and strikingly similar to the application which we are discussing, see Ovid, *Met. 2. 665*, where the speech of Ocyroe during her transformation into a mare is described first as “*intellecta parum*”; then as being neither the language of a human being nor the neighing of a horse (“*nec verba quidem, nec equae sonus ille videtur*”); and only at last, when the metamorphosis is perfect, becoming “*certos hinnitus*,” perfect, indubitable, unequivocal neighing. Precisely in the same manner as we find the sun, day, or daylight denominated certain or uncertain according as it is surely and completely, or only partly and doubtfully, established, we have the evening twilight (the time, viz., when there is still some daylight mingling with the shades of night) called by Ovid (*Met. 4. 399*) “*dubia nox*”:

“iamque dies exactus erat tempusque subibat,
quod tu nec tenebras, nec possis dicere lucem,
sed cum luce tamen *dubias* confinia *noctis*.”

The twilight also owes its Latin name of *crepusculum* to its being neither certain night nor certain day (“*Priusque manifestus dies creperum noctis absolverat*,” Symm. *Ep. 1. 13*. “*De crepusculo, quod est dubia lux, nam creperum dubium significat, quaeritur*,” Serv. ad *Aen. 2. 268*. “*Crepusculum sic fortasse appellatum quod res incertae creperae dicuntur, idque tempus noctis sit an diei, incertum est*,” Censor. *de die Natali, 24*; “*dubiae crepuscula lucis*,” Ovid, *Met. 11. 597*). Also, our own Thomson, in the commencement of his *Seasons*, applies with the greatest grace and beauty a term exactly corresponding to

the Latin *incertus*, to the early, young, not yet certain, year:

“ as yet the trembling year is *unconfirmed*,
and winter oft at eve resumes the breeze,
chills the pale morn, and bids his driving sleet
deform the day delightless; so that scarce
the bittern knows his time, with bill engulph’d
to shake the sounding marsh; or from the shore
the plovers when to scatter o’er the heath,
and sing their wild notes to the listening waste.
at last from Aries rolls the bounteous sun,
and the bright Bull receives him.”

If my reader—agreeing with me that *INCERTAM* in our text does indeed express the uncertainty of the newly-risen moon, the doubt which there almost always is, for some time after the moon has risen, whether she be actually risen or not—should be inclined to think, nevertheless, that this very uncertainty involves the idea of a cloudy moonrise, I have no objection, especially as we find this very uncertainty of the moonrise, this “*incerta luna*” of our text, represented as cloudy by our author himself, verse 453:

. . . “*qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt, aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,*”

in which passage, I may observe *en passant*, our author has unfortunately committed the great error of describing a moonrise in the beginning of the month, contrary to the physical fact that there is no visible moonrise till about the middle of the month, *i.e.*, till about the full of the moon; the first appearance of the moon every evening during the earlier part of the month being at some height in the sky above (not at) the horizon—an error so much the more remarkable in our usually correct author, as it is not to be found in his Apollonian original (4. 1479), where not the rising, but only the young, moon is spoken of:

. . . *ὡς τις τε νέω ἐνι ἡματι μῆνην
ἦ ἰδεν, ἦ εὐοκῆσεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδεσθαι.*

Of the commentators on this passage, Servius says: “*INCERTAM. Alii INCERTAM legunt. Illuc tamen recurrit, nam in-*

certum *incipientem*, i.e. *minorem*, significat." "LUNAM ita latentem in nubibus ut incertam sui lucem dubiamque praebeat," La Cerda. "INCERTAM, nubilo caelo," Heyne, Wagner. "Cuius lux nubibus incerta et dubia redditur, quae modo splendet, modo nubibus obscuratur," Forb. None of the three explanations is the true one, if it were only because not one of them is consistent with the remainder of the picture, viz., the darkness so emphatically insisted on in the words

UBI CAELUM CONDIDIT UMBRA

IUPPITER, ET REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM.

When the sky is enveloped in shade, and the objects about us have lost their colour owing to the darkness of the night, it is surely incompatible with moonlight, whether the light be, with Servius, that of a young moon, with La Cerda, Heyne, and Wagner, that of a clouded moon, or, with Forbiger, that of a moon alternately shining and clouded. What, then, is the picture, what darkness, and what moonlight is meant, or how is the darkness spoken of reconcilable with the moonlight as certainly spoken of (LUNAM, SUB LUCE MALIGNA)? I reply: the darkness spoken of is the darkness of a fine and clear night:

UBI CAELUM CONDIDIT UMBRA

IUPPITER, ET REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM,

where observe that it is not in *nubibus* but in *UMBRA* that Jupiter CONDIDIT CAELUM, and that it is not *nubes* but *ATRA NOX* which ABSTULIT REBUS COLOREM; and the moon spoken of is the moon which, either having not yet risen, or having but just risen, or being only in the act of rising, has not yet been seen by the traveller, who, being in the woods (EST ITER IN SILVIS), cannot see the horizon, and to whom, therefore, the moon is "incerta," judged to be risen or soon to rise, by the light already beginning to spread over the sky (LUCE MALIGNA), but not yet seen, or certainly known to be risen. The picture, as charming as the most charming of our author's always—when once rightly understood—charming pictures, cannot fail to recommend itself to every reader who, when travelling on a clear and fine dark night, has watched the spreading of the moonlight over the sky

(LUCE MALIGNA) when, owing to the horizon being hid from him either by woods or high grounds, he was still doubtful whether the moon was actually above the horizon or not. That such is the true interpretation of our text first occurred to me on a clear dark night, as, walking from Sesto di Levante to Borgo, I watched the moonlight spreading over the sky (LUCE MALIGNA), while, owing to the shutting out of the horizon by the mountains, the moon itself was still "incerta," might or might not be risen.

LUCE MALIGNA.—These words explain the kind of light afforded by the "incerta luna," by the moon before its rising, or before it has well risen, while it is still doubtful whether it has risen or not. This light is, of course, "maligna" or scanty and insufficient, the opposite of *benigna*, liberal. Such light was indeed stingy enough for our travellers, not being even ordinary twilight, or darkness relieved by a minute intermixture of sunlight, but only moon's twilight, or darkness relieved by a minute intermixture of moonlight. No wonder, therefore, that they went darkly in the lonely night through the shade:

IBANT OBSCURI SOLA SUB NOCTE PER UMBRAM,

a description as unsuitable for travelling by the light, whether of the young moon, or of the clouded moon, or of the moon alternately bright and clouded, as it is suitable for travelling by moonlight so scanty, so "maligna," that you cannot even be sure whether the moon is yet above the horizon. Compare Philostrate. *Icon. 2* (of the moon not long enough risen to give sure light to Antigone when burying Polynices): Σεληνη μὲν γὰρ προβαλλεῖ φῶς οὐπω πιστὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς [not yet to be relied on, but to be relied on by-and-by, *i.e.*, as yet *incertum*, but by-and-by to be *certum*]. Ovid, *Mt. 2. 807*:

. . . "lentaque miserrima tabe
liquitur, ut glacies *incerto* saucia sole"

[not yet well risen, therefore, as yet, weak, sun]. Exactly as the INCERTAM LUNAM SUB LUCE MALIGNA of our text represents the twilight of the rising moon, so the "dubius dies nocte vicina" of Seneca, *Troad. 1145*, represents the twilight of the departing sun:

“ ut esse Phoebi dulcius lumen solet
iam iam cadentis, astra cum repetunt vices,
premiturque *dubius nocte vicina dies.*”

[*Aliter*]. INCERTAM LUNAM.—“ Cuius lux nubibus incerta et dubia redditur, quae modo splendet, modo nubibus obscuratur,” Forbiger. No, no; the light by which Aeneas and the Sibyl were walking was not sometimes bright and sure, and sometimes dim, like the light of a sometimes clouded, sometimes unclouded moon, but always dim and unsure. And such precisely is the meaning of INCERTAM in our text; uncertain, not from being sometimes clear, and sometimes clouded, but uncertain from being always clouded, imperfectly, indistinctly seen, owing to clouds, so that it is difficult to know *certainly* that the moon is actually there—is actually present at all. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 808 :

“ liquitur, ut glacies *incerto* saucia sole ”

[not, with Crispinus, “ subinde et per vices radios suos vibrante ” (for such intermitting radiation would have produced not a gradual melting of the ice, but a melting by fits and starts), but *dim*, prevented by intervening haze from exerting its full force, and, so prevented, melting the ice slowly and gradually]. Hor. *Od.* 2. 16 :

. . . “ simul atra nubes
condidit lunam, *neque certa* fulgent
sidera nautis ”

[and the stars are bedimmed, shine no longer clear and bright]. Incertus in this use is equivalent to our *dim*, and to the Romans supplied the place of that term, while its contrary certus expressed our *clear*, *bright*, *certain*, and, as we say vulgarly, *no mistake*.

The “ luna ” spoken of here, as well as at verse 454, being plainly the material moon, not the goddess Luna, the word in both places should be spelled with a small initial letter, not, as most unaccountably both by Heyne and Wagner (by the latter even in his *Virg. Br. En.*), with a capital.

SUB LUCE MALIGNA.—These words carry out the idea, the first sketch of which is afforded by INCERTAM LUNAM. The light

is "maligna" (scanty) because it is the light of a "luna incerta," or of a moon dimly shining through a haze. The two sentences thrown into one would read thus: SUB MALIGNA LUCE *incertae lunae*.

MALIGNA, *scanty*, as in Greek, *αθονος*, copiosus, and *αθονια*, copia. Compare Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1 (ed. Hutch., p. 23): *ιερειων πολλην αθονιαν*.

UBI CAELUM CONDIDIT UMBRA IUPPITER, theme; ET REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM, variation.

[*Aliter*]. INCERTAM LUNAM.—"INCEPTAM: alii INCERTAM legunt; illuc tamen recurrit. Nam incertum *incipientem*, i.e. *minorem*, significat," Servius. "INCERTAM, nubilo caelo," Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*, comparing "incertos caeca caligine soles," 3. 203), Forbiger. I dissent from both interpretations for the same reasons—first, because darkness such as there is in a wood, at night, either when the moon is very young, or obscured by clouds, had been so little short of utter darkness as not to have allowed the view of objects which Aeneas is described as having enjoyed. Secondly, because it is not according to Virgil's manner to descend to such minutiae, viz., to inform us that the light by which Aeneas walked resembled moonlight in a wood when (with Servius) the moon was young, or when (with Heyne, Forbiger, and Wagner) it was clouded. Thirdly, because it behoved Virgil to say which kind of uncertain moonlight he meant, whether that arising from the youth and consequent small size of the moon, or from clouds, as he has explained the dim sunlight, 3. 203: "incertos caeca caligine soles." I think, therefore, that there is no other uncertainty of moonlight meant in our text than that which is produced by the woods themselves. The moon is uncertain (INCERTAM LUNAM), and the light is scanty (LUCE MALIGNA), because EST ITER IN SILVIS. Thus we have—(a) a sentence composed according to Virgil's usual manner, viz., of affording you in the latter part of the passage or sentence a key wherewith to unlock the meaning shut up in the first part; and (b) the light is not reduced to so infinitesimal a quantity as to be by no possibility of more use to Aeneas than the homœopathist's millesimal grain of aconite

or belladonna is to his phrenetic patient; and (c) INCERTAM and MALIGNA are the very words of all others we would expect Virgil to have chosen to describe moonlight in a wood—INCERTAM expressing its uncertain, indistinct, flickering appearance as seen through the branches of the trees (compare the boy's face said by Juvenal to be "*incerta*," so indistinct, when seen through his long girlish locks, that you cannot be sure whether it is the face of a boy or not, 15. 136 :

. . . "cuius manantia fletu
ora puellares faciunt *incerta* capilli"),

and MALIGNA expressing its scantiness.

CAELUM is opposed to REBUS, IUPPITER to NOX ATRA, and CONDIDIT UMBRA to ABSTULIT COLOREM; the one clause describes the darkening of the sky, as the other clause describes the darkening of the earth; and the two clauses together make up the sense: *when both heaven and earth are involved in darkness*, i. e., *when it is night, the night-time*. The precisely opposite picture is presented at 9. 461 :

"iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce reiectis;"

and also by Prudentius, *Cathem.*, "Hymn. Matut.":

"caligo terrae scinditur
percussa solis spiculo,
rebusque iam color redit
vultu nitentis sideris."

REBUS, exactly as 9. 461 (quoted above), Prudentius (quoted above), and Ovid, *Met.* 2. 395 :

. . . "neve velit tenebras inducere *rebus*,
supplice voce rogant,"

in all which passages the word is used less in the sense of *things*, i. e., *particular things, objects separately taken*, than in the sense of *all things*, i. e., *the world*. Compare also Val. Flacc. 1. 827 :

"cardine sub nostro, *rebusque* abscisa supernis,
Tartarei sedet aula patris"

[the world above, the upper world]. *Georg.* 4. 382 : "Oceanum-
que patrem rerum" [father of all things, of the world]. *Ibid.*

℥. 534 : "rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma" [the fairest city in the world]. *Aen.* 1. 286 : "Romanos rerum dominos" [masters of the world]. *Ibid.* 7. 602 : "maxima rerum Roma" [the greatest city in the world].

COLOREM.—Not the various individual colours belonging to the various individual objects, but the colour (the visual, sensible appearance) imparted to the whole complex, the world (REBUS), by light. Compare Senec. *Agam.* 859 :

"tractus ad caelum canis inferorum
triplici catena, tacuit, nec ullo
latravit ore, lucis ignotae
metuens colorem."

REBUS NOX ABSTULIT ATRA COLOREM.—Victor Hugo (*Le Rhin*, tom. 1, p. 71) thus picturesquely figures this effacing operation of night : "La nuit ouvrait déjà sa main pleine de fumée dans cette ravissante vallée ou la route s'enfonce après le hameau de La Folie, et promenait lentement son immense estompe sur la tour de la cathédrale et la double flèche de St. Jean-des-Vignes."

273-293.

VESTIBULUM—FORMAE

VESTIBULUM ANTE IPSUM (vs. 273), theme ; PRIMIS IN FAUCIBUS ORCI, variation. For the passage compare 7. 177 :

"quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
antiqua e cedro ; Italusque, paterque Sabinus
vitisator, curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
Saturnusque senex, Ianique bifrontis imago
vestibulo astabant."

TRISTISQUE SENECTUS (vs. 275).—So Hom. *Il.* 10. 79 : γῆραι
λυγρω.

LETI CONSANGUINEUS SOPOR (vs. 278).—Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 353 (ed. Schütz):

αρπαγαι δε
διαδρομαν ομαιομονες.

SOMNIA (vs. 283) must be understood to be in the form of birds. Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 70 (ed. Porson):

. . . ω ποτνια χθων,
μελανοπτερυγων ματερ ονειρων.

Sil. Ital. 13. 595:

“dextra vasta comas nemorosaque brachia fundit
taxus, Cocyti rigua frondosior unda.
hic dirae volucres, pastusque cadavere vultur,
et multus bubo, ac sparsis strix sanguine pennis,
Harpyiaeque foveant nidos, atque omnibus haerent
condensae foliis: saevit stridoribus arbor.”

FOLIIS SUB OMNIBUS HAERENT (vs. 284).—Compare Hom. *Il.* 2. 312 (of young sparrows): πεταλοις υποπεπτηωτες.

CENTUMGEMINUS BRIAREUS (vs. 287).—Compare Sidon. *Apoll.* 15. 27:

“plurimus hic Briareus *populoso corpore* pugnat.”

FORMA TRICORPORIS UMBRAE (vs. 289).—Geryon. All the other just enumerated monsters being “formae” no less than Geryon, FORMA TRICORPORIS UMBRAE must be understood as equivalent to umbra tricorpor, FORMAE being introduced into the last clause partly for the sake of variety of expression and partly in order to direct the attention more particularly to the *form* of the object spoken of, exactly as “formae,” the same word, is for the same reasons introduced into the last clause of the enumeration of the Circaean wild beasts, 7. 18, where see Rem.

STRICTAMQUE ACIEM VENIENTIBUS OFFERT (vs. 291).—According to Lycophron, 685, the shades have a particular dread of a sword: φασγανου προβλημα, νερετεροις φοβον.

SUB IMAGINE (vs. 293).—The common expression used to signify absence of reality, and equivalent to the English *under*

the appearance of, presenting the appearance of. So Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 613 :

“ signum erat in solio residens *sub imagine* Tulli ”

[presenting the appearance of Tullius]. *Id. ex Pont.* 3. 3. 75 :

“ tu licet erroris *sub imagine* crimen obumbres ”

[under the appearance of error]. *Id. Met.* 15. 259 :

“ nil equidem durare diu *sub imagine* eadem crediderim ”

[continue to present the same appearance]. *Ibid.* 9. 479 :

“ saepe licet simili redeat *sub imagine* somnus ”

[presenting the same appearance]. And so precisely in our text, SUB IMAGINE FORMAE = SUB *similitudine* FORMAE, i. e., *presenting the appearance of a form, shape, or figure*. This I believe is always the meaning of *imago* when joined with *sub*, and not unfrequently the meaning of that word without the preposition, *ex. gr.* Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 87 : “ Haec ars tota dicendi, sive artis *imago* quaedam est et *similitudo*, habet hanc vim,” &c. The commentators, not recollecting this very common use of the term *imago*, and especially of the expression *sub imagine*, have fallen into the great error of understanding IMAGINE in our text to mean the ghost itself : “ Postulant haec omnia doctrinam veterum, unde pendent infinita Virgilii loca, et aliorum. Dividebant gentiles hominem in rem triplicem, videlicet in corpus, animam, *imaginem*,” La Cerda. “ ‘ Imago,’ εἰδωλον ; das blut- und wesenlose, dem wirklichen körper nachgebildete schattenbild, das von diesem nach dem tode noch übrig bleibt,” Thiel. This error concerning IMAGINE, viz., that it was the psychological εἰδωλον, the ghost of the deceased (as it is at verse 357 of the first book :

“ ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit *imago* coniugis ; ”

at 772 of the second :

. . . “ *umbra* Creusae
visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior *imago* ; ”

and at 654 of the fourth :

“et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago”)

has led to the further error that CAVA expresses the actual vacuity inside such “imago” or εἰδωλον—“CAVA IMAGINE means more than ‘nube cava,’ 1. 520 ; ‘cava umbra,’ 2. 360 ; expressing not merely that the spirits are enclosed by the visible shape, but that the shape is essentially hollow,” Conington. SUB IMAGINE rightly understood, we have no enclosing of a spirit within a visible shape, a notion, as I believe, quite foreign to the psychology of the ancients, but we have the spirit visible (SUB IMAGINE FORMÆ), i. e., the spirit and the “forma” one and the same thing ; in other words FORMÆ being the form in which the spirit showed itself.

CAVA (vs. 293).—*Hollow*, not in the literal sense of enclosing a space, but in the secondary sense of void, having no substance, and therefore that could not be cut with the sword (*impassive*). Compare Apollod. 2. 5. 12. 4 : Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Γοργόνα το ξίφος, ὡς ζώσαν, ἐλκει, καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμῶν μανθάνει ὅτι κενὸν εἰδωλὸν ἐστὶ. SUB IMAGINE FORMÆ would, indeed, alone and of itself signify that the appearance of form was unreal, but the addition of CAVA was necessary in order to give due expression and emphasis to the sentiment. The whole four words CAVA SUB IMAGINE FORMÆ thus come to be equivalent to the single word imago (εἰδωλον) in its technical or psychological sense, and may be considered as substituted for it, according to our author’s habit of substituting a periphrasis or description for the specific, usually employed name ; and this periphrasis is to be considered as the supplement of TENUES SINE CORPORE VITAS, as if our author had said TENUES SINE CORPORE VITAS—*tenues imagines*—VOLITARE. We have thus come round to the etymology of the term imago (εἰδωλον) applied as a name or distinctive appellation to a ghost, and perceive how entirely identical is the rationale of the three appellatives by which a ghost is denominated, the ghost being called imago because it presents the image or appearance of the form (outside figure) of the deceased ; umbra because it is

as it were his shadow (*silhouette*), and simulacrum because it is his likeness.

VOLITARE (vs. 293).—Exactly the English *flit*.

299-304.

CUI PLURIMA MENTO

CANITIES INCULTA IACET STANT LUMINA FLAMMA
SORDIDUS EX HUMERIS NODO DEPENDET AMICTUS
IPSE RATEM CONTO SUBIGIT VELISQUE MINISTRAT
ET FERRUGINEA SUBVECTAT CORPORA CYMBA
IAM SENIOR SED CRUDA DEO VIRIDISQUE SENECTUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 300).

FLAMMAE ■ *Rom., Pal.* (at first FLAMMA, but E is added by the original hand), *Med.* (the E being crossed out, and having a dot over it). ■■ ††; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; N. Heins. (1671, 1704).

FLAMMA ■■ ††. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471; Mod.; Bresc.; Paris, 1600; Rob. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (in note in Burm.); Bersmann; La Cerda; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Ladewig; Ribb.; Haupt; Wagner (*Praest.*); Conington.

IACET.—“IACET neglectum significat,” Wagner (1861). Certainly not. The neglect is in INCULTA = *undressed, uncared*. IACET is merely one of those verbs signifying a *modus* of *esse*, a manner of being, which all writers, and especially writers of poetry, substitute whenever they can for the too indefinite, too abstract, too little graphic *esse*. The use of such verbs, *ex. gr.*, stare, iacere, ire, *τυγχάνειν*, is sometimes very happy, sets the picture vividly before the eyes, as 5. 268 :

“iamque adeo donati omnes, opibusque superbi,
Puniceis *ibant* evincti tempora taenis;”

8. 162: "sed cunctis altior *ibat* Anchises;" 6. 471:

"quam si dura silex aut *stet* Marpesia cautes;"

6. 796:

. . . "iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias."

At other times it is less happy, and the figure of lying, or standing, or going, or happening, is used incorrectly, presents a false picture, *ex. gr.*, Senec. *Agam.* 465: "*iacent* deserta vento vela," the sails which do not lie when they are deserted by the wind, but only hang loose and flaccid, are represented as lying; *id. Med.* 802:

"tibi funereo de more *iacens*
passos cingit vitta capillos,"

the fillet which being untied in order to let the hair hang down dishevelled hangs down loose itself is said to lie; and in our text Charon's beard, which does not lie at all, is said to lie uncared, *INCULTA IACET*, exactly as it would be said in English by a careless writer to lie neglected. There is not the same defect in our author's use of the same figure, *Georg.* 2. 37: "*neu segnes iaceant terrae*," where the lands are correctly said "*iacere*," the lying position sufficiently resembling the horizontal position of the ground.

Loose and incorrect, however, as in strictness is the *INCULTA IACET* of our text, said of Charon's beard, which does not lie at all, but only hangs, far more loose and incorrect is the "*iacente*" applied by Ovid to the hair of the Vestal Claudia, *Fast.* 4. 317:

"submissoque genu, vultus in imagine divae
figit, et hos edit, *crine iacente*, sonos,"

inasmuch as it has not even the help of *incultus* to express the idea it is intended to express, *viz.*, that of hanging neglected.

STANT LUMINA FLAMMAE.—The reading cannot be *FLAMMA* because the meaning would then be *his eyes are a mass of flame*, *his eyes are all on fire*; as the meaning of "*pulvere caelum stare*," 12. 407, is *the sky is thick with dust*; and of "*stet nive candidum*

Soracte," *Hor. Carm. 1. 9. 1*, is *Soracte is all one mass of snow, a pyramid of snow*; and of

. . . "ubi iste fragor, ni fallimur aure, sed unde
pulvereo stant astra globo?"

Stat. Theb. 7, is *the stars stand in a thick globus of dust*. And so *Ladewig*: "Die augen starren vor feuer, d. h., die augen sind gleichsam ein feuermeer und können sich wegen der übermasse des feuers nicht bewegen"—the very truth and correctness of which interpretation of the reading proves the incorrectness of the reading itself, the picture so afforded amounting to downright caricature. On the contrary, the reading *FLAMMAE* not only affords the excellent sense, *his flaming eyes stare, he has staring, flaming eyes* (compare: "Scarcely had she entered her room, when she beheld a shadowy figure enveloped in white garments, having *great staring eyes, as red as fire*. Uttering a series of shrieks, she fell forward insensible. Her fall caused the apparition to tumble over. It was a long pole enveloped in a sheet, with a hollow turnip for a head, in which burnt a piece of candle"), but has a preponderance of *MS.* authority in its favour: see *Var. Lect.*

The emphatic word is *STANT*, not *FLAMMAE*, because the verb preceding the nominative is always emphatic, and because the staring of the eyes is opposed to the lying or lank appearance of the beard—*PLURIMA CANITIES INCULTA IACET, STANT LUMINA*: *a great, uncared, lying (i.e., not crisp), grey beard, and staring eyes*. Compare *Hom. Od. 19. 211* (of Ulysses):

οφθαλμοι δ' ὡσεὶ κερα εἰσάσαν, ἡε σιδηρος,
ἀτρεμας ἐν βλεφαροισι· δολῶ δ' ὄγε δακρυά κευθεν.

Ovid, Fasti, 6. 131:

"sunt avidae volucres, non quae Phineia mensis
guttura fraudabant, sed genus inde trahunt;
grande caput, *stantes oculi*, rostra apta rapinae"

[fixed, staring eyes]. *Sil. 15. 28* (of the goddess *Virtus*):

. . . "frons hirta, nec unquam
composita mutata coma; *stans vultus*, et ore
incessuque viro propior"

[fixed, steady expression of countenance]. Id. 13. 333 (of Pan):

“*stant aures, imoque cadit barba hispida mento*”

(where the “stare” of the ears is directly opposed to the “cadere” of the beard). Lucan, 1. 624 (of the bad omen presented by the entrails of a victim): “*cor iacet*” [*i. e.*, the heart lies flaccid, does not present a full, firm appearance]. Id. 5. 214: “*stat nunquam facies.*” Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 46:

“*at sonipes, habitus animosque imitatus equestres,
acrius attollit vultus, cursumque minatur;
cui rigidis stant colla iubis, vivusque per armos
impetus.*”

Ibid. 1. 2. 270: “*ne mollem uterum, ne stantia laedas pectora.*”

Compare also Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 22:

“*vox tenuis, tardique gradus, oculique iacentes;
interius fugere genae:*”

Ovid, *Met.* 11. 618:

“*tardaque deus [Somnus] gravitate iacentes
vix oculos tollens:*”

and Sil. 14. 603 (of persons afflicted with the plague):

“*lumina, ferre gravem vix sufficientia lucem,
unca nare iacent,*”

in all which three places we have the same term *iacere* (expressive of the condition of languor, of the condition exactly opposed to stare) applied to the eyes themselves. A further proof, if further proof be required, that the emphatic word of the sentence is not *FLAMMAE* but *STANT*, will be found in Claud. *de Nupt. Honorii et Mariae*, 264:

“*quis dignior aula
vultus erat? Non labra rosae, non colla pruinæ,
non crines aequant violæ, non lumina flammæ,*”

where fiery or flaming eyes being represented as a beauty even in a female, it follows as a matter of course that the disagreeableness which it is plainly Virgil's intention to ascribe to the eyes of Charon consisted not in their flaming, but in their staring.

LUMINA FLAMMAE, exactly as in French, "yeux de flamme," and "œil de flamme." Compare Apollodor. *Bibl.* 1. 6 (of Typhon): Πυρ δὲ ἐδερχετο τοῖς ὀμμασι.

Dante, reading FLAMMA, and, as usual with him, misunderstanding his master's meaning, represents the eyes of Charon as standing in the midst of flame, surrounded with circles of flame, *Inferno*, 3. 99 :

"che 'ntorno agli occhi avé di fiamme ruote."

SORDIDUS.—Literal, *dirty*. So Ovid, *Met.* 2. 29: "Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis."

SORDIDUS EX HUMERIS NODO DEPENDET AMICTUS.—If the expression had been HUMERIS DEPENDET AMICTUS, or *ab HUMERIS DEPENDET AMICTUS*, the meaning would have been that the dress covered, and hung down from, the shoulder, where it was fastened, NODO, by a knot. Compare 1. 730: "dependent lychni laquearibus aureis;" Suet. *Galb.* 11: "dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus." But, first, if such had been the fashion of Charon's dress there had been no occasion to mention it, such fashion being the ordinary one and presumable by the reader; and secondly, the expression is neither simply HUMERIS nor *ab HUMERIS*, but *EX HUMERIS*, an expression signifying, as I have shown, Rem. on 4. 263, not *from the shoulders*, but *off the shoulders*, or *from off the shoulders*. We are therefore to picture to ourselves Charon's dress as leaving the shoulders, or at least one shoulder (for HUMERIS does not necessarily signify both shoulders) bare, therefore pretty much of that kind called by the Greeks ἐξωμίς. See Rem. on "demissa ex humeris," 4. 263, and compare Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 4. 4. 41 :

"facito ut venias ornatus huc ornatu naulerico.
causiam habeas ferrugineam, culcitam ob oculos laneam;
palliolum habeas ferrugineum, nam is color thalassicus;
id connexum in humero laevo, expaillato brachio;
praecinctus aliqui; assimilato quasi gubernator sies."

NODO.—The knot, *i. e.*, the string or other fastening which going over the shoulder, perhaps somewhat in the form of a modern suspender, supported the dress while it left the arm

and upper part of the person uncovered. See Rem. on “*nodo-que sinus collecta fluentes*,” l. 324.

CONTO SUBIGIT.—Charon does not row (he could not both row and manage the sails), but he pushes the boat from the shore, and as long as it is in shallow water, by means of a “*contus*” or long iron-shod pole pressed against the bank and bottom. In the middle of the *trajet* the sails come into play. Compare Juvenal, 2. 150 :

“*esse aliquos Manes et subterranea regna,
et contum, Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
nec pueri credunt.*”

The impelling of a boat with a *contus* is well shown in Pousin’s picture of the Holy Family crossing a ferry in their flight into Egypt, engraved in Mrs. Jameson’s *Legends of the Madonna*, pl. 122. The boatman in this picture seems to have been suggested by our author’s Charon.

VELIS MINISTRAT.—“*Aut per vela, et est septimus; aut velis obsequitur, et est dativus*,” Servius. In favour of the former interpretation is Val. Flacc. 3. 38: “*ipse ratem vento stellisque ministrat* ;” Stat. *Theb.* 7. 752 :

“*ipse sedens telis pariterque ministrat habenis
Delius* ;”

Tacitus, *Germ.* 44 : “*Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt.*” In favour of the latter is Sil. 12. 308 :

“*omnis, prae se portans capitisque manusque
antiquum decus ac derepta monilia collo,
certatim matrona ruit, belloque ministrant* ;”

Propert. 2. 22 :

“*aspice uti caelo modo sol modo luna ministrat* ;”

Virgil himself, 10. 218 :

“*ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat* ;”

and the so frequent use by the Greeks of the corresponding

προσπολεῖν with the dative, as Eurip. *Troad.* 264 (of Polyxena):

τυμβῷ τετακται προσπολεῖν Ἀχλλεύς.

No matter which the structure, the same corollary follows; there is wind in Hades.

CORPORA (vs. 303).—This word is used also, verse 306, and yet we have just been informed, verse 292, that they were SINE CORPORE :

ET NI DOCTA COMES TENUES SINE CORPORE VITAS
ADMONEAT VOLITARE CAVA SUB IMAGINE FORMAE,
IRRUAT, ET FRUSTRA FERRO DIVERBERET UMBRAS.

Foolish commentators we, who expect consistency in Virgil, who interpret Virgil by Virgil, who argue from the meaning of one passage in Virgil to the meaning of another.

CRUDA (vs. 304), the Greek *ωμος*, is *full of juice*, i. e., *of blood*, sanguinea. Compare Hom. *Od.* 15. 356 :

κουριδὴς τ' ἀλοχοῖο δαΐφρονος, ἡ ἐμαλίστα
ἦκαχ' ἀποφθιμένη καὶ ἐν ὤμῳ γηραΐ θῆκεν,

where the scholiast : *πρὸ ωρας γηρασαι ἐποίησεν, διὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ λυπὴν*, and Wakefield : "*acerbae senectuti*"—both rightly, but neither understanding how *ωμος* in the Homeric text comes to be applied to *premature*, old age while the same term Latinized (viz., "*crudus*") is applied in the Virgilian text to an old age which is not only not premature, but which has retained youthful vigour to a later period than ordinary. The explanation, however, is simple, and both terms are used correctly, the old age of Charon being "*crudus*," *ωμος*, because retaining the juices of youth until an unusually advanced period, and the old age of Laertes being *ωμος*, "*crudus*," because of its having come on while the body was still full of the juices of youth, i. e., prematurely. That this is the true explanation of "*crudus*" in our text appears, first, from the explanatory VIRIDIS, a metaphor taken from shrubs, which so long as they are cruda, or full of juice, are also green and flourishing, *θαλερα*, (a term also applied by a similar metaphor to the same green, juicy, and flourishing

period of life, Hom. *Il.* 4. 473 :

ενθ' εβαλ' Ανθεμῶνος υἱον Τελαμῶνιος Αἶας
 ἦϊθεον, θαλερον, Σιμοεῖσιον);

and secondly, from the opinion so generally received not in ancient times alone, but even in more modern, that ordinary or natural old age was deficient in blood, exsanguis, as Sen. *Hec.* 50 (of the death of Priam) :

“ ensis senili *siccus* e iugulo redit ; ”

Stat. Theb. 11. 321 (of Jocasta) :

“ non comites, non ferre ipsae vestigia natae
 aequa valent. Tantum miserae dolor ultimus addit
 robur, et *exsanguis* *crudescunt* luctibus anni ”

(where again the use of “*crudescere*” confirms the explanation of *crudus* just given, the sense being that sorrows stimulate the juices which circulate in the veins of old age).

In what relation the other meaning of *crudus*, viz., *raw* in the sense of *raw* as applied to flesh, stands to the meaning just explained is, I think, uncertain. Until further light is thrown on the subject, we may as well assume that the primary meaning of the word is *raw*, in the sense in which we use that word when we say “raw meat,” meaning uncooked butcher’s meat; and that from this primary sense flow the two other senses of the word—first, its sense of *juicy*, in which sense we have just seen it used in our text; and secondly, its sense of *harsh* (i. e., not softened either by the ripening or by the cooking process), in which sense the term *crudus* is applied to cutting instruments, on account of the disagreeable sensation they produce in cutting. Our English word *raw* is a very exact equivalent for the Latin *crudus*, being at one and the same time the very term by which we commonly express uncooked butcher’s meat and the *harsh* air of a wintry day. We never indeed apply the term to the juiciness of a vigorous old age, but *en revanche* we apply it to the juiciness of youth not matured, softened, or cooked by time. See Rem. on “*crudum ensem*,” 10. 682.

VIRIDIS.—*Green*, and therefore *youthful and flourishing*; θαλερος (Hom. *Il.* 4. 474, quoted above). Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 76:

. . . “tu sola animos mentemque peruris,
Gloria: te *viridem* videt immunemque senectae
Phasidis in ripa stantem, iuvenesque vocantem.”

The old age of Charon is precisely the same as the youth of Valerius Flaccus's Glory, the former being old age with the vigour and freshness of youth; the latter, youth which, however ancient, shows no signs of decrepitude.

Crudus and viridis are joined also by Silius, not however in order to present the picture of a fresh, green and vigorous old age like that of Charon, but in order to present the very different picture of a fresh, green and youthful anger in an infirm, feeble and worn-out old man; in other words, to present the picture of a worn-out, feeble and exhausted frame inspirited by a lively passion of anger—such a picture as that of Priam shaking with the infirmity of age, yet not afraid to dare and encounter even Pyrrhus, Sil. 5. 569:

“ille quidem *cruda* mente et *viridissimus* irae
ibat: sed vani frigentem in Marte senectam
prodebant ictus.”

DUBLIN :
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
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AENEIDEA,

BOOK VI. *vv.* 310—902.

310-383.

LAPSA—TERRA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 327).

ET **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.*; Pierius: "In antiquis omnibus exemplaribus quotquot habui, pro NEC RAUCA legere est ET RAUCA." **III** $\frac{1}{2}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Prino.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; N. Heins.; Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

NEC **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** Mod.; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Philippe.

NE **III** $\frac{1}{4}$. **III** Ven. 1470, 1471.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 358).

TERRAE ET IAM **II** *Rom.*; "TERRAE; IAM. In codd. aliquot antiquis legere est TERRAE; ET IAM T., quae quidem particula eo loco inserta, narrationis cursum quodammodo videtur impedire," Pierius. **III** P. Manut.; Philippe.

[punct.]

ADNABAM TERRAE · IAM **III** D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and ed. 1861); Ribb.

ADNABAM · TERRAE IAM **II** *Pal., Med.* **III** Ladewig; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 383).

TERRA **III** $\frac{1}{4}$. **III** Ven. 1470, 1471, 1537 (Junta); P. Manut.; Bresc.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Coningt.

TERRAE **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "In antiquis porro omnibus exemplaribus quotquot versare contigit, scriptum animadverti TERRAE," Pierius. **III** $\frac{1}{2}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Serv. * (cod. Dresd.); Princ.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Ribb.

* "GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA (codd. TERRAE)," Lion, taking on himself to correct the unanimous reading of the MSS. of Servius, in order that Servius's gloss might not stand in direct contradiction with Servius's reading. Better Lion had left it to the reader to judge for himself which was in error, the gloss or the reading.

LAPSA CADUNT (vs. 310).—CADUNT expresses the fall or descent to the ground, LAPSA that the descent was not sudden, but with a gradual gliding motion. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 20. 209 :

“*deciderint humero pallia lapsa meo*”

[slipped off my shoulder, and fell to the ground], and, quoted by Wagner, *Cic. de Off.* 1. 22 : “*Celeriter de manibus audacissimorum civium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt.*” There is, therefore, neither tautology, nor occasion for Wakefield’s conjecture (*Silv. Crit.* 1. 8) LAESA.

CONSTITIT ANCHISA SATUS ET VESTIGIA PRESSIT (vs. 331).—“VESTIGIA PRESSIT, inhibuit incoessum, i. e., substitit,” Wagner (*Praest.*). I think not. VESTIGIA PRESSIT, *went slower, pressed his step, dwelt on his step.* Compare Val. Flacc. 2. 451 (of Telamon and Hercules going slower when they heard the groans of Henone) :

“*attoniti pressere gradum ; vacuumque sequuntur
vocis iter ; iam certa sonat : desertaque duræ
virgo neci quem non hominum superumque vocabat ?*”

(where “sequuntur” shows that “pressere gradum” is not *stopped*, but *went slow, pressed on their step, took their step slower, with more pressure*) ; also Ovid, *Met.* 3. 17 (of Cadmus following the cows) :

“*subsequitur, pressoque legit vestigia gressu.*”

The words VESTIGIA PRESSIT, although placed after, come in the sense before CONSTITIT, just as 2. 353 : “*moriāmur et in media arma ruāmus.*” The last limb of the sentence expresses the action preparatory to that expressed by the first limb ; in other words, the gradual pressure on the steps which brought them to a stop. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 207 :

“*substitit ut clamor, pressus gravitate regentis,*”

where we have the similar union of “substitit” and “pressus,” and where the last limb of the sentence describes an action subservient to that expressed by the first : *the clamour pressed, or controlled by the dignity of the regent, stopped.* See Remm. on 6. 197, 158 ; 9. 324.

EXCIDERAT PUPPI, MEDIIS EFFUSUS IN UNDIS (vs. 339).—A precisely similar use is made of the English *spilled*: “he was spilled into the middle of the water, middle of the road, middle of the ditch,” &c.

PROSPEXI ITALIAM SUMMA SUBLIMIS AB UNDA (vs. 357).—Compare Hom. *Od.* 5. 392 (of Ulysses):

. . . ο δ' ἀρα σχεδὸν εἰσίδε γαίαν,
οἴεν μάλα προΐδων, μεγάλου νπο κυματος ἀρβεις.

IAM TUTA TENEBAM (vs. 358).—*I was already safe, I was already out of danger*; NI GENS CRUDELIS, &c., *only that the natives, &c.* Nothing can be plainer than both the construction and the meaning. The statement IAM TUTA TENEBAM is positive, and this positive statement is immediately corrected by the subjoined NI GENS CRUDELIS, &c.—*I was now in safety, only that (had not) the natives, &c.* See Rem. on 8. 523. What Wagner (ed. 1861) means by his “TENEBAM, *et obtinuissem*,” passes my comprehension.

IAM TUTA TENEBAM.—*I was in safety, I was safe*, exactly as 11. 871: “tuta petunt;” 9. 366: “tuta capeassunt;” and Ovid, *Met.* 10. 714:

. . . “trepidumque et tuta potentem
trux aper insequitur”

[seeking safety, seeking to be safe].

FERRO INVASISSET, PRAEDAMQUE IGNARA PUTASSET (vs. 361).—Υστερον προτερον.

NUNC ME FLUCTUS HABET, VERSANTQUE IN LITTORE VENTI (vs. 362).—Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 28 (Polydorus speaking):

κειμαι δ' ἐπ' ακταις, αλλοτ' ἐν πορτου σάλω,
πολλοις διαυλοῖς κυμάτων φορουμενος.

SPES SURGENTIS IULI (vs. 364).—Not a periphrasis for Iulus himself, but *the hope which thou placest in Iulus: by thy hopes of Iulus*. See Rem. on “nec spes iam restat Iuli,” 1. 560.

AUT TU MIHI TERRAM INLICE, NAMQUE POTES, PORTUSQUE REQUIRE VELINOS (vv. 365-6).—The usual υστερον προτερον.

NAMQUE POTES (Gr. δυνασαι γαρ): “I am not asking you to

do a thing which is difficult of performance; there is nothing to hinder you if you have the will." See Rem. on "qui potes," 10. 632. The opposite condition, viz., that of having the will without the power, is thus described by Euripides (*Iphig. in Aul.* 657, ed. Markl.):

θελω γε. το θελειν [τελειν?] δ' ουκ εχων, αλγυσομαι.

NEQUE ENIM, CREDO, SINE NUMINE DIVUM FLUMINA TANTA PARAS STYGIAMQUE INNARE PALUDEM (VV. 368-9).—NEQUE SINE NUMINE DIVUM, the ουκ αθειει and ουκ ανευ θεων of the Greeks. Compare Mosch. *Europa* (Europa speaking):

ουκ αθειει γαρ ταυτα διερχομαι νηρα κελυθα.

Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 808 (ed. Markl.):

. . . ουτω δεινος εμπεκτωκ' ερωσ
τησδε στρατειας Ελλαδ' ουκ ανευ θεων.

Aesch. *Pers.* 162 (Schütz.):

. . . ον Δαρειος ηρεν ουκ ανευ θεων τινος.

FLUMINA TANTA PARAS STYGIAMQUE INNARE PALUDEM.—To perceive the full force of the words of the text, the reader must bear in mind, first, that they are spoken by a seaman and pilot, and secondly, that in these ancient times a great journey, especially if it was to be made by water, was a thing of so great difficulty and danger that it was supposed never to be undertaken voluntarily except at the immediate instigation or command of a divinity, or at least only after the divine sanction had been obtained. See Moschus and Euripides, as just cited. Palinurus's ratiocination is, therefore, that Aeneas, whom he knew by experience to be so observant of the respect due to heaven in his ordinary voyages, could not have undertaken this so extraordinary, great, and dangerous a voyage, without having taken good care to secure the special protection and assistance of the gods. This is, as it seems to me, the especial force and signification of FLUMINA TANTA PARAS. Nor does the word TANTA assign any undue breadth or magnitude to the infernal river. On the contrary, our notions of that river are apt to fall far

short of the magnitude assigned to it both by Virgil himself and the ancient poets generally. Only at verse 296, above, its "vasta vorago" is spoken of; at verse 302 we are even informed that Charon used sails; at verse 415 Aeneas and the Sibyl are described as arriving at the opposite side, "tandem." The river was not, then, such a river as one might throw a stone or shoot an arrow across, but a broad expanse, separating by a long and intricate navigation the two opposite shores, the shores of two different worlds. In conformity with this view, the bark of Cerberus, loud as it is, is not heard across the river, but only on arriving:

"Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
personat,"

where "haec regna" is *these realms*, the realms of Hades, as contradistinguished from those on the other side of the river.

NAM TUA, &c., . . . MITTENT (vv. 378-380).—Compare Philostr. *Heroica* (ed. Boisson. p. 164), of Palamedes: *εθαψαν δε αυτον Αχιλλεως τε και Αιας, εις την ομορον τη Τροια των Αιολεων ηπειρον, υφ' ων και ιερων αυτω τι εξωκυδομητο μαλα αρχαιον, και αγαλμα Παλαμηδους ιδρυται γενναιον τε και ευοπλον. Και θυουσιν αυτω ξυμιοντες οι τας ακταιας οικουντες πολεις.*

CURAE EMOTAE (vs. 382), theme; PULSUS PARUMPER CORDE DOLOR TRISTI, variation.

GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA (vs. 383).—"GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA: gaudebat se tristem licet tamen perpetuam memoriam sui nominis in illis regionibus habiturum," Donatus. "GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRAE: nominis sui similitudine. Facit autem *hic et haec cognominis*," Servius (cod. Dresd.) "*Ipse GAUDET TERRA COGNOMINE pro cognomini*; ut recte sentit Servius. Nam (ut dicamus) *terram gaudere cognomine Palinuri* non procedit: quia neque terra adest, neque gaudii, si adesset, capax esset," Ascensius. And so with one accord, whether reading TERRAE or TERRA, modern commentators all, as I think, erroneously, and wholly mistaking our author's meaning: which is not that Palinurus rejoiced in the land's being called after him, but that the land rejoices (now in the time of Virgil rejoices) in being called after

Palinurus. For, first, the change of time from the past, in EMOTAE and PULSUS, to the present, in GAUDET, already affords an inkling that the thought GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA is not a second variation of the thought CURAE EMOTAE, already varied in PULSUS CORDE DOLOR, but a new thought; and secondly, GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA [*al.* TERRAE], understood as it has been understood by the commentators, so far from being a suitable second variation of CURAE EMOTAE, or even agreeing well with CURAE EMOTAE, without being a variation, is wholly inconsistent both with those words and their first variation, PULSUS CORDE DOLOR, inasmuch as the greater effect, the climax of effect, viz., the "gaudere," is produced by the smaller, more insignificant cause, the name Palinurus given to the place; while the smaller, weaker effect only, CURAE EMOTAE, PULSUS PARUMPER CORDE DOLOR, is attributed to the greater, more powerful cause, viz., the certain prospect which the tumulus, ceremonies and expiatory sacrifices open to Palinurus of a speedy release from his dreary cis-Stygian quarantine. TERRA GAUDET, therefore, not *Palinurus* GAUDET, is the structure; TERRA, not TERRAE, the reading; and the episode of Palinurus winds up not with Palinurus whiling away his dreary hours with the comforting reflection that the place where he had perished was sometime or other to be called after him, but with the information to the reader that, at the time the author was writing, the place was actually called Palinurus, from which the reader might if he pleased infer for himself that this part of the Sibyl's announcement to the ghost having been fulfilled, the remainder had probably been fulfilled also, the tumulus raised, the rites and expiations performed, and the poor ghost long ages ago duly ferried across to the desired shore. We thus—*suum cuique*—restore with one hand to Virgil his own so well known and familiar ablative substantive, and with the other return their nondescript ablative adjective ("quod autem communi genere in *e* misit ablativum, metri necessitas fecit," Servius, ed. Lion) to those commentators, editors, and critics who with Ascensius deny alike that there was any land in the case, and that, if there had been, it could rejoice: "Nam (ut dicamus) terram gaudere cognomine

Palinuri non procedit; quia neque terra adest, neque gaudii, si adesset, capax esset."

For GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA, thus understood, compare *Georg. 2. 179*:

"difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni,
tenuis ubi argilla, et dumosis calculus arvis,
Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae."

389-423.

IAM—ANTRO

IAM ISTINC, ET COMPRIME GRESSUM (vs. 389).—Compare Terent. *Adelph. 2. 1. 2*: "otiose nunc iam illico hic consiste," where Donat.: "'iam' et 'illico,' alterum tempori adiungitur, alterum loco."

TARTAREUM ILLE MANU CUSTODEM IN VINCLA PETIVIT IPSIUS A SOLIO REGIS, TRAXITQUE TREMENTEM (vv. 395-6).—Here, as at verse 214, and 4. 505, I entirely agree with Wakefield's punctuation: IN VINCLA PETIVIT IPSIUS A SOLIO REGIS. The Medicean indeed places a pause between PETIVIT and IPSIUS, but what reliance can be placed on the punctuation of a MS. which, not to go a greater distance than twelve lines from our text, interpunctuates (see Foggini) between DOLOR and TRISTI, vs. 383; between ARMATUS and QUI, vs. 388; between VIVA and NEFAS, vs. 391; and between EUNTEM and ACCEPISSE, vs. 392?

PETIVIT.—See Rem. on 4. 675.

HI DOMINAM DITIS THALAMO DEDUCERE ADORTI (vs. 397).—THALAMO DITIS, not DOMINAM DITIS.

SI TE NULLA MOVET TANTAE PIETATIS IMAGO (vs. 405).—PIETATIS IMAGO, *picture in the mind, idea of (filial) affection*, as 8. 557, "Martis imago" [picture in the mind, idea of Mars]; 12. 560, "pugnae imago" [picture in the mind, idea of battle]; 9. 294, 10. 824, "patriae pietatis imago" [picture in the mind, idea of paternal affection]. See respective Remm. on those

expressions. Translate, therefore: "If the image produced in your mind by this example of filial affection does not move you;" in other words: "If this example of filial affection does not impress your mind so as to move you."

LAXAT FOROS (vs. 412).—Literally, *clears the gangways*, exactly as Sil. Ital. 9. 250:

. . . "ac pallenti laetus in unda
laxabat sedem venturis portitor umbris"

[cleared a seat]. Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 787:

"posuitque clavae pondus, et pharetra graves
laxavit humeros"

[cleared his shoulders of his quiver]. Sil. Ital. 9. 556:

"ut patuit liber superum certamine tandem,
laxatusque deo campus"

[the field cleared of the god]. And so in our text LAXAT FOROS, *clears the gangways*; i. e., he clears a passage for Aeneas and the Sibyl through the gangway to the seat which he provides for them by turning the ghosts out of their places.

SIMUL ACCIPIT ALVEO INGENTEM AENEAN (vv. 412-13).—Alveus, literally *a bowl* (as Ovid, *Met.* 8. 652:

. . . "erat *alveus* illic
fagineus, curva clavo suspensus ab ansa"),

is secondly *the (bowl) hold, or hull of a ship*, and thirdly, *the ship itself* contemptuously so called, when it is old and battered out, almost without sails and rigging, and little more than a mere bowl; English *hull* and *hulk*, Italian *guscio*, Gr. *κυψελις*—all, words having a similar double sense, and, in the second sense, expressive of contempt. That it is in this sense the word is used here is shown by the immediately succeeding SUTILIS and RIMOSA. We have thus, silently yet lively, presented to us the contrast between the INGENTEM AENEAN and the old battered leaky hulk; a contrast seen only in half its brightness by those who with Voss understand "*alveus*" to be used, without further

point, in its second sense of *ship's hold*. [See, however, *Rem. on SUTILIS* (vs. 414), *infra*].

GEMUIT SUB PONDERE CYMBA SUTILIS, ET MULTAM ACCEPIT RIMOSA PALUDEM (vv. 413-4).—Compare Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 775:

. . . “cymba populorum capax
succubuit uni [Herculi]. Sedit, et gravior ratis
utrumque Lethen lateri titubanti bibit.”

Cymba is used more frequently, perhaps, than any other term for the boat of Charon. Compare Hor. *Od.* 2. 3. 25:

“omnes eodem cogimur; omnium
versatur urna serius ocus
sors exitura, et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cymbae;”

Seneca, just quoted; and our author himself, *Georg.* 4. 506; *Aen.* 6. 303.

SUTILIS.—“*Intexta*, per quod fragilem ostendit,” Servius—an explanation which, like so many of Servius’s explanations, leaves us as wise as we were before. “Sive ex coriis sive vitilis et iuncea,” Heyne, Forbiger, Conington. In order to arrive at the true sense of our text let us consider, first, the meaning of the word *sutilis*, and next the emphasis which in our text it derives from its position. *Sutilis*, then, is primarily of the *sewed* or *stitched* kind, of the kind which is put together by sewing, and is continually contrasted with *texta*, *intexta*, *contexta*, *intertexta*, terms under which the Romans comprehended not only all kinds of cloth, but all kinds of wicker frame work, or wooden building, whether of shipwright or carpenter, compacted together and crossing each other like the warp and woof of cloth. This contrast is made in express terms, *Georg.* 4. 33:

. . . “seu corticibus tibi *suta* cavatis,
seu lento fuerint *alvearia* vimine *texta*,
angustos habeant aditus,”

where we have stitched beehives or “*alvearia suta*” contrasted with plaited or basket-work beehives, “*alvearia texta*.” A similar contrast is made by Cicero of stitched clothing, or clothing

made of skins stitched together, with woven clothing or clothing made of tissue or cloth, *de Nat. Deor.* 11. 60: "tegumenta corporum vel *texta* vel *suta*." **Now as** all building in wood, whether carpentry work or shipwright's work, came under the denomination of *texta*, *intexta*, *contexta*, or *intertexta* (compare 2. 16 (of the wooden horse): "sectaque *intexunt* abiete costas;"; 2. 112 (of the same):

. . . "cum iam hic trabibus *contextus* acernis
staret equus;,"

2. 186 (of the same): "roboribus *textis*;" 11. 326:

"bis denas Italo *texamus* robore naves;,"

and especially Catull. 64. 8:

"diva quibus, retinens in summis urbibus arces,
ipsea levi fecit volitantem flamine currum,
pineae coniungens inflexae *texta* carinae"),

and as Charon's craft is not described by any of these terms, but by a term commonly used to denote the opposite of *textus*, *intextus*, *contextus*, and *intertextus*, **and** as the term used to describe Charon's craft is not placed in the ordinary position of the adjective, that is to say, before its substantive, but in the extraordinary or emphatic position, viz., after its substantive, **and** as this emphatic position is rendered still more emphatic by its being that of first word in a new verse, **it follows** that our author's meaning is that Charon's craft was not of *texta*, *intexta*, *contexta*, or *intertexta* work, therefore neither of woven work (cloth), nor of basket or wicker work, nor of wooden work, but of stitched work, that is to say, of skins sewed together; or, in other words, of leather; an interpretation which derives no small confirmation, first, from the circumstance that *sutor*, emphatically *a sewer*, or *maker of stitched work*, is par excellence *a sewer of leather*, i. e., *a shoemaker*; and secondly, from the circumstance that *leathern* is the very best meaning which can be assigned to "*sutis*," 12. 273: "*teritur qua sutilis alvo balteus*," where, to make a second use of the one passage, I may add that, it being but of secondary importance of

what material the belt was made, the descriptive adjective occupies the inferior place, while the superior place is assigned to the subject on which the main interest turns—**exactly the opposite** of what occurs in our text, where the superior position is assigned to the descriptive adjective, because, as already stated, the material of which the boat was made is intended to be insisted on, partly, no doubt, in order to show conformity with a myth, and partly because this unusual and bad material affords an explanation of the leaky state of the vessel.

MELLE SOPORATAM ET MEDICATIS FRUGIBUS OFFAM (vs. 420). —“The cake was of poppy-seed (for so I understand MEDICATIS FRUGIBUS) made up with honey,” Warburton, *Divine Legation*. This opinion, not peculiar to Warburton, but generally entertained by Virgilian commentators and readers, is in a high degree erroneous. Poppy-seeds possess none of that narcotic property for which the poppy is famous. This property exists only in the capsule, replete with the nauseous, bitter, soporific juice which, solidified by drying, is so well known by the name of opium. The seeds are sweet and esculent, and yield an oil extensively used as salad-oil in Germany and other parts of continental Europe which do not produce the olive. Among the Romans, either the seeds themselves or the oil obtained from them entered into the composition of many sweetmeats and delicacies (see Rem. on 4. 486), and I only wish Mr. Warburton and some other Virgilian commentators had seen in my grandfather's garden, on the dry, warm, pleasant September mornings of just fifty-five years ago, a certain urchin embryo *confrère* of theirs, not quite ten years of age, how he devoured by whole handfuls—without being one whit the worse for it, but rather all the better—those same ripe, black, sweet poppy-seeds which, if we are to take their word for it, produced such powerful effects not merely on the comparatively mild and gentle serpent of the Hesperides, but on that grimmest and surliest of all grim and surly monsters, three-headed, three-throated Cerberus himself. The cake or sop the Sibyl had with so much foresight provided for the emergency consisted, our author informs us, of some kind of pulse or grain (FRUGIBUS).

mixed with honey, and was drugged (*MEDICATIS*), but with what, our author not having told us, we are likely to remain ignorant, until, in the ceaseless revolution of human things, Cerberuses and Sibyls come round again.

IMMANIA TERGA RESOLVIT FUSUS HUMI (vs. 422-3), theme; *TOTO INGENS EXTENDITUR ANTRO*, variation. *IMMANIA TERGA* = immane corpus; see Rem. on 7. 20.

426-429.

CONTINUO AUDITAE VOCES VAGITUS ET INGENS
INFANTUMQUE ANIMAE FLENTES IN LIMINE PRIMO
QUOS DULCIS VITAE EXSORTES ET AB UBERE RAPTO
ABSTULIT ATRA DIES ET FUNERE MERSIT ACERBO

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*]

FLENTES, IN LIMINE etc., without further punctuation as far as *ACERBO*
■■■ Ribbeck.

FLENTES—ACERBO without stop, except comma after *PRIMO* ■■■ Haupt;
Wagn. (*Praest.*)

FLENTES—ACERBO without stop, except comma after *PRIMO* and comma after
DIES ■■■ Pott.

*FLENTES IN LIMINE PRIMO: QUOS DULCIS VITAE EXSORTEIS, ET AB UBERE
RAPTO, ABSTULIT ATRA DIES, ET FUNERE MERSIT ACERBO* ■■■ P. Manut.;
(no stop after *RAPTO*); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne and Wagn.
ed. Heyn. (excepting that they place a comma after *FLENTES*); Philippe.

“La première chose que l’on rencontrait à l’entrée des Enfers, étoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessoient de pleurer, et puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la mort. Quoi de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine de ces petites créatures, qui n’avoient encore commis nul péché; ou que la

peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été opprimée par la calomnie?" Bayle, *Responses aux Quest. d'un Prov.*, p. 3, c. 22. "Purgatory, the first division, is inhabited by suicides, extravagant lovers, and ambitious warriors. . . . But what must we say to the poet's putting children, and men falsely condemned, into his purgatory? For though the modern Roman faith and Inquisition send these two sorts of persons into a place of punishment, yet the genius of ancient paganism had a far gentler spirit. It is indeed difficult to tell what these inmates have to do here, and the commentators, as is their use, observe a profound silence," Warburton, *Divine Legation*. I answer on the part of one of the least of the commentators, that the French philosopher and the English bishop alike mistake and misrepresent our author's meaning. This first region of Hades is neither Purgatory nor place of punishment. It is merely the seat or *quartier* appointed for the classes who are described as occupying it, and is sufficiently, clearly, and strongly distinguished both from the place of punishment—Tartarus—described at verse 548 *et seqq.*, and from Purgatory, neither (strictly speaking) described nor exhibited to the reader, but very distinctly spoken of and explained at verse 735 *et seqq.* The infants indeed are represented as crying, and the suicides and disappointed lovers and those who had suffered unjust capital punishment as sad, but they are undergoing neither purification nor punishment, and their crying and sadness are merely their earthly character and condition carried with them into Hades, as the virtues and happy tempers, and even the wordly pursuits of the *pü*, go with them into Elysium. The infants are placed in the very entrance and beginning of Hades, or, as one might say, neither inside nor outside, such location being considered, according to a mode of reasoning analogous to that of the doctrine of signatures of plants, as peculiarly suitable for those who had died in the very beginning and entrance of life. Immature, semi-developed existences—nay, regarded less as existences at all than as "spes" (see 1. 560; 6. 876, and Remm.)—infant children were equally incapable of the perfect blessedness of Elysium and undeserving of the penalties of Tartarus; infant

children required a separate locality, neutral ground, as it were, where they would neither torment nor be tormented. With this neutral ground Virgil has supplied them, placing them, if I may so say, in the *pomoerium* between the outer inclosure and inner inhabited part of the great subterranean city. If he was embarrassed, as no doubt he was, where to place them, and was only decided at last by the doctrine of signatures, I have at least this one plea to put forward for my client in extenuation, viz., that his embarrassment, great as it was, was far less than either Tertullian's or St. Thomas Aquinas's, the former of whom, so well informed (*Advers. Marcion. 4. 34*) concerning the Sinus Abrahæ, the Gehenna, the Paradisus, and the Inferi, is unable even so much as to guess whether the Limbus puerorum is in the moon, where so many things lost on earth have been so long suspected to be treasured up, and not rather somewhere near the Paradise of Fools, away, away, nobody knows how far, beyond "the backside of the world;" while all that the latter, profoundest of all mystagogues, knows about it is, that it is a Limbus as wholesome and necessary ("ratione culpæ originalis") for children, as the Infernus is wholesome and necessary ("ratione culpæ actualis") for adults (*Summa*, suppl. ad part. 3, quaest. 69). But, however this may be, it was, it may fairly be presumed, a similar mode of reasoning which led our author to place not far off in the same neutral ground, or *pomoerium*, those whose lives had been prematurely closed by suicide, by the unjust infliction of capital punishment, by the chances of war, or by the fatalities of unrequited, ill-matched, or unlawful love. All these classes of persons—with the exception only (see verse 600), from the last class but one, of the small number who had fallen in defence of their country—being of far too intermediate and equivocal a character to be properly assignable either to Elysium or Tartarus, and requiring, no less than the infants, a residence for themselves apart from both, are with sufficient propriety and verisimilitude placed beside the infants, each in its own separate division or compartment of this, if I may so call it, *cis-Tartaro-Elysian* foreground.

But although the Virgilian world of shadows is, as I think I

have sufficiently shown, not liable to the objections raised to it by Bayle and Warburton, it is, I fear, liable to the weightier objection, that, with perhaps the single exception of Dido, who could no more have been left out of it than Hamlet out of the play of *Hamlet*, it is an exclusively Trojan, Grecian, and Roman world, in which no other nation or race on the face of the earth has any place; nay, even worse than this, that it is a world of *élite*; that it is, alike in its *pui*, in its *impui*, and in its equivocal, alike in its good, in its bad, and in its indifferent—an aristocratic world, a world of heroes and heroines, altogether without admixture of either of the great elements—slaves and proletariat. This error, if it be an error, of judgment, this omission, if it be a mere accidental omission, is the more remarkable as half a dozen lines, or less, would have been sufficient to correct it—some such general mention of immense multitudes, already within the Stygian boundary, as has been made at verse 305, of the immense multitudes crowding down to it, with only the hint, *en passant*, that they were of all tribes and nations, and all ranks and degrees of men. If it be alleged that the manifest omission is to be ascribed neither to error of judgment nor to mere inadvertence, but altogether to Virgil's own Roman pride or deference to Roman pride, and especially the pride of Augustus and the Roman aristocracy, I shall not gainsay the allegation, or attempt to deny that Virgil knew, as well as anyone ever knew, what qualities are indispensable to constitute at once a national and court poet, but shall content myself with observing that perhaps no single cause contributed so much to the overthrow of the empire he so loved and cherished, and to the establishment of a new, foreign, and as he would have regarded it, barbarian regime on its ruins, as the promise in letters of gold on the Labarum, of a kingdom into which no one should bring with him distinction of wealth, rank, or honour; a kingdom, therefore, the very opposite in the most essential of all respects of his kingdom of the Manes. See Rem. on 7. 641, on the Latin armament.

[*Aliter*]. The structure is **neither**, with J. H. Voss, Heyne, Forbiger, Gossrau, Conington, INFANTUM ANIMAE FLEN-

TES IN LIMINE PRIMO (*Orci*), QUOS ATRA DIES ABSTULIT EXSORTES DULCIS VITAE, first, because no sufficient reason—I believe I may say no reason at all—has ever been assigned why those who died children, or *in limine lucis*, should after their death be placed in LIMINE *Orci*; secondly, because the *limen Orci* has been long passed by Aeneas, even at the other side of the Styx, vv. 273, 279; thirdly, because the “limen” spoken of by Silius in his manifest imitation of the Virgilian passage, 13. 547, is the “limen lucis” in which the children had died:

“infantum hinc gregibus, versasque ad funera taedas
passis virginibus, turbaeque *in limine lucis*
est iter extinctae, et vagitu ianua nota;”

nor, with Wakefield, INFANTUM ANIMAE FLENTES, QUOS IN LIMINE PRIMO DULCIS VITAE, EXSORTES ABSTULIT ATRA DIES, (a) because exsors used thus absolutely means, not *without* so and so, *ex. gr.*, in the present case, *without having had their share of life*, but *out of course, extra, extraordinary* (as 8. 552: “ducunt exsortem Aeneae,” *they bring one extra for Aeneas*); and (b) because Arusianus in his quotation of the passage recognizes the connexion QUOS DULCIS VITAE EXSORTES; **but** the structure is INFANTUM ANIMAE FLENTES, QUOS IN LIMINE PRIMO (*dulcis vitae*), EXSORTES DULCIS VITAE ABSTULIT ATRA DIES, the author—rightly or wrongly, advisedly or unadvisedly—reckoning on the reader’s readiness to supply for himself, from the DULCIS VITAE presented to him in connexion with EXSORTES, the *dulcis vitae* so indispensable to LIMINE PRIMO. Compare Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 1131 (chorus apostrophizing the shades of the children of Hercules, slain by their father):

“ite ad Stygios, umbrae, portus,
ite innocuae, quas *in primo*
limine vitae scelus oppressit,
patriusque furor; ite infaustum
genus, o pueri, noti per iter
triste laboris; ite, iratos
visite reges.”

Stat. *Theb.* 5. 259 :

. . . “positique patrum super ora gementum
semineces pueri, trepidas *in limine vitae*
singultant animas.”

Ibid. 5. 535 (of the child Archemorus):

. . . "tunc hoc vix *prima ad limina vitae*
hoste iaces."

Lucan, 2. 104:

. . . "nulli sua profuit aetas.
non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
praecipitasse diem; nec *primo in limine vitae*
infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata."

Val. Flacc. 1. 823:

. . . "*primoque rudem sub limine rerum*
te, puer, et visa pallentem morte parentum,
diripiunt."

Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3:

. . . "mihi *limine primo*
fatorum, et viridi, genitor, ceu raptus ab aevo
Tartara dura subis"

["thou, although old, O father, diest to me as if thou wert young"]. Claud. *Laud. Stil.* 2. 62:

. . . "hoc clipeo munitus Honorius altum
non gemuit patrem, *vitaeque et lucis in ipso*
limine, contemptus nunquam dat iura subactis
gentibus."

Id. 3 *Cons. Honor.* 10:

. . . "quem *primo a limine vitae*
nutrix aula fovet."

Prudentius, *Hymn. in Fest. Innocent.*:

"salvete flores martyrur,
quos *lucis ipso in limine*,
Christi insecutor sustulit,
ceu turbo nascentes rosas."

As in our text "*limen primum (vitae)*" is *the threshold or beginning of life*, so, *Sil.* 14. 444, "*limen mortis*" is *the threshold or beginning of death*:

"urgebant nihilo levius, iam in *limine mortis*
quos fuga praecipites partem glomerarat in unam
puppis, adhuc vacuum taedae;"

and γηρας ουδος is the threshold or beginning of old age, Hom. *Od.* 15. 346:

εἰπ' ἀγε μοι περιμήτρος Ὀδυσσεὺς θείοιο,
πατρός θ', ὃν κατελείπειν ἰὼν ἐπὶ γηρας οὐδῶ,
εἰ ποῦ ἐτι ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡλίοιο,
ἣ ἤδη τεθνασι, καὶ εἰν Αἰδαο δομοῖσιν.

VAGITUS ET INGENS, INFANTUMQUE ANIMAE FLENTES.—Why FLENTES? Why VAGITUS INGENS? The following lines supply the answer: *Quia* IN LIMINE PRIMO, EXSORTES DULCIS VITAE . . . ACERBO. Compare Stat. *Silv.* 2 (Epiced. Glauc.):

"ipse etenim tecum nigrae solennia pompae,
spectatumque urbi scelus et puerile feretrum
produxi, et saevos damnati thuris acervos,
plorantemque animam supra sua funera vidi."

ΑΤΡΑ ΔΙΕΣ.—The νηλεές ημαρ of Homer, *Il.* 11. 483:

. . . αὐτὰρ οὔτ' ἥρως
αἰσῶν ὡ ἐγχεί αμυνέτο νηλεές ημαρ.

Ulysses is able to keep off, to keep at bay (αμυνεσθαι, arcere) the νηλεές ημαρ, the ΑΤΡΑ ΔΙΕΣ which is too strong for the little children and carries them off (ABSTULIT). Let the reader consider these two remarkable synonyms of death, νηλεές ημαρ and ΑΤΡΑ ΔΙΕΣ, and how appropriately "auferre" and αμυνεσθαι express, respectively, kidnapping and keeping off the kidnapper; also how usual it is for nurses in the present day to threaten a child with a monster who will kidnap him or run away with him; or, on the other hand, to promise the child, if he is good, that they will keep the bugbear off; and he will, perhaps, be inclined to suspect with me that ΑΤΡΑ ΔΙΕΣ and νηλεές ημαρ are terms if not actually taken from, at least once well known in, the Greek and Roman nurses' vocabulary.

ABSTULIT.—As Dies is here represented as taking away with her, so, Liv. 27. 13, she is represented as bringing: "Quid haec nox, quid hic dies attulit?"

431-439.

NEC—ALLIGAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 438).

FATA OBSTANT ■ Pierius. ■■ ††; the Dresden MS. of Servius. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Mod.; Bresc.; R. Steph.; Fabricius; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersm.; Paris, 1600; La Cerda; D. Heins.; Philippe; Pott.

FAS OBSTAT ■ *Rom.* (thus, OPTAT), *Pal.* (thus, OPSTAT), *Med.* (over AS there have been in red ink the two letters TA, which two letters have been afterwards imperfectly erased; also, in the space over AT there has been the letter N, which also has been partially erased). ■■ ††. ■■■ N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

FATUM OBSTAT ■■ ††.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 438).

TRISTI ■ "In Mediceo* et in Porcio legere est TRISTI," Pierius. ■■ ††. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Lad.; Haupt.

TRISTIS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* ■■ ††. ■■■ Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 438).

INAMABILIS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* (over the last letter of PALUS and the first letter of INAMABILIS an erased ET in the interspace between the lines); Pierius (who adds "sunt et qui legunt INNABILIS, quod in veteribus exemplaribus non memini me legere"). ■■ ††; Camerarius' MS. (Bersmann). ■■■ Serv.; Donat.; Pompon. Sabinus; Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Mil. 1475; Mod.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

* The Medicean has TRISQ.; two or three letters in red ink formerly existing in the space over SQ have been so erased that they cannot now be read.

INNABILIS III ½; Dresden MS. of Servius. III Ven. 1472; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Bersmann; La Cerda.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 438).

UNDÆ I Pal., Med. (UNDAË). III ½. III Leyden, 1680; Ribb.

UNDA I Rom. II ½. III Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*)

NEC VERO HÆ SINE SORTE DATAE, SINE IUDICE, SEDES. QUÆSITOR MINOS URNAM MOVET: ILLE SILENTUM CONCILIUMQUE VOCAT, VITASQUE ET CRIMINA DISCIT (VV. 431-433).—HÆ SEDES: not referring to the particular region allotted to the DAMNATI CRIMINE MORTIS, but to all the various regions on the description of which he has just entered, the first of which is that allotted to the DAMNATI CRIMINE MORTIS, and the second of which is allotted to those QUI SIBI LETUM INSONTES PEPERERE MANU.

QUÆSITOR. — *Judge*, called QUÆSITOR because whoever judges must first inquire. Accordingly, we have our “coroner’s inquest,” and even our high court of Parliament is sometimes called “the great inquest of the nation.” Need I say that we had formerly, and still have in Rome, the court of the Inquisition?

IUDICE.—The judge not only tries the ghosts (VITAS ET CRIMINA DISCIT), but assigns to them their locality or settlement, according to the judgement he has formed of them on their trial: NEC VERO HÆ SINE SORTE DATAE, SINE IUDICE, SEDES.

SORTE.—The lot which decides, not their sentence, for that is decided by the judge, but the order in which the cases shall come on for judgement.

URNAM.—Not a balloting or voting urn, but the urn into which the lots are cast which decide the order in which the cases are taken.

CONCILIUM.—The assembly of the ghosts to be tried.

DISCIT.—*Learns*, in the way a judge usually learns, viz., by

asking questions, hearing evidence and confessions, &c. Compare Seneca, *Med.* 194 (Medea to Creon):

“ si iudicas, *cognosce* ; si regnas, iube.”

There is in the whole passage the same want of parallelism between the order of time in which the various circumstances occur, and the order of narration, which is generally observable in our author's compositions. The judge first assembles the ghosts, then shakes the urn, then draws the lots, then tries the individual whose lot comes forth first, and then finally assigns him his place—the words *HÆ DATAE SEDES*, though relating to the last performed act, having the first place in the narration. These three wholly and plainly parenthetical lines also afford a good instance of that remarkable peculiarity of Virgil's style to which I have had occasion so frequently elsewhere to call the reader's attention : see Remm. on l. 4 ; 3. 571 ; 4. 484 ; 5. 522, 659 ; 6. 83, 739.

QUI SIBI LETUM INSONTES PEPERERE MANU (vv. 434-5), theme ; *LUCEM PEROSI PROIECERE ANIMAS*, variation.

AETHERE IN ALTO (vs. 436).—A striking example of the extreme laxity with which Virgil sometimes uses his words, especially the words *aether*, *aer*, *aurae*, *caelum*, *nubes*, *nubila*, *astra*, and the like. The common air or atmosphere which we breathe on the earth's surface is here styled, of course only in contradistinction to the atmosphere of Hades, “ *aether altus*,” *the high ether*. There is a similar loose use of the word *aether* at l. 591 :

“ *scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum* ;”

also at 8. 701 : “ *tristesque ex aethere Dirae* ;” and at 7. 65 : “ *liquidum trans aethera vectae*,” in which places, as well as occasionally elsewhere in the course of the poem, “ *aether* ” means only the common air or atmosphere. *Caelum* is used with equal laxity at 6. 579 :

“ *quantus ad aethereum caeli suspectus Olympum*,”

where “ *suspectus caeli* ” is the view upwards (viz., “ *ad aethereum Olympum* ”) of those who live in the upper world (*i.e.*, on

earth), in contradistinction to those who (if I may use the expression) live in Hades; and where, a second remarkable laxity in the same verse, "aethereum Olympum" is not the real aethereal Olympus, the habitation of the gods above the sky, but the sky itself, the *caelum*. We have thus within the narrow limits of one verse "aethereus Olympus" meaning *caelum*, and "caelum" meaning *terra*, a laxity, or, to use a term more respectful towards Virgil, a boldness of expression neither to be admired nor imitated. For examples of a similar unrestrained license with respect to *nubes* and *nubila*, see Remm. on 5. 525; 7. 609; and 4. 246; and with respect to *sidera* and *aetherea*, 7. 767, and Rem.

TRISTI PALUS INAMABILIS UNDA ALLIGAT (vv. 438-9), theme; NOVIES STYX INTERFUSA COERCET, variation.

FATA OBSTANT (vs. 438).—FATA, not FAS—first, on account of the superior MS. authority for FATA. Secondly, because "fata" and not fas is the word employed by Valerius Flaccus, where on the similar occasion of the desire of the shades in Hades to go up to the upper world in order to see the Argonauts, he says (5. 86):

. . . "ardent avidos attollere vultus
quos pietas vel tangit adhuc quos aemula virtus.
Fata immota manent."

Thirdly, because in no one of the twenty-two instances in which Virgil has elsewhere used the word *fas* has he used it in connexion either with *obstare* or any other word signifying opposition or prohibition, but always in such connexion that the word itself comes to be equivalent to permission, sanction, privilege. Fourthly, that *fatum* is used in connexion with *obstare* and similar verbs not only by other authors (as Ovid, *Met.* 4. 249: "quoniam tantis fatum conatibus obstat;" *ibid.* 13. 373: "obstantia fata removi;" Val. Flacc. 2. 4: "et adhuc obstantia regis fata ruat") but by Virgil himself, *Georg.* 4. 455: "nī fata resistent." And fifthly, that the identical expression, occupying, too, the same place in the verse, occurs again, 4. 440:

"*fata obstant*, placidasque viri deus obstruit aures."

The expression has been preserved as well as imitated by the monkish authors in the dark ages, as Iscan. 1. 94 :

“*fata obstant, hominum praedatrix Atropos arcet.*”

Id. 6. 207 :

“*at obstat
cui thalami propior spirat dolor, obstat Erinnyes,
obstat Parca tenax, fatoque potentior omni,
bella refert Danaïs scrutatus numina Calchas.*”

See Remm. on 2. 779 ; 9. 95.

TRISTIQUE PALUS INAMABILIS UNDA ALLIGAT (vv. 438-9).—
The structure is not INAMABILIS TRISTI UNDA, but ALLIGAT TRISTI UNDA. Compare Manil. 1. 246 :

“*pontus utraque suis distinguit et alligat undis.*”

442-476.

HIC—EUNTEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 448).

CAENEUS or CENEUS or COENEUS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* (thus: CAENEÛS), *Med.* (thus: CAENEUS). ■■ §§. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 ; Mil. 1475 ; Mod. ; Bresc. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704) ; B. Steph. ; Philippe ; Haupt ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and *Praest.*) ; Ribb.

CAENIS ■■■ Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Pott. ; Jahn ; Peerlk. ; Ladewig.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 452).

UMBRAM ■ *Med.* (the final M extremely indistinct, and not without careful observation discernible). ■■ §§. ■■■ Princ. ; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 ; Mod. ; Mil. 1475 ; Bresc. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1671) ; Phil. ; Brunck ; Pott. ; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861) ; Lad. Haupt ; Coningt. (quoting my observations).

UMBRAS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* (VMBRAS · OBSCVRAM). ■■ §§. ■■■ N. Heins. (1676, 1704) ; Heyne ; Wakef. ; Voss ; Ribb.

CALLES (vs. 443).—The open, clear, grassy parts in a wood, called *lichtungen* in German, because cleared of the trees, and called *glades* in English (A. S. *ge-hlidan*, *tegere*, *operire*), because although, in relation to the adjoining parts of the wood, clear and open, they are yet, in relation to the open country, covered, darkened, and shut in (viz., by the immediately surrounding wood). In ancient Italy such “calles,” glades, or, to use a more modern term (in which, however, conformably with the increased cultivation and civilization of the country, the idea of the open grassy space predominates, and that of the thickness and extent of the surrounding wood or plantation diminishes), such *lawns* (as well as the woods in which they were situated) were public property, and under the administration of the Quaestors, rarely of the Consuls, in Rome, who let them out to individuals to be used for the grazing of cattle, for which purpose they were well suited, being both grassy and sheltered (compare Tacit. *Ann.* 4. 27: “Curtius Lupus, quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more *calles* evererat.” Suet. *Jul.* 19: “Ut provinciae futuris coss. minimi negotii, i.e., *silvae callesque* decernerentur.” Cic. *pro Sext.* 5: “Cum Catilina e pruina Apennini atque e nivibus illis emersisset, atque aestatem integram nactus, Italiae *calles* et pastorum stabula praedari coepisset.” Liv. 22. 14: “Nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviosque *calles* exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus *silvisque*.” Sil. 3. 295: “exigit Umber nare sagax e *calle* feras”). Where was it possible for Dido and her unhappy companions in misfortune to have been more suitably placed in Hades than in such CALLES, where on the green grass, among wild flowers, and secluded by the surrounding wood from the public gaze (SECRETI CELANT CALLES, ET MYRTEA CIRCUM SILVA TEGIT), they might wander about secure, each pouring her sorrows into a sympathizing breast, and hearing in return the similar tale? With the romance writers and poets of all ages and countries such “calles,” glades, or lawns, have always been the resort and favourite haunt of the unhappy of either sex, especially of those baulked in love or in ambition. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 9. 1084 (Adam, after the fall):

. . . "O might I here
in solitude live savage, in some glade
obscured, where higher woods, impenetrable
to star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad,
and brown as evening!"

Gray, Elegy in a Country Churchyard:

"haply some hoary-headed swain may say,
'oft have we seen him at the peep of dawn
brushing with hasty steps the dews away,
to meet the sun upon the upland lawn.

there at the foot of yonder nodding beech
that wreathes its old fantastic roots so high,
his listless length at noontide would he stretch
and pore upon the brook that babbles by.

hard by yon wood, now smiling as in scorn,
muttering his wayward fancies he would rove,
now drooping, woful, wan, like one forlorn,
or crazed with care, or crossed in hopeless love.'"

Pope, Ode for St. Cecilia's Day:

"by the heroes' armed shades
glittering through the gloomy glades;
by the youths that died for love,
wandering in the myrtle grove,
restore, restore Eurydice to life,
oh, take the husband, or restore the wife."

SECRETI (vs. 443).—The CALLES are SECRETI, because apart, separated from the more public parts by the surrounding wood.

CELANT, CIRCUMTEGIT (vv. 443-4).—Because persons in these CALLES are hid from public view by the wood which surrounds them on every side.

ERRABAT SILVA IN MAGNA (vs. 451).—*I. e.*, in callibus silvæ magnæ.

REFUGIT IN NEMUS UMBRIFERUM (vv. 472-3).—Out of the "callis" into the wood itself.

CALLES thus once rightly understood, we have not only the natural and consistent but beautiful picture of Dido seen by Aeneas in the open glade or lawn, and escaping from him into the thick surrounding wood—a picture hid from our view so long

as with Heyne and Voss we understand CALLES to be *paths* ("SECRETI CALLES sunt semitae in locis secretis, et in ipsis myrtetis," Heyne. "Auf einsameren pfaden versteckt, und myrtenumschattung," Voss). That callis was not understood by Virgil in the sense of "semita," or in any sense at all approaching to that of "semita," is sufficiently clear from 9. 383, where a "semita" is described as passing through "calles":

"rara per occultos lucebat semita calles,"

with which compare Sil. 3. 512 (of Hannibal's passage of the Alps):

. . . "commotum promissis ditibus agmen
erigit in collem, et vestigia linquere nota
Herculis edicit magni, crudisque locorum
ferre pedem, ac proprio turmas evadere calle,"

where "calle" cannot by any possibility be a path, inasmuch as no one had passed that way before, and can only be—inasmuch as affording a free passage to horsemen ("turmas")—an open unencumbered place between woods and rocks on either side; in other words, a glade or lawn. The two words are joined by Ariosto in the same manner as by Virgil, *Orl. Fur.* 1. 22, where he says of Rinaldo and Ferrau:

"e pur per selve oscure e calli obliqui
insieme van senza sospetto aversi,"

where the meaning is: *through dark woods and crooked glades*. See Rem. on 9. 381.

CAENEUS (vs. 448).—The meaning afforded by this reading seems to me not only unobjectionable, but excellent: *here was also the youth Caeneus restored to his primitive female sex*. Those critics who, objecting with Brunck to the application of the feminine predicate REVOLUTA to the masculine noun CAENEUS ("CAENEUS REVOLUTA foedus soloecismus," Brunck), substitute CAENIS for CAENEUS, not only substitute a purely conjectural reading for one in which the MSS. are unanimous, but deprive the passage of its whole pith and marrow, which consists in this very application of the feminine adjective to the masculine name formerly owned by the now remetamorphosed female (compare

Tacit. *Ann.* 6. 5 : “*Caia* Caesarem, quasi incertae virilitatis”), and in placing this remetamorphosed female (the QUONDAM IUVENIS CAENEUS) under her masculine name in the company of the other females enumerated. I find CAENEUS also in the Modena edition of 1475, and in all the old editions. CAENIS makes its first appearance in Brunck. In the Dresden MS. of Servius I find : “NUNC FEMINA CENEUS; Coeneus virgo fuit, quae,” &c., the *ı* having been placed over the *ı* by some grammarian to whom the feminine predicate attached to the masculine name was as great an abomination as it was to Brunck.

RURSUS REVOLUTA (vs. 449).—Tautology (see Rem. on 4. 534), but a tautology used also by Ovid, *Met.* 10. 63 : “*revolutaque rursus eodem est.*”

OBSCURAM (vs. 453).—*Dimly seen, scarcely distinguishable.* Compare 2. 135 (Sinon, of himself) :

“limosoque lacu per noctem *obscurus* in ulva;”

3. 522 :

“cum procul *obscuros* colles humilemque videmus
Italiam.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 425 :

“consulitur Smintheus, lucoque *obscurus* opaco
hos non mentitos reddidit ore sonos.”

That OBSCURAM certainly belongs to Dido is, I think, sufficiently proved by this single argument, viz., that the predicate of a substantive which closes a verse is never placed by Virgil first word in the following line and separated from the sequel by a pause, unless (as in the case of “*exiguam*,” vs. 493) for the purpose of expressing a very strong emphasis (see Rem. on 2. 247) ; and a very strong emphasis on OBSCURAM, considered as the predicate of UMBRAM, would express such a degree of darkness as would not only have prevented Aeneas from seeing Dido *QUALEM*, &c., but would have been quite inconsistent with the explicit statement (at vs. 270) that there was a degree of light present, resembling moonlight in a wood.

QUALEM PRIMO QUI SURGERE MENSE AUT VIDET AUT VIDISSE

PUTAT FER NUBILA LUNAM (vv. 453-4).—Compare Claud. *Phoen.* 37 :

. . . "qualis cum forte tenetur
nubibus, et dubio vanescit Cynthia cornu,"

one of Claudian's numerous very happy passages, and which well bears comparison with, if it does not even surpass, the Virgilian.

EXTINCTAM, FERROQUE EXTREMA SECUTAM (vs. 457).—Theme and variation; in other words, FERRO EXTREMA SECUTAM is a varied repetition of EXTINCTAM.

PER SIDERA IURO, PER SUPEROS, ET SI QUA FIDES TELLURE SUB IMA EST (vv. 458-9).—Aeneas swears by three parts which constitute the universe, SIDERA being the heavens, SUPEROS the earth, and TELLURE SUB IMA being Hades. In the oath of Rufinus (Claud. *in Rufin.* 2. 165): "manes et sidera testor," the third part, viz., superi, is absent. SUPEROS denotes the people above, the inhabitants of the earth; the upper world, in contradistinction to Hades. So 6. 481 :

. . . "multum fleti ad *superos* belloque caduci
Dardanidae."

Claud. *in Rufin.* 2. 498 (Minos calling Rufinus to him) :

"huc *superum* labes, huc insatiabilis auri
proluvia."

Seneca, *Troad.* 179 :

"tum scissa vallis aperit immensos specus;
et hiatus Erebi pervium ad *superos* iter
tellure fracta praebet, ac tumultum levat."

Only when the scene is laid in Hades, or when there is a direct reference to Hades, is *superi* used in this sense. When the scene is on earth, and no special allusion to Hades, *superi* is always the gods, as Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 1 :

"saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
curarent *superi* terras."

Under all circumstances the fundamental meaning is the same, viz., *the people above, the people overhead.*

SI QUA FIDES (vs. 459).—Not *if there perchance is* (for Aeneas does not doubt at all that there is), but *whatever faith there is, that faith which there no doubt is, which I may presume there is*; exactly as 7. 225 :

. . . “*si quem tellus extrema refuso
submovet oceano*”

[whomsoever the extremity of the world keeps off].

SED ME IUSSA DEUM, QUAE NUNC HAS IRE PER UMBRAS, PER LOCA SENTA SITU COGUNT NOCTEMQUE PROFUNDAM, IMPERIIS EGERE SUIS (vv. 461-463).—“Argumentatur ex eo quod est inferos subire compulsus, invitum se reliquisse Carthaginem,” Servius; words which require a commentary at least as much as the words they profess to explain. Aeneas, no doubt, indirectly appeals to his present journey through a place so very disagreeable as Hades, as proof of the irresistible force by which he was compelled to leave Dido and Carthage. It is as if he had said : “Blame me not for leaving you : how could I resist a force which was able to send me even here ?” Such at least is Virgil’s meaning, and it is probably also Servius’s.

TALIBUS AENEAS, &c., . . . CAUTES (vv. 467-471).—Compare Burns’ *Duncan Gray* :

“Duncan fleeced and Duncan prayed ;
Ha, ha, the wooing o’t !
Meg was deaf as Ailsa Craig ;
Ha, ha, the wooing o’t !”

TALIBUS AENEAS ARDENTEM ET TORVA TUENTEM LENIBAT DICTIS ANIMUM (vv. 467-8).—A passage which, it may well surprise you, gentle reader, to hear has almost raised an *émeute* amongst us commentators. “Ausus est poeta dicere ANIMUM TORVA TUENTEM,” exclaims Wagner, *ex cathedra*, shocked and almost doubting his senses. “The poet must have written ARDENTI ET TORVA TUENTI,” cries Peerlkamp, always ready to teach Virgil Latin. “Nay,” interposes Heyne, “what he wrote WAS

TALIBUS AENEAS ARDENTEM ET TORVA TUENTEM
LENIBAT DICTIS,

and some other hand added in the rest.” “No such thing,”

says Jortin; "change the *u* of ANIMUM into an *a* and it will be all right, for Dido you know was an *anima*, and an *anima* might be conceived as 'torva tuens,' though an *animus* could not." "There is another way of it, gentlemen," says Heyne, "if you would only listen; 'eaeque ceteris simplicior et melior, ut ANIMUM Homérico exemplo accipias pro κατὰ θυμόν, φρενας:.'" and to this other way of Heyne's your humble servant, most gentle and wondering reader, is fain for peace sake to subscribe, and taking not ANIMUM but ARDENTEM ET TORVA TUENTEM as the object of LENIBAT, to understand the sentence exactly as if the self-willed and troublesome poet had written: TALIBUS AENEAS ARDENTEM *eam* ET TORVA TUENTEM LENIBAT DICTIS ANIMUM—"quod felix faustumque sit" is his sincere prayer. If, however, some reader only half-satisfied should mutter: all very well so far as it goes, but we want to have this second accusative accounted for, I beg to refer such grumbler to 10. 698:

"sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
occupat os faciemque adversam,"

where "Latagum" corresponds, as I think, to ARDENTEM (*eam*) ET TORVA TUENTEM, and "os faciemque" to ANIMUM of our text. And if this is not sufficient and the rationale of the structure be required, then I thus explain it, to my own satisfaction at least, viz., that "Latagum" is the sole object of "occupat," and that Virgil never so much as thought of any other object until he had composed the sentence as far as "occupat;" then it occurred to him that he should explain further, viz., should state in what part of his body Latagus was struck, and he accordingly adds, "os faciemque" in the accusative as an expletive of the subject "Latagum," and to be understood as if instead of subjoining "os faciemque" immediately to "occupat" he had put a comma at "occupat," and then added by way of explanation "os faciemque occupat." And so in our text, ARDENTEM (*eam*) ET TORVA TUENTEM is in the first instance the sole object of LENIBAT DICTIS; and ANIMUM is immediately afterwards subjoined, explanatory that it was to the "animus" of Dido the soothing words and tears were addressed, the sense being precisely the

same as if the words had been ARDENTEM (*eam*) ET TORVATUENTEM LENIBAT DICTIS, ANIMUM (LENIBAT DICTIS) LACRYMASQUE CIEBAT. In confirmation of which development, if I may so say, of our author's meaning and construction, I beg to refer to 5. 291:

“hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu
invitat pretiis *animos*, et praemia ponit,”

where this same word “*animus*” is added in, precisely in the same manner as in our text, viz., as an explanation of the previous subject, the sentence being to be understood as if Virgil had written: “*hic viros qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu invitat pretiis, animos invitat,*” &c.; also to 5. 750:

“transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem
deponunt, *animos* nil magnae laudis egentes,”

where there is a transition from “*matres*” and “*populum*,” presented to you in the preceding line as the substantial bodily subjects of “*transcribunt*” and “*deponunt*,” to the minds (“*animos*”) of those “*matres*” and that “*populus*,” precisely as in our text there is a transition in the word ANIMUM from the outward expression of Dido, as she stood before Aeneas, to the mind within her, on which Aeneas was endeavouring to work by means of entreaties and tears.

LACRYMAS CIEBAT (vs. 468).—“Sibi non Didoni . . . aut certe illud dicit, *sermo quidem eius lacrymas exciebat* [al. *exigebat*] *sed illa immobilis mansit*. Nam *ciere* est proprie *alteri fletum movere*,” Servius. “*Fletus uberes mittebat ex oculis*,” Donatus, La Cerda, Heyne, Voss, Forbiger, and Wagner. “Er suchte ihr thränen zu entlocken als zeichen der eingetretenen weicheren stimmung,” Ladewig, Peerlkamp. There can be no doubt that the first opinion of Servius is the right one, first, because of LACRYMANS, vs. 476; and secondly, because as *mugitus ciere* is equivalent to *mugire*, *cantus ciere* equivalent to *canere*, and still more exactly parallel, and all but identical, *fletus ciere* (3. 344) is equivalent to *flere*, so *lacrymas ciere* can be neither more nor less than *lacrymare*. See Rem. on “*pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis*,”

5. 585; and compare Phaedrus, apud Maium, *Fab. Nov. 3*:

“barbatus infans ecce vagitus ciet”

[i. e., *cries*]. Stat. *Theb. 8. 124*:

“ut leo Massyli cum lux stetit obvia ferri,
tunc *iras*, tunc *arma ciet*”

[“*iras ciet*,” is *angry*; “*arma ciet*,” *fights*]. LACRYMAS CIEBAT is thus the complement of LENIBAT DICTIS, and the two expressions taken together are equivalent to LENIBAT DICTIS *lacrymisque*, or *lacrymans* LENIBAT DICTIS. See Remm. on 4. 30, 449.

ILLA SOLO FIXOS OCULOS AVERSA TENEBAT (vs. 469).—Addison (*Tatler*, No. 133) having compared this silence of the shade of Dido with that of the shade of Ajax, *Hom. Od. 11. 542*, refers for a modern parallel to Otway, *Venice Preserved*, act 5: “There is something like this in the last act of *Venice Preserved*, where Pierre is brought to an infamous execution, and begs of his friend as a reparation for past injuries, and the only favour he could do him, to rescue him from the ignominy of the wheel by stabbing him. As he is going to make this dreadful request, he is not able to communicate it; but withdraws his face from his friend’s ear and bursts into tears. The melancholy silence that follows hereupon, and continues till he has recovered himself enough to reveal his mind to his friend, raises in the spectators a grief that is inexpressible, and an idea of such complicated distress in the actor as words cannot utter.” The comparison is bad, inasmuch as confounding silence from offence and disdain with silence from grief and agitation, and only affords additional proof how greatly overrated in the last century was the critical acumen of Addison. The comparison is the worse because in the very self-same scene a parallel was to be found which might justly and with propriety be set beside the offended, disdainful silence of Dido and Ajax. It is where the ghost of Jaffier appears, and remains silent and disappears again without giving any answer to the passionate address of Belvidera: “Why do you fly me? Are you angry still, then?” &c.

CASU INIQUO (vs. 475).—“Contemptus ille, quo se a Didone implacabiliter irascente affectum videt,” Wagner (ed. Heyn.).

No, no; *the hard case, the hard lot*, viz., of Dido. This hard lot Aeneas laments, NEC MINUS, nothing the less for her treating him so badly (NEC MAGIS INCEPTO, &c., vs. 470). And so Forbiger and Conington.

477-524.

INDE—ENSEM

INDE DATUM MOLITUR ITER (vs. 477).—"DATUM: simpl. accipe, *qua via patet, ducit*," Heyne. "DATUM a Sibylla = *dictum, monstratum*," Conington. Both explanations are, I think, wrong; the meaning being (as at 3. 337:

"sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?"

5. 737: "quae dentur moenia disces." 7. 313:

"non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis")

DATUM a *fatis*, i. e., *allowed, appointed way*; and so, rightly, Voss. Compare Terent. *Heaut.* 2. 3: "*datur modo: frueri, dum licet*;" and Id. *Eun.* 3. 1:

. . . "est istuc datum

profecto, ut grata mihi sint quae facio omnia,"

where Donatus: "fato decretoque concessum;" Sil. 10. 367:

. . . "neque enim sacris irrumpere muris,

Poene, magis dabitur, nostrum quam scindere caelum;"

and, very exactly parallel, 10. 471:

. . . "etiam sua Turnum

fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi,"

where the "fata" of the beginning of the verse informs us almost in express terms that the "dati" of the latter part is *dati a fato*.

Conington's explanation: "DATUM a Sibylla," is liable to the special objection that the DATUM ITER is taken by the Sibyl herself no less than by Aeneas.

ADRASTI PALLENTIS IMAGO (vs. 480).—PALLENTIS "aut epitheton est umbrae, aut illud respexit, quia in bello Thebano consumptis sex ducibus solus aufugit," Servius. "PALLENTIS, tanquam umbrae, adeoque pro ET *Adrastus*; nihil amplius. Male de fugiente acciperes in loco hoc," Heyne. On the contrary, it is, I think, to be inferred from our author's saying not *the pale ghost* of Adrastus, but *the ghost of pale Adrastus*, that the paleness spoken of is not the mere paleness of a ghost, i.e., the paleness belonging to all ghosts, but the paleness which for some reason or other belonged to the living Adrastus, and accompanied him, like any other characteristic of the living person, to Hades. So INCLYTUS ARMIS PARTHENOPAEUS, in this very verse; IDAEUM ETIAM CURRUS ETIAM ARMA TENENTEM, vs. 485; LANIATUM CORPORE TOTO DEIPHOBUM, vs. 494. The inference seems to derive some confirmation from the circumstance that an unusually deep pallor is termed by Ammian "pallor Adrasteus," 14. 11. 22: "Ad quae Adrasteo pallore perfusus, hactenus valuit loqui," where, however, the meaning may be: *with a paleness such as that ascribed by Virgil to Adrastus, or to the ghost of Adrastus*.

MULTUM FLETI (vs. 481).—Πολυδακρυοι, Eurip. *Hec.* 647 (ed. Porson).

MULTUM FLETI AD SUPEROS.—Not, with Conington, "implying that the wail was raised to the skies," but *in the upper world*, apud superos. Compare Liv. 1. 3: "Tiberinus, qui, in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus, celebre *ad posteros* nomen flumini dedit." Ovid, *Met.* 10. 11:

"quam [Eurydicen] satis *ad superas* postquam Rhodopcius *auras*
deflevit vates, ne non tentaret et umbras
ad Styga Taenaria est ausus descendere porta."

Sil. 13. 607:

. . . "non digna nec aequa
ad superos passi Manes."

BELLO CADUCI (vs. 481).—Hom. *Od.* 11. 41: ἀρηιφάτοι.

VOCES EXIGUAS (vv. 492-3).—Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 456:

“umbra cruenta Remi visa est assistere lecto;
atque hæc exiguo murmure verba loqui.”

INCEPTUS CLĀMOR FRUSTRĀTUR HIĀNTES (vs. 493).—See Rem. on “immānis hiātu,” 6. 237; and on “immānis hiātibus hydra,” vs. 576.

QUIS TAM CRUDELES OPTAVIT SUMERE POENAS? CUI TANTUM DE TE LICUIT? (vv. 501-2).—OPTAVIT and LICUIT are mutually opposed, the sense being: “who was it *had the wish* so to maim you; and, having the wish, who was it *had the power*?” as if Virgil had said QUIS OPTAVIT, *cui* LICUIT TANTAS DE TE POENAS SUMERE? The DE TE, not (as the superficial reader might expect) *in* TE, in order that it may suit both lines; in other words, the DE TE which in strict grammar should have been placed in the preceding line and in connexion with SUMERE POENAS, has, in order to meet the exigencies of the verse, been placed in the following line and in connexion with TANTUM LICUIT. To the poetical reader, as to the poetical writer, the catachresis presents no difficulty. Indeed the poetical reader is neither more nor less than the reader who is willing to accord to the poet every liberty which is consistent with ease, clearness, and rapidity. The poetry always evaporates while the poet is employed in digesting his words according to grammatical usage. If you must have poetry you must not be over solicitous about grammar; if you are over solicitous about grammar your writing becomes mere prose.

PROCUBUISSE (vs. 504).—Literally *fell forward*, but here as 2. 424: “Coroebus Penelei dextra *procumbit*,” *fell slain*. The catachresis, if I may so say, is exactly similar to that of our own *fall*, for *fall slain*, and **the observation** of Donatus, “magna laude afficit, non enim dixit occisum sed PROCUBUISSE lassatum,” if meaning, as Conington understands it to mean, and as the contrast in which “procubuisse” is placed to “occisum,” seems to indicate, that Deiphobus was not killed, but, being exhausted with killing, lay down and died, **convicts** the old commentator of a gross ignorance of an ordinary meaning of a by no means

rare term. Such ignorance were indeed so gross and so little to be expected in Donatus that I am rather inclined to suppose that he understood and used the word "*procubuisse*" correctly, and that his error consists, as the supposed errors of Servius so often consist, merely in a very slovenly and inexact expression of a correct notion.

NIHIL O TIBI, AMICE, RELICTUM; OMNIA DEIPHOBOS SOLVISTI ET FUNERIS UMBRIS (vv. 508-9).—Theme and variation; in other words, two simpler sentences in place of the single more complex one: OMNIA *quae debebat amicus mortuo Deiphobo* SOLVISTI. The emphatic word is NIHIL, repeated in OMNIA.

SED ME FATA MEA ET SCELUS EXITIALE LACAENAE HIS MERERE MALIS (vv. 511-12), theme; ILLA HAEC MONUMENTA RELIQUIT, variation.

NAMQUE UT SUPREMAM FALSA INTER GAUDIA NOCTEM EGERIMUS, NOSTI (vv. 513-14), theme; ET NIMIUM MEMINISSE NECESSE EST, variation.

CUM FATALIS EQUUS SALTU SUPER ARDUA VENIT PERGAMA (vv. 515-16).—In order that a metaphor be correct, it is indispensable that the expression conveying it should be inapplicable literally to the subject, for this plain reason, that if it be literally applicable it is impossible for the reader to know in which sense, whether in the literal or in the metaphorical, it is to be understood. *I flew to meet him* is a correct metaphor, because having no wings I cannot actually fly, and the expression can only mean, *I went to meet him as fast as if I flew*. But if I had wings which I used occasionally, the metaphor would no longer be a correct or good metaphor, because it might equally well mean *I went to meet him as if I were flying*, or *I actually flew to meet him*. In like manner when Aeschylus, *Sept. c. Theb.* 460 (Schütz), informs us that the lot of Eteocles was the third lot which leaped out of the helmet—

. . . τριτω γαρ Ετεοκλω τριτος παλος
εξ υπτιου 'πηδησεν ευχαλκου κρανους—

the metaphor is good, because the lot being inanimate could not actually leap; and the meaning can only be *came forth with a motion as quick and sudden as that of a leap*. But when in our

text Deiphobus refers to the night of the taking of Troy as the night on which the horse leaped into that city, meaning by the word *leaped*, *came with a motion as quick and sudden as that of a leap*, the metaphor is bad, because horses do actually leap, and it does not immediately and at first sight appear that not an actual leap, but only a motion which in its quickness and suddenness resembles a leap, is meant. It will, no doubt, be alleged in our author's justification, that there is no ambiguity, the horse spoken of not being a horse of flesh and blood, but only a wooden horse which could not actually leap, and which could only come or be brought on the city with a motion resembling an actual leap in its quickness and suddenness. To be sure; but even a wooden horse coming on the city with a leap (*FATALIS EQUUS SALTU SUPER ARDUA VENIT PERGAMA*) inevitably suggests the idea of an actually leaping horse, and the two ideas, that of the wooden horse, which could not leap, and of a leaping horse, are confounded in the mind of the reader, as I am strongly inclined to think they were not only in our author's mind, but in the mind of Ennius:

“nam maximo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equus,
qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama;”

and perhaps of Aeschylus also, *Agam.* 823 (ed. Davies):

. . . γυναικος ουνεκα
πολιν διημαθυνεν Αργειον δακος,
εππου νεοσσος, ασπιδηφορος λεως,
πηδημ' ορουσας αμφι Πλειαδων δυσιν;
υπερθορων δε πυργον ωμηστης λεων
αδην ελειξεν αιματος τυραννικου.

CONFECTUM CURIS SOMNOQUE GRAVATUM INFELIX HABUIT
THALAMUS (vv. 520-1), theme; PRESSITQUE IACENTEM DULCIS
ET ALTA QUIES PLACIDAEQUE SIMILLIMA MORTI, variation.

EGREGIA INTEREA CONIUX ARMA OMNIA TECTIS EMOVET (vv.
523-4), theme; ET FIDUM CAPITI SUBDUXERAT ENSEM, variation.

526-559.

AMANTI—HAESIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 559).

U

STREPITUM HAUSIT ■ *Vat.* (thus, HAESIT, the ink of the superscribed U matching that of text). ■■ §; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Servius; Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; Paris, 1600; R. Steph.; Bersmann; Fabricius; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Burm.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Heyne; Jahn; Thiel; Ribbeck.

E

STREPITU HAESIT ■ *Med., Pal.* (thus, STREPITUM HAUSIT, M, and U in HAUSIT, being crossed out, and the corrections being made either by the original, or at least by a very ancient, hand). ■■ †. ■■■ Pott.; Wagn. (1832, *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Peerlkamp; Gossrau; Forbiger; Haupt; Conington.

STREPITUM HAESIT ■ *Rom.* ■■ †.

AMANTI (vs. 526).—"Menelaus is contemptuously called 'amans' as if he were a new lover whose heart Helen was anxious to win. Possibly, however, AMANTI may be used proleptically," Conington. I think rather that AMANTI is used without innuendo, and merely in place of coniux, for which term it is so often and without further allusion or innuendo used elsewhere, *ex. gr.*, l. 356, where it is applied to Dido, coniux of Sichaeus, in order to avoid the too frequent use of the term coniux, by which Sichaeus himself is designated in the same passage; *Georg.* 4. 488, where it is applied in place of coniux to Orpheus, coniux of Eurydice. In like manner, in our text it is applied to Menelaus, in order to avoid at once the use of the pronoun and the repetition of the word coniux applied to Helen as the wife of Deiphobus only three lines previously, and conveys no innuendo of any kind. Neither does it afford an

improper substitute either for the pronoun or for *coniux*, inasmuch as, however Helen in the consciousness of her guilt might fear the anger of her offended consort ("deserti coniugis iras," 2. 572), Deiphobus in common with the Trojans believed, and had good reason to believe, that the invasion of Troy by the Greeks had not less for its object the restoration of Helen to the arms of Menelaus (Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 1168 (ed. Markl.): Ελενην Μενελαος ινα λαβη) than the punishment of Paris and his compatriots.

AEOLIDES : DII, TALIA GRAVIS INSTAURATE (vv. 529-30).—A remarkable example of our author's not very infrequent practice of passing over even a principal fact *sub silentio*, the reader being left to conclude for himself the actual occurrence of the fact from other circumstances related, which render its occurrence necessary. Another example of the same kind is the omission of all mention of the Sibyl's entrance into the cave, verse 77, where see Rem.

PIO SI POENAS ORE REPOSCO (vs. 530).—"SI POENAS iustas peto," Heyne, Forbiger. This is altogether erroneous. Pius is always carefully distinguished from iustus by the ancient writers, as widely distinguished as love from law in Christian ethics; see Rem. on l. 14. To ask *pio ore*, or *pia voce*, or *pia lingua*, is to ask not out of selfishness, or for one's own good, not out of revenge, ill-will or any bad feeling, or for any unworthy motive, but out of a feeling of kindness and love, viz., towards one's relatives, or one's country, or some person or thing which has a moral claim on you that you should so ask. Accordingly, when Jason asks Medea to take years from his own life in order to add them to the life of his father, the request is said to be made "*pio ore*," because it is made not for his own good, but for his father's—purely out of love for his father, and even to his own personal injury, Ovid, *Met.* 7. 169 :

. . . "mota est [Medea] pietate rogantis;
dissimilemque animum subiit Aeeta relictus.
Non tamen affectus tales confessa, 'Quod,' inquit,
'excidit ore pio, coniux, scelus? Ergo, ego cuiquam
posse tuae videar spatium transcribere vitae?'"

In like manner, when Paris is about to set sail for Sparta, his parents endeavour to dissuade him, "*pia voce*," *i.e.*, not with the voice of authority, but of affection, for his own good, Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 117 :

" et pater et genetrix inhihent mea vota rogando,
propositumque *pia voce* morantur iter."

Again, when Numa, Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 335, begs Jupiter to tell him what are the *piamina* for lightning, and puts forward two grounds why his prayer should be granted, one of these grounds is his own previous purity of life, and observance of the worship of Jupiter :

" si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris ;"

and the other is that the special request is a "*pious*" one, *i.e.*, one made not for his own special advantage (for Numa was not himself affected by the lightnings), but for the good of his countrymen and of mankind in general :

" hoc quoque, quod petitur, si *pia lingua* rogat."

And precisely so in our text Deiphobus qualifies his prayer for retribution with the condition "if I ask it *PIO ORE*," *i.e.*, not to gratify a personal revenge, but for the sake of my relatives, friends, fellow-countrymen and mankind. About the *justice* of the retribution there neither was nor could be any question : the only question which either was or could be, was whether the retribution was sought with an amiable or an unamiable feeling : the decision of this question, and the consequent granting or refusing of his prayer, Deiphobus leaves, in the word *si*, to the consciousness of the gods themselves. See Rem. on "*pietate*," 1. 16 ; and on "*pias manus*," 3. 42.

I need hardly point out to the reader how very necessary is this apology of Deiphobus for a request that the gods would be guilty towards the Greeks of the very same cruelty of which the Greeks had been guilty to him. It is the apology put forward in all ages and all countries for those cruelties of society towards individuals which society itself reprobates when practised by

individuals towards society. The *lex talionis* is not and never was limited to Judea and the Pentateuch. It is substantially the law of all ages and countries, and is improperly called *talionis*, the retribution being always, on account no less of its slowness, coolness, and deliberation, than of the irresistible force and power of the retributing party, and the perfect security of the retributing party from all danger of retribution, always and beyond all comparison more cruel and hard-hearted than the original offence. It is on this all bodies politic and all systems of religion are built. It is the executioner of this law who is the supreme head of all bodies politic as well as of all systems of religion.

ROSEIS AURORA QUADRIGIS IAM MEDIUM AETHEREO CURSU TRAIECERAT AXEM (vv. 535-6).—According to the poets, Aurora, the goddess of the day, or the daylight (Gr. *Ἠώς*), performed the same diurnal journey as Phoebus, rising like him in the east, traversing the whole sky, and sinking in the west. See Quint. Calab. 4. 62:

Ἠὼς δ' Ὀκεανοῖο βάθυν ῥοοὺν εἰσαφικάνεν,
κυανέην δ' ἀρα γαίαν ἐπήιεν ἀσπετος ὀρφνῇ.

Musæus, 109:

φῆγγος ἀναστείλασα κατῆιεν ἐς δυσὶν Ἠώς.

Ibid. 287:

πολλὰκις ἠρήσαντο κατελθεμέν ἐς δυσὶν Ἠώ.

Compare also Apollod. *Biblioth.* 1. 6: Ζεὺς δὲ ἀπειπὼν φαίνειν Ἥοι τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Ἡλίῳ, τὸ μὲν φάρμακον αὐτοῦς ἑταμε φθασας, where Aurora is co-ordinate with the Sun and Moon.

AXEM (vs. 536).—See Rem. on vs. 791.

LAEVA MALORUM EXERCET POENAS (vv. 542-3).—As we would say in English, *the penal road*, or *the convict's road*, meaning the road from the court-house to the jail. So, in Venice, The Bridge of Sighs, celebrated by Lord Byron.

IMPIA TARTARA (vs. 543).—IMPIA, not *impious*, but *where there is no mercy, no pity*. See Rem. on 1. 14.

NE SAEVI (vs. 544).—So Hom. *Il.* 20. 133 (Neptune to Juno):
μη χαλεπαίνε.

EXPLEBO NUMERUM (vs. 545).—*I will fill up the number, make that number of shades complete which my absence has diminished by one.* Compare Liv. 31. 41: “quum universi sexcentorum aegre simul equites peditesque *numerum explessent*.” Fest. fragm. e cod. Farn. (ed. Mueller, p. 254): “P. Valerius cons. . . . adlegit in numerum senatorum c. et LX. et IV., ut *expleret numerum senatorum trecentorum*.” Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 9. 66:

“auxisti numeros, culte Tibulle, pios.”

Stat. *Theb.* 12. 100:

“quare iterum repetens, iterumque edico, suprema
ne quis ope, aut flammis ausit iuvisse Pelasgos,
aut nece facta luet, *numeroque explebit* adempta
corpora.”

Iscan. 1. 244:

. . . “aspera Phoebe
indignata sui *numerum rarescere* civis
excebat, ultoremque humeris accommodat arcum,
venantes venata viros,”

which last passage affords a view directly the opposite of that afforded by its companions, and so illustrates our text by contrast, the “*numerus*” or assemblage of animals, the game taken collectively, being said to grow thin, to have voids made in it by the hunters; whereas in our text the “*numerus*” or assemblage of ghosts, thinned, or a void made in it by the absence from it of Palinurus, is to be restored to its previous fulness, to have the void filled up by the return of Palinurus to his place.

The words of our text are supposed to contain, but are far from necessarily containing, and, as I think, do not at all contain, a reference to an account or register of the dead kept by Aeacus, to whom, as appears from Lucian, *Catapl.* 4, Mercury delivered with every cargo he brought down a list of the persons composing the cargo: Επει δε κατ' αυτο ηδη το στομιον ημεν, εμου τους νεκρους ως εθος απαριθμουντος τω Αιακω, και εκεινου λογιζομενου αυτους, προς το παρα της σης αδελφης πεμφθεν αυτω συμβολον, λαθων, ουκ οιδ' οπως, ο τρισκαταρατος: απλων ωχετο. ενεδει ουν νεκρος εις τω λογισμω. Where Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 13. 65, uses the similar expression “*incolumem*

numerum reddam," the allusion is to the number of sheep of which the flock consists :

"da quoque, ne quis iners sit de grege, quem tuum regebam,
ne cadat impatiens poenae titubetve quis tuorum,
incolumem ut numerum reddam tibi debitumque solvam."

MELIORIBUS UTERE FATIS (vs. 546).—An adaptation of the ordinary words of encouragement and good omen : UT. FX. (*utere felix*). Uti is the exact opposite of pati—*turn to advantage, to account*. Compare Lucan, 2. 131 :

"ille fuit vitae Mario modus, omnia passo,
quae peior Fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso,
quae melior."

Vell. Pat. 2. 74 : "*Usus* Caesar virtute et fortuna sua Perusiam expugnavit."

VESTIGIA TORSIT (vs. 547).—Torquere seems to be a strong word to apply here to the mere turning the steps in a different direction, and at 4. 220 to the mere turning of the eyes, yet in each place it means no more, and is so used by the Italians of the present day : see Rem. on 4. 220, and Metast. *Galatea*, part 1 :

"quei, che tra l'erbe e i fiori
l'angue nascosto vede,
folle è ben se da lui non torce il piede."

PORTA ADVERSA INGENS, SOLIDOQUE ADAMANTE COLUMNAE (vs. 552).—So Propert. 4. 2. 3 :

"cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges,
non exorato stant adamante viae."

That the adamant of the ancients was a real substance, not a mere poetic fiction, seems to be put beyond doubt by "*adamantina saxa*" being placed by Lucretius, 2. 447, in the same category with silex, iron, and bronze, all of them real substances :

"in quo iam genere in primis adamantina saxa
prima acie constant, ictus contemnere sueta,
et validi silices, ac duri robora ferri,
aeraque, quae claustris restantia vociferantur ;"

also by Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 805 :

“immolat hunc Briareus facta ex *adamante* securi,”

where hardly anything else than a real stone can be meant.

Setting aside as balancing each other both the Vatican Frag. whose HAESIT has been altered into HAUSIT, and the Palatine whose HAUSIT has been altered into HAESIT, we have the whole weight of MS. authority, viz., that of the Medicean, and of no less than sixty-three out of sixty-four second-class MSS., in favour of the reading HAESIT. Nor is the rational argument derivable both from our author's own use elsewhere, and the so frequent use by other writers, of the same term in the same or a similar manner, less in favour of the same reading. Compare

1. 499 :

“dum stupet, obtutuque *haeret* defixus in uno.”

1. 721 : “haec oculis, haec pectore toto *haeret*.” 3. 597 :

. . . “paulum aspectu conterritus *haesit*,
continuitque gradum.”

11. 699 : “subitoque aspectu territus *haesit*.” 5. 529 : “attonitis *haesere* animis.” Claud. in *Prob. et Olybr. consul.* 209 :

“accepit sonitus curvis Tiberinus in antris,
ima valle sedens, arrectisque auribus *haesit*,
unde repentinus caeli fragor.”

Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 138 (of *Megaera*) :

. . . “oculisque diu lventibus *haesit*,
peiores mirata virum.”

Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 2. 77 :

. . . “conterritus *haesit*
quisque sedet sub rege Satraps, ita iunxerat omnes
legati genius, tremuerunt Medica rura,
quaeque Draconigenae portas non clauserat hosti,
tum demum Babylon nimis est sibi visa patere”

(where “haesit” is moral). Alcim. Avit. *Trans. Mar. Rubr.* (*Poem.* 5. 75), of Pharaoh terrified at the sight of Moses' rod turned into a serpent :

. . . “conterritus *haesit*,
aeternumque niger tum palluit ore tyrannus.”

563-574.

SCELERATUM—PORTAE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 571).

TORVOS ■ *Rom., Med.*; “In antiquis aliquot exemplaribus TORTOS legitur, sed TORVOS in pluribus,” Pierius. ■■ ‡. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

U

TORTOS ■ *Pal.* (thus, TORTOS: the second T is cancelled, and the U superscribed in a different ink; the first O was originally V). ■■ ‡. ■■■. Donat.; Voss; Brunck.

SCELERATUM (vs. 563).—Heyne understands the LIMEN to be called SCELERATUM from its pollution by the sinners who have crossed it: “Sceleribus contaminatum, adeoque impurum, incestum”—a too literal interpretation. SCELERATUM is no more than an ordinary term of reprobation or execration, corresponding nearly to our *cursed* or *infernial*. Compare Silius’s application of the term to the tusk of a war elephant, 9. 584:

“hic inter trepidos rerum, per membra per arma
exigit Ufentis *sceleratum* bellua dentem.”

GNOSSIUS . . . MORTEM (vv. 566-9).—Compare Thomas von Celano, *Sequentia in die omnium animarum* (“Dies irae, dies illa”):

“iudex ergo quum sedebit,
quidquid latet apparebit,
nil inultum remanebit.”

GNOSSIUS HAEC RHADAMANTHUS HABET DURISSIMA REGNA (vs. 566).—The meaning is, not that Rhadamanthus dwelt or had his criminal court in Tartarus (because we shall see, at verse 573, that it was necessary that the gates of Tartarus should be

opened for the admission of criminals coming from his judgment-seat), but the meaning is, that he was the supreme lord or ruler over this infernal bridewell, dwelling, no doubt, in a castle or *arx* in the neighbourhood, just as we have seen (Rem. on 1. 56) that Aeolus, the ruler of the "carcer" of the winds, did not reside amongst his prisoners, but ruled them from his castle or "arx" in the vicinity. Any doubt which may have lingered in the reader's mind of the correctness of the opinion expressed in the Rem. just referred to, viz., that the "arx" of Aeolus was *outside* the "carcer" of the winds, will probably vanish on his observing the parallelism between the two rulers and the two *carceres*:

. . . "hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere frenat."

GNOSIUS HAEC READAMANTHUS HABET DURISSIMA REGNA,
CASTIGATQUE AUDITQUE DOLOS, &c.

CASTIGATQUE AUDITQUE DOLOS SUBIGITQUE FATERI (vs. 567).

—The *υστερον προτερον* observed by Servius in this passage is not accidental; first, because it is according to Virgil's usual manner thus to reverse in his statement the order of time (see Rem. on 1. 701); and secondly, because in this particular instance it has the (manifestly intended) effect of bringing the explanation and thing explained into as close apposition as possible: DURISSIMA REGNA, CASTIGAT. It being the invariable practice (as it is the no small excellence) of Virgil to place the principal idea first, and the minor or subsidiary ideas second (see Remm. on 1. 500, 701; 2. 96), and the principal idea being frequently the latest in order of time, *υστερον προτερον* comes necessarily to be of frequent occurrence in Virgil. So usually, indeed, is this, if I may so call it, reverse order observed by Virgil, that even in the passage before us, both the *υστερον* and the *προτερον* come, in point of time, after the words which succeed them in order of place, the order of time being SUBIGIT FATERI, AUDIT, CASTIGAT. According to Wagner (*Praest.*) CASTIGAT, AUDIT, and SUBIGIT FATERI point to so many distinct and dif-

ferent groups: "alios dolum confessos CASTIGAT, alios AUDIT confitentes, alios tormentis adhibitibus cogit FATERI;" but to me it is very plain that CASTIGAT is the main subject put first, according to our author's usual manner, and that AUDIT and SUBIGIT FATERI express the minor processes which have preceded the castigation. And so Servius correctly: "υστερον προτερον per totum versum."

AUDIT.—Commissions of Oyer and Terminer are, of course, as old as Rhadamanthus, or even older, but who would have guessed at the antiquity of a full half of their name?

DOLOS, PIACULA (vv. 567-9).—PIACULA repeats DOLOS, and both refer to the, in our phrase, sins committed in the body. Compare Senec. *Herc. Oct.* 609:

"tenet auratum limen Erianyas,
et cum magnae patuere fores,
intrans fraudes, cautique doli,
ferrumque latens."

SUBIGITQUE FATERI, &c., . . . MORTEM (vv. 567-9).—Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, act 3, sc. 9 (king, soliloquizing):

"in the corrupted currents of this world
offence's gilded hand may shove-by justice,
and oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
buys out the law; but 'tis not so above;
there is no shuffling, there the action lies
in his true nature, *we ourselves compelled,*
even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
to give-in evidence."

FURTO LAETATUS INANI (vs. 568).—These words are well illustrated by Sil. Ital. 13. 543:

. . . "poenas Rhadamanthus in ipso
expetit introitu, *mortemque exercet inanem,*"

where "mortem inanem" is not, with Ruperti, "umbras inanes" (unsubstantial shadows), but the dead who by dying did not escape punishment—to whom death afforded no refuge from punishment, and was therefore "mors inanis," death in vain, or of no use.

ACCINCTA FLAGELLO (vs. 570).—Not *with a scourge at her girdle*, but (as the thought is actually expressed, 8. 703:

“*quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello*)”

furnished with a scourge, armed with a scourge, having a scourge in her hand. Compare 9. 74 :

“*atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris;*”

4. 492: “*magicas invitam accingier artes;*” 6. 184: “*paribusque accingitur armis*” [not *has them at his side*, or *is girt with them*, but *has them in his hand*, is *supplied with them*, *equipped with them*—a secondary or loose use of the word, which follows it into the Italian, as Metast. *Gius. Ricon.* parte 2 :

. . . “*il sacro vaso,
onde il futuro a preveder t' accingi,
tentarono involar]*”

QUATIT (vs. 571).—Sciz., with the “*flagellum*” which she carries in her hand. QUATIT (FLAGELLO) equivalent to *scourges*. See Rem. on 2. 614.

TORVOS (vs. 571).—“*Torvus*” has, I think, some right to look a little *torve* on my good friends the critics, who are but too apt to make a stepchild of him—not only ousting him to make room for his much less deserving rival “*tortus*,” but showing every disposition to oust him even where they have no substitute, viz., in that fine passage of the *Silvæ*, 5. 3. 63 (the fineness of the passage lies wholly in this very word), where Statius represents Virgil as jealously scowling on the too near approaching rival poet :

“*tenderet et torvo pietas aequare Maroni.*”

TUM DEMUM HARRISONO STRIDENTES CARDINE SACRAE PANDUNTUR PORTAE (vv. 573-4).—“*Alii hoc a poeta dictum volunt, ut illo loquente intelligamus portam esse patefactam,*” Servius, Dozio (ad Cynth. Cenet.). Which opinion Ribbeck adopts so strongly as even to place the sentence within a parenthesis and outside his inverted commas. The opinion is wholly erroneous; first, because no reason appears why just at this moment the gates should be opened; secondly, because no effect follows their supposed opening; thirdly, because no glimpse is got of

the interior; fourthly, because Aeneas's attention is immediately drawn by the Sibyl to the vestibule (always outside the porta), not to any object which has come into view inside.

574-598.

CERNIS—POENIS

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 574-5).

CERNIS, CUSTODIA QUALIS VESTIBULO SEDEAT? FACIES QUAE LIMINA SERVET?

III P. Manut.; La Cerda; Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Wakef.; Ribb.

CERNIS, CUSTODIA QUALIS VESTIBULO SEDEAT, FACIES QUAE LIMINA SERVET?

III Voss.

CERNIS, CUSTODIA QUALIS VESTIBULO SEDEAT; FACIES QUAE LIMINA SERVET:

III Brunk.

CERNIS . . . OLYMPUM (vv. 574-9).—Nothing can be worse or more prosaic than the new elucidation of this passage proposed by Süpfle, and adopted by Ladewig; viz., that the line QUINGENTA . . . HYDRA is the answer to the question CERNIS . . . SERVET, that a new sentence begins at SAEVIOR, and that Virgil represents the gate of Tartarus as watched outside by one Hydra and inside by another. No; the CUSTODIA which sits in the vestibule, the FACIES which watches the door, is the ULTRIX TISIPHONE herself, in her bloody "palla," and armed with her snaky lash (see vv. 555, 570; also Remm. on vs. 563; 4. 471); and the *steigerungen*, the three degrees of horror, are: outside, Tisiphone; inside, the enormous Hydra gaping with its fifty gullets; and, immediately beyond, the abyss of Tartarus itself (TARTARUS *IPSE*).

CUSTODIA QUALIS VESTIBULO SEDEAT, FACIES QUAE LIMINA SERVET.—Theme and variation. In one sentence: *what a figure sits in the vestibule, guarding the entrance to the interior.* The so precise specification not only of the position occupied by Tisi-

phone, but of the object she has in view in occupying that position, shows not only the precise position occupied by the Dirae, 4. 473, viz., that it was the vestibule, but the precise intention with which they occupied that position, viz., that it was for the purpose of guarding the entrance to the house. See Rem. on 4. 473. If our text is to be understood interrogatively, there should be only one note of interrogation, viz., at SERVET, inas-much as there is but one interrogation, viz., CERNIS. But the passage is not to be understood interrogatively. It is merely a statement co-ordinate with the other statements—CERNIS, *you see* (as 1. 369: “ubi nunc ingentia cernes moenia;” 6. 325:

“haec omnis, quam cernis, inope inhumataque turba est”),

and Brunck’s is the only correct punctuation. Compare vs. 710:

“causasque requirit
inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.”

CUSTODIA (vs. 574).—The abstract for the concrete, as in Inscript. apud Gr. and Cast., and Spon, p. 37:

“huius nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis.”

This figure of speech, unusual in Virgil, is of very frequent occurrence among the Greek dramatists, as Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 443:

ανηρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κει στομαργος ἐστ' ἀγαν,
αἰθων τετακται λημα, Πολυφορτου βια,
φερεγγυον φρουρημα, προστατηριας
Αρτεμιδος ευνοιασι, συν τ' ἄλλοις θεοις,

where φρουρημα = φρουρος. Eurip. *Hipp.* 10:

ο γαρ με Θησεως παῖς, Ἀμαζονος τοκος
Ἰππολυτος, ἀγνου Πιτθως παιδευματα, &c.,

where παιδευματα = discipulus.

IMMANIS HIATIBUS (vs. 576).—As the sound of the words “immanis hiatu” (verse 237) is intended to call to mind and, as it were, imitate the yawning of the cave leading to Hades (see Rem. on verse 237), so the sound of the words IMMANIS HIATIBUS in our text is intended to imitate the yawning of the Hydra. The frequent recurrence of the sound of *a* in the line (six times

in five words) increases this effect and adds to the horror. Dozio (ad Cynth. Cenet.) observes: "Mirum in hoc versu imitationis artificium quidam deprehendunt, ad Hydrae voracitatem exprimendam: siquidem cum literae *a* et *i* alternatim sint replicandae, atque ideo lector alterna vice os aperire et claudere debeat inter eundem pronunciandum, is mandentis imaginem prae se fert. Curiosa sane animadversio."

TUM TARTARUS IPSE BIS PATET IN PRAECEPTUM TANTUM (VV. 577-8), &c.—Tartarus is twice as deep below, as heaven is high above, the ground. So Sil. 3. 483:

" quantum Tartareus regni pallentis hiatus
ad Manes imos atque atrae stagna paludis
a supera tellure patet: tam longa per auras
erigitur tellus, et caelum intercipit umbra,"

the Alps ascend as high above the ground as Tartarus descends below.

SUSPECTUS CAELI (vs. 579).—The view upwards of those living on the earth; the term "*caelum*" being used to express this upper world, this world in which we live, because the speaker is no longer in this world but below this world, viz., in Hades. There is a precisely similar use of "*caelum*" at verse 719, where Aeneas says to Anchises:

" o pater, anne aliquas ad *caelum* hinc ire putandum est
sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora?"

where "*caelum*" is used to signify this world, the earth, and for the same reason as in our text, viz., because the scene is in Hades, and because what most distinguishes this world from Hades is the *caelum* which affords it both air and light. There is another example of *caelum* used in the same sense and for the same reason at verse 897:

" sed falsa ad *caelum* mittunt insomnia Manes."

In Claudian too (*Rapt. Pros. 2. 216*) there is a similar use of the word, and with a similar contrast:

. . . " tua cur sede relictā
audes Tartareis *caelum* incestare quadrigis,"

as if she had said *the light of day, the face of heaven*. The use of *superi* to signify the inhabitants of this world, *i.e.*, living men, is exactly similar, and attended by the same very blameable ambiguity. Voss also joins *CAELI SUSPECTUS*, and says that *Ascensius* does the same.

AETHHEREUM OLYMPUM (vs. 579).—Not the ethereal or higher Olympus, as distinguished from the ordinary Olympus, or ordinary heaven, but the ordinary Olympus or heaven, the unusual term being rendered necessary by the use in the same line of the ordinary term "*caelum*" in an extraordinary or exceptional sense, *viz.*, in that of *earth*.

LAMPADA (vs. 587).—Not literally *a lamp*, but *a torch, a firebrand*. So 9. 535 :

" princeps ardentem coniecit *lampada* Turnus
et flammam affixit lateri."

Sil. 2. 665 :

" ecce inter medios caedum Tiburna furores
fulgenti dextram mucrone armata mariti,
et laeva infelix ardentem *lampada* quassans."

DEMENS QUI NIMBOS ET NON IMITABILE FULMEN AERE ET CORNIPEDUM PULSU SIMULARET EQUORUM (vv. 590-91).—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 617 :

. . . " Remulus, maturior annis
fulmineo periit, *imitator fulminis*, ictu."

If we are in many respects as superstitious, and even more superstitious than our forefathers, we are at least—witness the invention of fire-arms—not so in this. What would Roman piety have thought of human thunder and lightning more terrible and more fatal than even Jove's own? What use would it have made of the impious invention? Well, if it had not anticipated one of our uses of it, and, attaching the inventors to the mouths of their own artillery, blown them into the air.

AERE ET CORNIPEDUM PULSU EQUORUM.—The device employed by Salmoneus to imitate the noise of thunder will appear less preposterous if we take into account the popular opinion that the noise of the real thunder was neither more nor less than

the noise of the trampling of Jupiter's horses, as Ovid, *Heroid.* 9. 28 :

“ at bene nupta feror, quia nominer Herculis uxor;
sitque socer, *rapidis* qui *tonat* altus *equis*.”

Hor. *Od.* 1. 12 :

“ tu gravi curru quaties Olympum.”

PRAECIPITEMQUE IMMANI TURBINE ADEGIT (vs. 594).—TURBINE has been understood by Voss of the fall of Salmoneus (“häuptlings hinab in unendlichem wirbel ihn schmetternd”); by Conington “of the wind of the thunderbolt;” by Forcellini of the thunderbolt itself (“vi et impetu fulminis ruentis instar turbinis”). I agree with Forcellini, partly for the sake of the better picture, but principally on account of 12. 531 :

“ *praecipitem* scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi
excutit ”

(where “*praecipitem excutit*” corresponds exactly to the PRAECIPITEM ADEGIT of our text, and where “turbine” is the whirl of the instrument by which the person is hurled headlong), as well as on account of Val. Flacc. 3. 78 :

. . . “ *hasta volans immani turbine transtris*
insonuit ”

(where we have the identical words of our text “*immani turbine*” signifying the whirl of the hurled weapon). *Whirl* is the primitive meaning of *turbo*, and we can speak of the *turbo* of anything which whirls with the same propriety as we can speak of the *turbo venti*, as 11. 284 : “quo turbine torqueat hastam.”

TERRAE OMNIPARENTIS ALUMNUM (vs. 595).—Compare Hom. *Od.* 7. 324 : Τῆρυον, Γαίης υἱον. Apul. *Met.* 6. 116 (addressing a number of ants) : “*Miseremini, terrae omniparentis agiles alumnae, miseremini.*”

FECUNDA POENIS (vs. 598).—Not the ablative, but the dative case, and equivalent to FECUNDA (viz., *epularum*) in or *ad poenas*. Compare Manil. 4. 664 :

“ horrendos angues, habitataque membra veneno,
et mortis pastu viventia crimina terrae,
in poenas fecunda suas parit horrida tellus.”



603-606.

LUCENT GENIALIBUS ALTIS
 AUREA FULCRA TORIS EPULAEQUE ANTE ORA PARATAE
 REGIFICO LUXU FURIARUM MAXIMA IUXTA
 ACCUBAT

FULCRA.—“Gewählt, für *pedes*,” Thiel. “FULCRA sunt pedes vel alia basis lecti,” Forb. “The pillar or support of the couch,” Conington. FULCRA is not the mere feet or the mere pillar of the lectus, but the whole framework, sponda, sofa, or bedstead on which the “tori” properly so called, or cushions, are laid. Compare Prudent. *contr. Symm.* 2. 298 :

“ ipsa casas fragili texat gens Romula culmo.
 sic tradunt habitasse Remum ; regalia feno
fulcra supersternant ; ”

Propert. 2. 13. 21 : “*fulcro* sternatur lectus eburno ;” Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 51 :

“ forte serenati qua stat plaga lactea caeli,
 alma Venus thalamo, pulsa modo nocte, iacebat,
 amplexu duro Getici resoluta mariti.
fulcra, torosque deae tenerum premit agmen Amorum ; ”

Paulin. *de Vit. S. Martini*, 3 :

. . . “ dextra laevaque potentum
 ordo ducum, membris super aurea *fulcra* locatis,
 pressit subiectum pretiosi velleris ostrum ; ”

Merobaudes, *Paneg.* 1. 4 :

“ aeternas ubi festa dapes convivia gestant,
 purpureisque nitent regia *fulcra* toris ; ”

in all which places fulcrum is the bedstead, sofa-frame, or divan-frame, as distinguished from the bed or cushions placed upon it ; the sofa-frame or divan-frame which is still found

among the ruins of Pompeii.—*Public Opinion* (newspaper), Sept. 19, 1863: "New discoveries are reported from Pompeii. A house has been uncovered which, to judge from the splendour of its interior, and its almost entirely preserved furniture, must have belonged to a very wealthy proprietor. The *triclinium* (dining-room) is paved with mosaic, representing a number of *gourmandises* of the time. The completely served table is covered with petrified remnants of dishes; and around it are found three *divans*, or rather *table-beds*, of bronze, richly adorned with gold and silver, upon which reposed several skeletons. A great many precious jewels were found near them." So little is *fulera* to be understood of the mere feet, props, pillars, or supports of the framework of the *lectus*, that it is commonly not even distinguished, as in our text and the just quoted examples, from the *tori* or cushions, but used for the whole *lectus*, framework, or *sponda* and *tori* considered as one object, as *Anthol. Lat.* (Meyer), 1318. 21:

"haec individui semper comes addita *fuleri*
unanimem tibi se lustra per octo dedit."

Propert. 4. 7. 3:

"Cynthia namque meo visa est incumbere *fulcro*."

Prudent. *contr. Symm.* 1. 256: "iam gravidæ *fulcrum* geniale paratum." *Ibid.* 272:

. . . "illum [Antinoum]
purpureo in gremio spoliatum sorte virili,
Hadrianique Dei Ganymedem non cyathos dis
porgere, sed medio recubantem cum Iove *fulcro*
nectaris ambrosii sacrum potare Lyæum."

Maxim. *Eleg.* 1. 253:

"mollia *fulera* tori duris sunt cautibus aequa:
parva licet, magnum pallia pondus habent."

Coripp. *de Laud. Justin.* 3. 215:

"illis summa fides et plena licentia sacris
deservire locis atque aurea *fulcra* parare."

Neither Thiel nor Conington seems to have been aware of either of these uses of the word *fulcrum*.

TORIS.—Tori are properly the cushions or mattresses as distinguished from the *fulera* or framework of the beds or couches, but here used, as so often elsewhere, to signify the whole beds (bedsteads and beddings), whole couches. Compare 2. 2 :

“ inde *toro* pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto ; ”

1. 712 : “ *toris* iussi discumbere pictis.”

GENIALIBUS.—*Festal, such as were used at feasts.* So Tacit. *Annal.* 15. 37 : “ Inditum imperatori flammeum ; visi auspices, dos, et *genialis torus* et faces nuptiales.” Ovid, *Met.* 10. 95 :

“ et *platanus genialis*, acerque coloribus impar ”

[*festal platanus*, *platanus* the favourite shade of merry-makers].

ALTIS.—*High*, not in the physical but in the moral sense ; *august, stately.* Compare 1. 11 :

“ Albanique patres, atque *altae* moenia Romae.”

10. 875 :

“ sic pater ille deum faciat, sic *altus* Apollo.”

And so exactly 2. 2 :

“ inde *toro* pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto.”

LUCENT GENIALIBUS ALTIS AUREA FULCRA TORIS.—*Bright shine the golden frames (stands or steds) of the august couches (or divans).* Wagner's question : “ TORIS, tertius an sextus casus ? ” is naïve ; let some one answer it for the poor fellow.

FURIARUM MAXIMA IUNTA ACCUBAT.—Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 1006 :

ωω, ωω, πῆμα πατρὶ παρευνον.

Val. Flacc. 2. 191 (of the massacre by the Lemnian women) :

. . . “ sua cuique furens festinaque coniux
adiacet inferni qualis sub nocte barathri
accubat attonitum Phlegyan et Thesea *iuncta*
Tisiphone, saevasque dapes et pocula libat
tormenti genus), et nigris amplectitur hydria.”

Stat. *Theb.* 5. 71 (of the same):

. . . "odia aspera ubique
et furor, et medio *recubat Discordia* lecto."

Sil. 13. 281 (*Fides* speaking):

"foedera, mortales, ne saevo rumpite ferro,
sed castam servate fidem; fulgentibus ostro
haec potior regnis. dubio qui frangere rerum
gaudebit pacta, ac tennes spes linquet amici,
non illi domus aut coniux aut vita manebit
unquam expers luctus lacrymaeque; aget aequore semper
ac tellure premens, aget aegrum nocte dieque
despecta ac violata Fides. adit omnia; iamque
concilia, ac mensas contingit, et abdita nube
accumbitque toris epulaturque improba *Erinnys*;
ipsa etiam Stygio spumantia pocula tabo
porrigit, et large poenas lethumque ministrat."

Shak. *Macbeth*, 3. 5:

"ROSSE. . . . Pleas't your highness
to grace us with your royal company.
MACBETH [*Seeing the ghost of Banquo sitting in the chair reserved for
the king*]. The table's full.
LENOX. Here is a place reserved, sir.
MACBETH. Where?
LENOX. Here, my good lord. What is't that moves your highness?
MACBETH. Which of you has done this?
LORDS. What, my good lord?
MACBETH. Thou canst not say I did it. Never shake
thy gory locks at me."

608—620.

HIC—DIVOS

HIC QUIBUS INVISI FRATRES (vs. 608), &c.—Compare Hesiod, *Opp. et Dies*, 327 :

ισαν δ' ος θ' ικετην ος τε ξεινον κακον ερξη,
 ος τε κασιγνητοιο εου ανα δεμνια βαιγη
 κρυπταδης ευνης αλοχου, παρακαιρια ρεζων,
 ος τε τευ αφραδης αλιταινεται ορφανα τεκνα,
 ος τε γονηα γεροντα κακω επι γηραος ουδω
 νεικειη χαλεποισι καθαπτομενος επεεσσιν·
 τω δ' ητοι Zeus αυτος αγαιεται, ες τε τελευτην
 εργων αντ' αδικων χαλεπην επεθηκεν αμοιβην.
 αλλα συ των μεν παμπαν εεργ' αεσιφρονα θυμον·
 καδ δυναμιν δ' ερδειν ιερ' αθανατοισι θεοισιν
 αγνωσ και καθαρως, επι δ' αγλαα μηρια καιειν.
 αλλοτε δε σπονδησι θυεσσι τε ιλασκεσθαι,
 ημεν οτ' ευναζη και οτ' αν φας ιερον ελθη·
 ως κε τοι ιλαον κραδιην και θυμον εχωσιν·
 οφρ' αλλων ωνη κληρον, μη τον τεον αλλος.

PULSATUSVE PARENS (vs. 609).—Compare Luc. *Ev.* 3. 14 :
 μηδενα διασεισητε. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 9. 9 : ινα μητε υβρεις μητε
 σεισμονς [“concussiones,” Valesius] υπομενοιεν.

REPERTIS (vs. 610).—Neither, with Heyne, simply “partis”
 (*obtained or procured*), nor, with Voss, “erkargeten” (*scraped
 together, obtained by means of penury*), nor, with Conington,
 “found,” viz., in the earth (*treasure trove*), but *made out, in
 whatever way, after a search, and with trouble and difficulty*. So
 Plin. *H. N.* 35. 3 : “Clypeos dicare primus instituit, ut reperio,
 Appius Claudius” [as I find, as I have made out, after a search].
 Ovid, *Met.* 8. 264 : “Serrae reperit usum” [made out with
 trouble, and by the exertion of ingenuity]. *Aen.* 4. 128 (where
 see Rem.) : “dolis risit Cytherea repertis” [the stratagem which
 Juno had excogitated].

NEC PARTEM POSUERE SUIS (vs. 611).—Compare Apul. *Met.*

1. 4: "Hæc tibi merces *posita* est," Senec. *Epist.* 115: "Omnia deorum sunt, tamen diis *posuimus* donum." *Inscriptio vetus*:

SANCTO SILVANO NINIUS
PHILENUS IN PRÆDIO
DONUM POSUIT.

Vetus Inscript. Arundel. (ed. Selden):

SILVANO SACRUM SODAL.
EIVS ET LARUM DONUM
POSUIT. TI. CLAUDIUS AUG.
LIB. FORTUNATUS, &c.

INCLUSI POENAM EXSPECTANT. NE QUAERE DOCERI, QUAM POENAM, AUT QUAE FORMA VIROS FORTUNAVE MERSIT (vv. 614-15).—"QUAM POENAM expectandam habeant, AUT QUAE poenae FORMA, FORTUNAVE, quod miseriae genus VIROS MERSIT, illos excipit, manet," Heyne. "Quae suppliciorum species, quae miseriae eos obruerint," Wagner (*Praest.*). "The meaning seems not to be FORMA *sceleris*, but FORMA *poenae*, so that FORMA FORTUNAVE form a kind of hendiadys," Conington. On the contrary, I analyze the passage thus: QUAM POENAM (EXSPECTANT) AUT QUAE FORMA (*sceleris*) QUAEVE FORTUNA VIROS MERSIT (scilicet, *in poena*). FORMA (*sceleris*), as FORMAS SCELERUM, vs. 626, where the FORMAS SCELERUM are sharply distinguished from the NOMINA POENARUM.

PHLEGYASQUE MISERRIMUS OMNES ADMONET, ET MAGNA TESTATUR VOCE PER UMBRAS (vv. 618-9).—Dante also has his Phlegyas, calling too, though in a somewhat different manner, *Inferno*, 8. 13:

"corda non pinse mai da sè saetta,
che si corresse via per l'aere snella,
com' i' vidi una nave piccioletta
venir per l'acqua verso noi in quella,
sotto 'l governo d'un sol galeoto,
che gridava: 'or se giunta, anima fella?'
'Flegiàs, Flegiàs, tu gridi a voto,'
disse lo mio signore, 'a questa volta:
più non ci avrai, se non passando il loto.'"

DISCITE IUSTITIAM MONITI ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS (vs. 620).
—"Lernet gewarnt recht thun, und nicht misachten die götter,"

Voss. Alfieri:

. . . "il retto
imparate a conoscere per prova,
e a riverir gli dei."

This, like most literal translations, does not give the real meaning of the passage, which is not, *Be just in your dealings with men, and respectful towards the gods*, but, *Be just in your dealings with men, and do not suppose that ye can with impunity disobey the command of the gods to that effect, viz., the command to be just*. The meaning of the passage once understood, we see the propriety of the expression NON TEMNERE: *set not at naught the divine commandment to be just*. Compare l. 546, where Ilioneus having demanded justice of Dido—having required her to deal with him and the Trojans according to the immutable principles of justice—reminds her of the sanction of the gods, and warns her not to despise that sanction, NON TEMNERE DIVOS:

"si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi."

Also Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1098, where Alcinous expresses almost in the very terms of our text his fear of the divine retribution if he should be guilty of an act of injustice:

Ἀρήτη, καὶ κεν συν ταυχεσιν ἐξελασάμην
Κόλχους, πρῶτασι φέρων χάριν, εἰνεκα κοίρης.
ἀλλὰ Δίος δειδοῦκα δίκην ἰθεὶαν ἀτίσσαι.

Also Claud. 4 Cons. Honor. 98:

"illi iustitiam confirmare triumph;
praesentes docuere deos. hinc saecula discant
indomitum nihil esse pio, tutumve nocenti."

Julian, Epist. 63 (ed. Spanh.): οστις γε αδικει μεν ανθρωπους
ανομος εστι προς θεους. Eurip. Hec. 790:

τιμῶρος ἀνδρὸς, ἀνοσιωτάτου ξένου
ὅς οὔτε τοὺς γῆς νερθεῖν, οὔτε τοὺς ἀνὰ
δαίμονας, δεδρακεν ἔργον ἀνοσιωτάτου
.
ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν δούλοι τε καὶ σθεναροὶ ἴσως,
ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ σθενέουσι, χῶ καίωνων κρατῶν
νόμος. Νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγουμένθα,
καὶ ζῶμεν ἀδίκῃ καὶ δίκῃ ὠρισμένοι.

Bacch. 1010 (ed. Tyrrell):

τα δ' ἐξ νομιμα δίκας ἐκβαλοντα τιμᾶν θεους.

Lucan, 9. 556:

“certe vita tibi semper directa supernas
ad leges, sequerisque deum.”

Ovid, Met. 1. 322 (of Deucalion and Pyrrha):

“non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
vir fuit, aut illa metuentior ulla deorum.”

Ibid. 5. 99:

. . . “fuit et grandævus in illis
Emathion, æqui cultor, timidusque deorum.”

Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 248:

ω βασιλεις, υμεις δε καταφραζεσθε και αυτοι
τηνδε δικην· εγγυς γαρ εν ανθρωποισιν εοντες
αθανατοι φραζονται, οσοι σκολιησι δικησι
αλληλους τριβουσι, θεων οπιν ουκ αλεγοντες.
τρεις γαρ μυριοι εισιν επι χθονι πουλυβοτειρη
αθανατοι Ζηνος φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων·
οι ρα φυλασσουν τε δικας και σχετλια εργα,
ηερα εσσαμενοι παντη φοιτωντες επ' αιαν.

Hom. Od. 9. 173:

αυταρ εγω
. . . τωνδ' ανδρων πειρησομαι, οιτινες εισιν·
η ρ' οηγ' υβρισται τε και αγριοι, ουδε δικαιοι,
ηε φιλοξεινοι, και σφιν νους εστι θεουδης.

Ibid. 9. 269 (Ulysses and the Cyclops):

αλλ' αιδοιο, φεριστε, θεους· ικεται δε τοι ειμεν.
Zeus δ' επιτιμητωρ ικεταων τε ξεινων τε,
ξεινιος, ος ξεινοισιν αμ' αιδοιοισιν σπηδει.
ως εφαμην· ο δε μ' αυτις αμειβετο νηλει θυμω·
νηπιος εις, ω ξειν', η τηλοθεν ειληλουθας,
ος με θεους κελευει η δειδιμεν η αλεασθαι.
ου γαρ Κυκλωπες Διος αγιοχου αλεγουσιν
ουδε θεων μακαρων· επειη πολυ φερτεροι ειμεν.
ουδ' αν εγω Διος εχθος αλευαμενος πεφιδοιμην
ουτε σευ, ουτ' εταρων, ει μη θυμος με κελευει.

Ibid. 9. 106:

Κυκλωπων δ' ἐς γαίαν υπερφιάλων, ἀθεμιστῶν,
 ἰκομεθ', οἱ ρα θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν,
 οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτόν, οὐτ' ἀρωσὶν
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἀσπάρτα καὶ ἀνηρότα πάντα φυονται,
 πυροὶ καὶ κριθαί, ἡδ' ἀμπελοὶ, αἰτε φέρουσιν
 οἶνον ἐρίσταφυλον, καὶ σφὶν Δίος ὁμβρὸς ἀεξεῖ.
 τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι, οὔτε θεμιστές.

Orpheus, *Argon.* 661:

αὐτὰρ ὑπήωοι λυγρὴν ἐπερῆσαμεν αἶαν,
 ἐνθ' Ἀμυκὸς Βεβρυκεσσὶν υπερφιάλοισιν ἀσασσεν
 ὅστε Πανομφαίου Ζήνος θεμὶν οὐκ ἀλεγίζων,
 ἄθλον ἐπὶ ξεινοῖσι περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων,
 ὅστις ἐπὶ σταθμούς ἡδ' ἀστεμφῇ δόμον ἔξοι,
 θήκατο, πνυγμαχίης ὑπέροπλου πειρηθῆναι.

Catull. *Epith. Pel. et Thet.* 134:

"siccine discedens neglecto numine divum
 immemor ah! devota domum perinuria portas?"

Juven. 13. 75:

"tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes
 si mortalis idem nemo sciât."

Compare also above, vs. 565:

"ipsa deum poenas docuit, perque omnia duxit.
 Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
 castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri,
 quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
 distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem"

(where precisely the same doctrine is conveyed in somewhat different terms, "furto lætatus inani" informing us that, however we may condemn human retribution, whatever success we may have in escaping punishment among men—"apud superos"—the retribution of the gods is "non contemnenda;" we shall certainly have to undergo after death the "poenas deum," for not having hearkened in time to the divine precept, *Be just*). And, above all, compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 160, where the contempt of the Brazen Age for the gods is explained by its violence and love of blood:

. . . "sed et illa propago
 contemptrix superum, sævaeque avidissimæ caedis,
 et violenta fuit; scires e sanguine natos."

In the same way as the words of our text contain the recommendation of the single virtue justice, so the similarly constructed passage, 8. 364,

“ aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
finge deo,”

show yourself worthy of the god, viz., by your contempt of grandeur, contains the recommendation of the single virtue, contempt of grandeur. Exactly parallel to Virgil's DISCITE IUSTITIAM MONITI ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS, equivalent to *let your respect for the gods prevent your committing injustice*, is Juvenal's (14. 47)

. . . “ si quid
turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans,”

equivalent to *let your respect for a child prevent you from doing anything immoral in his presence*. In like manner I understand the appellation “contemptor divum,” applied six times to Mezentius, to mean, not *infidel* or *blasphemer* Mezentius (that such was not his character appears from 10. 743), but in the sense of *violator of the divine laws, one who had so little respect for the gods as to commit the enormities attributed to him*, 8. 483 :

“ quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di—”

[those gods in contempt of whose retributive justice he committed these enormities]—

“ capiti ipsius generique reservent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis,
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentes
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.”

And such also I understand to be the sense of the same term as applied by Ovid, *Met.* 13. 759, to Polyphemus :

. . . “ nempe ille immitis, et ipsis
horrendus silvis, et visus ab hospite nullo
impune et magni cum dis contemptor Olympi.”

I scarcely doubt also that the following passage in Schiller's *Huldigung der Künste* is to be understood as inculcating the

same doctrine, viz., that moral uprightness of conduct is the natural fruit of a reverential awe of the gods :

“ wir hassen die *falschen*,
die *götterverächter* ;
wir suchen der menschen
aufricht'ge geschlechter ;
wo kindliche sitten
uns freundlich empfahn,
da bauen wir hütten,
und siedeln uns an ! ”

[not we hate those who are so false as to despise the gods, but we hate those who, in despite of the commands of the gods to the contrary, are false].

The above interpretation is fully confirmed by the position of our text, viz., in the middle, as it were, of an assize calendar of culprits, who have violated the laws, sinned against the eternal principles of justice, and so have drawn down upon themselves the threatened vengeance of the gods. In the very middle of such a calendar stands our text, on one side HIC QUIBUS INVISI FRATRES, &c. ; on the other, VENDIDIT HIC AURO PATRIAM, &c. See Rem. on “ contemptorque deum Mezentius,” 8. 7. I do not flatter myself that the right understanding of its meaning will tend to increase the admiration in which this famous text has been so long held. The extreme of human admiration is generally bestowed on objects which are either not at all or only half understood (see Rem. on “ devictam Asiam subsedit adulter,” 11. 268, and last three lines of Rem. on 2. 521), and admiration, like wonder, I need hardly remind anyone who has ever read *Gulliver's Travels*, declares rather the ignorance of the observer than the paramount excellence of the thing observed. Regarding this passage from a different point of view, some critics have inquired “ of what use this admonition to morality, thus delivered where there was nobody to hear who could by any possibility profit by it—

‘ cette sentence est bonne et belle
mais en enfer de quoi sert elle ? ’ ”—

a question which an English bishop acknowledges to be unanswerable so long as we regard Virgil's account of Hades as

literally an account of Hades and not merely of the Eleusinian mysteries: "And it must be confessed that according to the common ideas of Aeneas's descent into hell . . . there could not be a more impertinent employment than perpetually sounding in the ears of the damned DISCITE, &c. But nothing could be juster or more useful than this continued admonition, if we suppose Virgil to be here giving a representation of what was said during the celebration of the shews of the Mysteries, for then it was addressed to the vast multitude of living spectators," Warburton, *Divine Legation*. There is, however, as I think, a much better answer to the question of the French jester, viz., that DISCITE IUSTITIAM MONITI ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS are not the words of Phlegyas at all, but merely the moral drawn by the Sibyl from the torments of Phlegyas; as if she had said: *and the torments of Phlegyas are a warning to men that injustice shall not go unpunished. Phlegyas calls with a loud voice through the shades: DISCITE, &c., i. e., the torments of Phlegyas call with a loud voice through the shades: DISCITE, &c.; exactly as Genes. 4. 10: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."* Let us see whether this interpretation is not fully borne out by the Pindaric original from which our author is supposed to have taken the hint of these verses, *Pyth. 2. 39*:

θεων δ' εφετμαις
 Ιξιοα φαντι ταυτα βροτοις
 λεγειν εν πτεροεντι τροχῳ
 παντα κυλινδομενον
 τον ευεργεταν αγαναις αμοιβαις
 εποιχομενους τινεσθαι.

 . . . τον δε τετρακνα-
 -μον επραξε δεσμον,
 εον ολεθρον, ογ' εν δ' αφικτοι-
 -σι γυιοπεδαις πεσων,
 ταν πολυκοινων ανεδε-
 -ξατ' αγγελιαν.

Now the words βροτοις λεγειν in this passage—always interpreted literally, and as meaning that Ixion actually spoke to mankind from the wheel (Soholast: δεδεμενος, φησι, τῷ τροχῷ ο Ιξίων βόα, οτι δει τους ευεργετησαντας αντευεργετειν)—ought for

these three reasons to be interpreted metaphorically and as meaning *reads this lesson, gives this warning to mankind*, first, because Ixion being in Hades could not speak, in the literal sense of the word, to mankind, who were on earth; secondly, because being bound on a rapidly revolving wheel he could not be supposed able to speak at all, or to be heard even if he did attempt to speak; and thirdly, because the perpetual repetition of the warning, necessary according to the literal interpretation of the passage, is in itself absurd and ridiculous. The Pindarie original, therefore, instead of militating against goes to confirm an interpretation of our text already well entitled to our consideration, as professing to exculpate our author from the otherwise not unreasonable charge of having made Phlegyas (and of course himself) ridiculous, not merely by putting into his mouth an admonition which could be of no use to anyone, but by making him repeat it in the self-same terms to all eternity.

634-650.

CORRIPIUNT—AUCTOR

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 648).

HIC GENUS ANTIQUM TEUCRI, PULCHERRIMA PROLES ■■■ La Cerda;
Brunck; Wakef.; Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.;
Ribb.

HIC GENUS ANTIQUM, TEUCRI PULCHERRIMA PROLES ■■■ P. Manut.;
Voss.

CORRIPIUNT SPATIUM MEDIUM (vs. 634).—"As we should say in English: *annihilate the intervening distance*," Conington; and so Gossrau, at "*corripuere viam*," l. 422: "*Ita ut ambo viae termini brevi intervallo temporis interposito ab eo, qui it, attingantur atque in unum quasi corripiantur.*" On the contrary,

corripere spatium, corripere viam, is never *to annihilate space*, but always *to seize, to take the road*, as we say in English, with the additional notion, contained in the *con*, of taking it vehemently, with force and power; in other words, with the additional notion of speed. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 156 (of the setting out of the horses of the sun with Phaëthon):

“ quæ [repagula] postquam Tethys, fatorum ignara nepotis,
repulit, et facta est immensi copia mundi,
corripere viam, pedibusque per aëra motis,
obstantes findunt nebulas, pennisque levati
praetereunt ortos iisdem de partibus Euros,”

plainly an account of the taking of the road vehemently, spiritedly, with all force and vigour, not at all of annihilating the space; the more especially as the account of the journey does not terminate even with the above particular account of the motion and its manner, but enters into particularities respecting it, which occupy and form a very considerable portion of a pretty long poem. Comparing the other examples of the use of this expression, the reader will, I think, be inclined to agree with me that the notion of annihilating space is wholly foreign to it, and that it is no more than *rapiunt viam* intensified by an intensive particle. See Remm. on 2. 52; 3. 561; 9. 375. In the case before us, so far are Aeneas and the Sibyl from annihilating space, that even after they have performed the act described, after they have, as alleged, annihilated the space, they have still not yet arrived, but are only *near* arriving, FORIBUS PROPINQUANT.

VESTIT (vs. 640).—Not merely the figure, but the figure expressed by the identical term, has been used by Dante, *Inferno*, 1. 16:

“ guardai in alto e vidi le sue spalle
vestite già de' raggi del pianeta
che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.”

SOLEMQUE SUUM SUA SIDERA NORUNT (vs. 641).—“Interpunxi ut sit SIDERA in recto casu. Unde, meo saltem iudicio, locus evadit et clarior, et immane quantum elegantior. Huic interpretationi favet laudatus Manilii locus, ad hunc Virgilio,

ut putem, conformatus, 2. 775 : 'solemque novum nova sidera cernunt.' Haud aliter noster Popius solita cum venustate :

'and other planets roll round other suns,'"

Wakefield. I disagree *toto caelo*. First, because the sentence so understood is not only not more elegant, but far less elegant than as commonly understood, the grace of the repetition of SUUM, SUA in the same sense, *i. e.*, referring to the same possessors of the sun and stars, viz., the Manes, being entirely wanting, and SUA in the sense of *belonging to the sun*, following immediately after SUUM in the sense of *belonging to the stars*, being difficult, awkward and far-fetched ; and secondly, because in two other passages of our author, bearing each of them a strong resemblance to that before us, *noscere* is used literally, not figuratively, has for its subject intelligences, not inanimate objects—*Georg.* 4. 153 :

"solae communes gnatos, consortia tecta
urbis habent, magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum,
et patriam solae et certos *novere* penates ;"

ibid. 2. 493 :

"fortunatus et ille, deos qui *novit* agrestes,
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores"—

in the former of which passages "*novere*," and in the latter "*novit*," is precisely the *NORUNT* of our text. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 96 :

"nullaque mortales, praeter sua, littora *norant*,"

where there is the same verb, almost the same part of the verb, in the same literal sense, in the same position in the verse, and governing the same "*sua*" also in the same position in the verse.

PEDIBUS PLAUDUNT CHOREAS (vs. 644).—Not merely *dance*, but *tripudiate*, *i. e.*, strike the flat of the foot strongly against the ground three times in succession, at certain turns of the music. Compare Hom. *Od.* 8. 264 : *πεπληγον δε χορον θειον ποσιν*. Zuccagni Orlandini, vol. 12, p. 272 : "Nel canto del verso sardo a ballo sono sentite fortemente tre pause, alle quali

i ballerini rispondono *con tre battute di piede*, con simultanei *elevamenti e abbassamenti della persona e delle mani*: dal che vedesi la movenza del ballo sardo a canto, identica con l'antica Italica."

I have myself seen this sort of dance danced by the peasants of the Tyrol, only it was to the instrumental music of an orchestra, not to the voice, and there was no pause in the music when the dancers stamped on the ground with their feet and threw up their hands, neither was this stamping of the feet and throwing up of the hands (and slapping the hands alternately on the thigh and sole of the foot) performed by the women dancers, but only by the men.

THREICIUS SACERDOS (vs. 645).—Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, in a letter to Boetius (apud Cassiod. *Var.* 2. 40), confounding Orpheus with Musaeus mentioned vs. 667, writes: "Musaeum etiam, et artis Orphei filium et naturae, Maronis praepotens lingua concelebrat, dicens apud inferos in summa beatitudine constitutum, quod per Elysios campos felices animas septem chordarum pulsibus amoenabat."

OBLOQUITUR NUMERIS SEPTEM DISCRIMINA VOCUM, IAMQUE EADEM DIGITIS, IAM PECTINE PULSAT EBURNO (vv. 646-7).—Neither (with Heyne) "illis saltantibus et cantantibus OBLOQUITUR (transitive h. l. dictum, facit loqui, *φθεγγεσθαι*, sonare, pulsare) NUMERIS, numerose, SEPTEM DISCRIMINA VOCUM, fides, lyram *επταχορδον*, EADEMQUE modo DIGITIS modo PECTINE PULSAT;" nor (with Wagner, ed. Heyne) "per numeros, s. verba numerosa, OBLOQUITUR chordis, h. e. ore canit ad SEPTEM chordarum sonos;" nor yet (with Wagner, *Praest.*) "ad numeros modosque saltantium illorum et canentium accommodat (OBLOQUITUR, *αντιφωνει*) cantum lyrae *επταχορδον*;" but NUMERIS, *per modos numerosos*, OBLOQUITUR, *ore contra loquitur*, *αντιφωνει*, *canentibus et saltantibus*.

OB-LOQUITUR.—LOQUITUR, *speaks, utters, or pronounces with his mouth*; OB, *to them, before them; to the listeners, before the listeners; to or before an audience*. Compare Plin. *N. H.* 36. 16 (speaking of echo): "Dederat vocem saxi . . . respondentem homini, immo vero et *obloquentem*" [not merely answering your questions, but talking to you]. Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 1. 19:

“rara, neque hæc felix, in apertis eminet arvis
 arbor; et in terra est altera forma maris.
 non avis obloquitur: silvis nisi si qua remotis
 æquoreas rauco gutture potat aquas”

[no bird utters a sound *to you—to the listener*; no person hears a bird uttering a sound]. S. Ambros. *Hexaem.* 5. 14 (ed. Monach. Benedict. 1686): “Aliae [sciz. aves] vocibus tantum strepunt: aliae canoro delectant suavique modulamine. Quaedam ex natura, aliae ex institutione, diversarum *vocum obloquuntur discrimina*; ut hominem putes locutum, cum locuta sit avis” [speak, utter to the listener (*or before the listener*) articulate sounds]. Id. *de Jacob et Vita beata*, 2. 9: “Quis vero tam canorus cantibus, quam iste vocibus, qui toto auditus est mundo, qui per omnes populos, per omnes auditur aetates? Quis tam suavis *numeris septem vocum oblocutus discrimina* [ed. Monach. Benedict.: ‘suavis numerus septem vocum differentias oblocutus’] quam iste septemplici Spiritus Sancti gratia resultavit?” [*spoke in numbers, tune, or melody, to a listener or before a listener, the seven musical sounds, i.e., sang*. And so, precisely, the self-same words in our text: *spoke in numbers, tune, or melody, the seven musical sounds, i.e., sang*]. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 15:

. . . “sed ingens
 clamor, et inflato Berecynthia tibia cornu,
 tympanaque, plaususque, et Bacchei ululatus
 obstrepuere sono citharæ”

[raised a rival or opposite noise which drowned the sound of the cithara].

As the first line of our text is a poetical periphrasis for singing, so the second is a poetical periphrasis for playing: *strikes the same* (i.e., *the seven musical sounds in melody*) on the lyre, sometimes with his fingers, sometimes with the plectrum. Compare Apollon. Rhod. 2. 705:

. . . συν δε σφιν εὖς καὶς Οἰαργόιο
 Βιστονὴ φόρμυγι λιγείης ἤρχεν αἰοίδης,

where ἤρχεν, *praeceinuit*, corresponds to Virgil's *OBLOQUITUR*, inasmuch as the *praeceator ob-loquitur*. Also Hor. *Od.* 1. 24. 2:

"*Præcipe lugubres cantus, Melpomene,*" where Orellius: "*Docce me canere modos, dum tu eos præcis, præcinis.*"

SEPTEM DISCRIMINA VOCUM.—*The seven differences of voices, the seven different voices.* Compare Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 106 :

. . . "nunquam tantæ ditione sub una
convenerere manus, nec tot discrimina vocum"

[so many different languages]. The seven different voices of our text are the seven musical sounds or notes.

NUMERIS.—The measure, tune, or air formed out of the notes. Compare *Ecl.* 9. 45: "*numeros memini si verba tene-rem*" ["I remember the air, but doubt whether I remember the words"]. *Aen.* 9. 776:

. . . "cui carmina semper
et citharæ cordi, *numerosque* intendere nervis;
semper equos atque arma virum pugnæque canebat"

(where there are the instrument, the strings of the instrument, the air, the voice, and the words, but not the notes).

Orpheus acts as *choragus* to the choir of singing and dancing spirits as Apollo to the dance of the Graces and the Horæ, Venus, Harmonia, and Hebe, Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 194 :

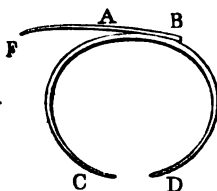
αὐτὰρ εὐπλοκαμοὶ Χάριτες, καὶ εὐφρόνες Πᾶσι,
Ἀρμονίῃ θ', Ἡβῇ τε, Δίῳ θυγατρὶ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ,
οἰχευντ', ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἐχθύνῃαι.
.
. . . αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπολλὼν ἐγκιθαρίζει,
καλὰ καὶ ὤψι βίβας· αἰγλή δὲ μιν ἀμφιφαίνει,
μαρμαρυγαὶ τε ποδῶν, καὶ εὐκλωστοῖο χιτῶνες·

and as Demodocus to the dance of the youths at the court of Alcinous, Hom. *Od.* 8. 261 :

ἤκηρυξ δ' ἐγγυθεν ἦλθε, φέρων φόρμιγγα λίγεια
Δημόδοκῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπεῖτα κ' ἐς μέσον. ἀμφὶ δὲ κούροι
πρωθῆβαι ἱστάντο, δαίμονες ὀρχηθμοῖο·
πεπληγὸν δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσὶν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαυμάζει δὲ θυμῷ.
αὐτὰρ ὁ φόρμιζον ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰδεῖν.

PECTINE PULSAT EBURNO.—*La bacchettina*, with which the *mandolino* (or ancient Italian guitar) is still played in Italy.

When I was travelling in Germany, in 1849, I happened to pass the night in a little inn near the town of Tabor, in Bohemia, where the landlord amused his company with playing the *sither*. It was not our guitar, but a much smaller instrument, about the size of a small fiddle. It was laid on its back on the table so that the strings (from twelve to fifteen in number) were upwards and horizontal. The landlord played it without holding it, only patting the chords with his fingers. On the thumb of his right hand he wore a brass ring (see plan below), to which was attached a thin plate of elastic steel BF. Occasionally he pulled the chords with the point, F, of this tongue or plate of steel; and whenever he did so the sound of the string became louder and clearer. The shape of this steel tongue or plate, which is exactly that of the tooth of a comb, may be the reason why the instru-



ment was called "pecten;" or perhaps anciently there were more tongues used than one, so that the similitude to a comb may have been still greater.

HIC GENUS ANTIQUM TEUCRI, PULCHERRIMA PROLES (vs. 648).

—That the structure is GENUS TEUCRI, not PROLES TEUCRI, is shown less by the point placed after TEUCRI in the Medicean (see Preface for observations on the punctuation of that MS., and Rem. on 6. 395) than by the parallel (verse 580):

"hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,"

and the "genus alto a sanguine Teuceri" of verse 500, and the "veteris generosam sanguine Teuceri" of Ovid, *Met.* 14. 698.

ILLUS ASSARACUSQUE (vs. 650).—Why are only two of the sons of Tros seen by Aeneas and not the third? The answer is easy; because the third is in heaven, pouring out nectar for the gods. Aeneas will not see Ganymede till after he is himself translated.

651-662.

ARMA—VATES

ARMA PROCUL CURRUSQUE VIRUM MIRATUR INANES (vs. 651).—“It is not clear whether the cars are represented as empty or as filled by their ghostly riders,” Conington. Clearly, as empty; not, however, by the word INANES, which is only equivalent to *unsubstantial*, but by PROCUL, signifying that they are at a distance from the VIRUM, no less than by PASSIMQUE SOLUTI PER CAMPUM PASCUNTUR EQUI. The horses being unyoked and at grass, the chariots are, of course, empty.

LAETUMQUE CHORO PAEANA CANENTES (vs. 657).—Proclus, *Chrestom.* (p. 381, ed. Gaisf.): ο δε παιαν εστιν ειδος ωδης εις παντας νυν γραφομενος θεους· το δε παλαιον, ιδιως απενεμετο τω Απολλωνι και τη Αρτεμιδι, επι καταπανσει λοιμων και νοσων αδομενος. LAETUM is not superfluous, for the funeral lamentation was also called παιαν, as Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 864 (ed. Blomf.) (chorus speaking):

ημας δε δικη προτερον φημης
τον δυσκελαδον θ' υμνον Εριννος
ιαχειν, Αιδη τ'
εχθρον παιαν' επιμελπειν,

where the παιαν spoken of is the funeral dirge of the two brothers.

INTER ODORATUM LAURI NEMUS, UNDE SUPERNE PLURIMUS ERIDANI PER SILVAM VOLVITUR AMNIS (vv. 658-9).—“Eridanus SUPERNE, h. e. *ex editiore loco*, VOLVITUR, *venit*,” Heyne.

. . . “wo von der höhe
vollgedrängt durch den wald des Eridanus strom sich herabwälzt.” (Voss).

“SUPERNE zeigt an, dass der lorbeerhain auf einem bergabhänge liegt,” Süpfle. “Der lorbeerhain lag also auf einem bergabhänge,” Ladewig. “SUPERNE, *ex altiore loco*. LAURI

NEMUS igitur in colli leviter edito quaerendum," Forbiger. On the contrary, I think SUPERNE is here used in its much more usual sense of *aloft, above, at the upper part*, i. e., the opposite of inferne (compare Hor. *Epist. ad Pis. 3* :

. "ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa *superne*."

Id. *Carm. 2. 20. 10* : "album mutor in alitem *superne*." Plin. *H. N. 33. 6* : "Argentum *superne* innatat, ut oleum aquis"), and that the true interpretation of the passage is as follows : UNDE, *from which laurel grove*, i. e., *rising or taking its spring out of which laurel grove, the Eridanus rolls* ; PLURIMUS, *in a great body of water* ; PER SILVAM, *through the wood* ; SUPERNE, *above in the world* ("ad superos," Servius). Or, shortly and simply (PLURIMUS PER SILVAM VOLVITUR being merely a description of Eridanus as it was known above in the world), *the laurel grove where Eridanus (that mighty Italian river) has its spring*. Thus we have an explanation at once simple and in perfect conformity with the cosmology of the ancients (compare Lucret. 6. 540 :

"multaque sub tergo terrai flumina tecta
volvère vi fluctus, submersaque saxa putandum est"),

and especially of Virgil himself, who informs us that Aristaeus, when he descended under ground, saw the sources of many of the great rivers of the world, and amongst others that of this very Eridanus, *Georg. 4. 366* :

"omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque,
et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipens,
unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluens,
saxosusque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque Caicus,
et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguis culta
in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis,"

where observe the exact parallelism to our text—the Eridanus rises deep *under ground*, "sub magna terra," and then, *above ground*, flows "quo non alius violentior per pinguis culta in mare purpureum ;" and the Eridanus rises in a laurel grove in

the underworld, and then SUPERNE, *above ground, in the world above*, FLURIMUS PER SILVAM VOLVITUR. Who can doubt that the two views are of one and the same object, seen only under different lights? Compare Lucret. 6. 635 :

“percolatur enim virus, retroque remanat
materies humoris, et ad caput amnibus omnis
confluit; inde *super terras* redit agmine dulci
qua via secta semel liquido pede detulit undas”

(where “*super terras*” corresponds exactly to the SUPERNE of our text). Also Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 6. 8, where the whole question of the underground flowing of rivers is discussed at full. Also Lucil. *Aetn.* 116 : “Quis enim non viderit illud,” &c. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 369 :

. . . “ille relicto
(nam Ligurum populos et magnas rexerat urbes)
imperio ripas virides, amnemque querelis
Eridanum implerat, *sylvamque* sororibus auctam.”

Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7. 33 :

“attollat refluos in astra fontes
Graio mobilior Melete Baetis”

(i.e., that the river Baetis should flow *back* to the skies, viz., according to the doctrine that rivers had their source in heaven). Val. Flacc. 1. 690 :

“qualiter ad summi solium Iovis omnia circum
prona, parata deo; ventique, imbresque, nivesque,
fulguraque et tonitrus, et *adhuc in fontibus amnes*.”

Mythograph. Tert. (apud Maium) *de Plutone*, 22 : “Hunc [Eridanum] alii *apud inferos nasci et a terris exire* volunt: quae ideo finguntur, quia de Apennini parte oritur, quae spectat inferum mare, id est Tyrrhenum, sciz. quod ab occidente cingit Italiam, et tenditur usque ad superum, Adriacum sciz. quod est ab oriente.” Compare also the account Arethusa gives to Ceres, Ovid, *Met.* 5. 504, of her having seen Proserpine in her passage through Hades :

“ergo dum Stygio *sub terris* gurgite labor,
visa tua est oculis illie Proserpina nostris.”

PUGNANDO VULNERA PASSI (vs. 660).—"Those who have been wounded are named rather than the slain, as all patriotic warriors are meant to be included," Conington. VULNERA PASSI is not more the wounded than the slain, but wounded and slain alike, the slain being the slain only because they are wounded.

QUIQUE SACERDOTES CASTI, DUM VITA MANEBAT, QUIQUE PII VATES, ET PHOEBEO DIGNA LOCUTI (vv. 661-2).—CASTI and PII are not to be understood as defining or limiting epithets, and to indicate that among the priests only the CASTI, and among the poets only the PII, were to be found in Elysium. On the contrary, they are to be regarded as epithets descriptive of the genus; CASTI, of the priests who were *ex officio* CASTI (as among us they are *ex officio* Reverend), and PII of the VATES who from the very nature of their calling were PII. The naïve observation of Cynthius Cenetensis, "addit sacerdotes castos, qui rari sunt temporibus nostris," shows how entirely that critic misunderstood his author's meaning. In Cynthius's time no less than in Virgil's time and our own, the "sacerdotes casti" were as numerous as the sacerdotes, and the "pii vates" as the vates. Our author's sole object in all his writings, and especially in his Æneid, was not to instruct, but to please, and he was quite too solicitous for the success of his poem, even so much as to hint an opinion which could not fail in his days, as a similar opinion could not fail in our own, to give offence to a great majority of readers. The mistake of Servius respecting the VATES, "vaticinantes non mendaces; veridici, qui talia loquebantur qualia decebat Apollinem," is the exact counterpart of the mistake of Cynthius respecting the SACERDOTES. The VATES of our author are not seers but poets, called by their most ancient and honourable title, and DIGNA PHOEBEO are not predictions worthy of the god of prophecy, but songs worthy of the god of poetry. Compare Sil. 14. 28 (of Sicily):

"hic Phoebæ digna et Musis venerabere vatum
ora excellentum, sacras qui carmine silvas,
quique Syracosia resonant Heliconæ Camœna."

DUM VITA MANEBAT.—Not *as long as they lived*, or *during the whole course of their lives*, but *when they were alive*, i. e., *when*

they were in the upper world—on earth. To some strange blunder as to the meaning of these very plain words is, perhaps, to be traced the otherwise wholly unaccountable *dictum* of Servius, that our author represents Elysium as the privilege of those priests only who were regarded as CASTI even before their entrance into the ministry had given them an indefeasible right to such estimation: "Dicit ergo eos sacerdotes qui CASTI fuerunt, etiam ante sacra suscepta."

VATES (vs. 662).—"PII VATES, vaticinantes non mendaces," Servius (ed. Lion). "VATES sintne poetae an coniectores dubitari potest," Heyne. Both commentators are, as I think, wrong; and Cynthius Cenetensis, whose observation is: "PII VATES; Catullus sic ait, 'castum decet et pium poetam,'" has seen the meaning better than either. Vates is not *prophet* but *poet*—see the application of the term, verse 669, to the poet Musaeus, the very first inmate of these happy fields to whom we are introduced only a few lines later:

DICITE, FELICES ANIMAE, TUQUE, OPTIME VATES—

and not merely *poet*, but *poet* in the high sense of the word, that sense of the word in which it is represented nearly by our *bard*. So Tacitus, *de Orator.* 9: "Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium *poetam*, vel, si *honorificentius* est, *praeclarissimum vatem*, deducit, aut salutatur, aut prosequitur?" Compare Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 132:

"castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
disceret unde preces, *vatem* ni *Musa* dedisset?
poecit opem chorus, et praesentia numina sentit;
caelestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus;
avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
impetrat et pacem, et locupletem frugibus annum.
carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes."

Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 405:

"cura ducum fuerunt olim regumque *poetae*:
praemiaque antiqui magna tulere chori;
sanctaque maiestas, et erat venerabile nomen
vaticibus; et largae saepe dabantur opes."

673-711.

NULLI—PORRO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 687).

SPECTATA **III** $\frac{1}{2}$ (Mun. 10719). **IIII** "EXPECTATA": *probata nunc etiam*, ut et 'rebus spectata iuventus'; hoc autem dicit: TUA PIETAS *mihi semper probata, nunc etiam* ITER DURUM VICIT," Serv. (cod. Dresd.); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

EXOPTATA **III** $\frac{1}{2}$.

EXPECTATA OR EXSPECTATA **I** *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* **II** $\frac{1}{2}$. **IIII** Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Mod.; Bresc.; Paris, 1600; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersmann; Phil.; Pott.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Peerlk.; Lad.

EXPECTATE **III** $\frac{1}{2}$.

NULLI CERTA DOMUS; LUCIS HABITAMUS OPACIS, RIPARUMQUE TOROS ET PRATA RECENTIA RIVIS INCOLIMUS (vv. 673-5).—This answer of Musæus to the Sibyl and Aeneas inquiring after Anchises, short as it is and unlike as it is in subject and even in drift, has yet so strong a savour of the rather long-winded answer of the *επιουρος απορρευς* to Hercules making inquiry about Augeas and his herds, that one can hardly resist the conjecture that Virgil, composing this passage, had Theocritus, *Idyll. 25. 7*, in his mind—a conjecture on which the undoubtedly intentional parallelism of Aeneas and Hercules, pointed out in

* The word EXPECTATA is not supplied by me, but is in the MS. Servius has plainly explained SPECTATA, though in the MS. it stands EXPECTATA. In the Servius of Henric-petri's edition of Virgil, Basel, 1586, it stands exactly as in the Dresden MS. of Servius. In Lion's ed. of Servius as well as in the quotation of Servius in Burmann's Virgil the words "nunc etiam" are omitted.

Rem. on "insignem pietate virum," bestows some verisimilitude :

ποιμναι μὲν βασιλῆος εὐφρονος Αὐγείας
 οὐ πασαι βοσκονται ἰαν βοσιν οὐδ' ἐνα χωρὸν·
 ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ῥα νέμονται ἐπ' ὄχθαις ἀμφ' Ἑλίσουντος,
 αἱ δ' ἱερὸν θείοιο παρὰ ῥοὸν Ἀλφειοιο,
 αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Βουπρασίου πολυβοτρυος, αἱ δὲ καὶ ὠδε.
 χωρὶς δὲ σῆκοι σφί τετυγμένοι εἰσιν ἐκασταῖς.
 αὐτὰρ βουκόλοισι περιπληθουσί περ ἐμψῆς
 πάντεσσιν νόμοι ὠδε τεθῆλοτες αἰὲν εἰσιν,
 Μηνίου ἀμ' μεγά τιφος, ἐπεὶ μελιηδεὰ ποιῆν
 λειμώνες θαλεθουσιν ὑποδροσοὶ εἰσμεναι τε
 εἰς ἀλῆς, ἥ ῥα βοεῶσι μένος κεραῆσιν ἀεξεῖ.

 ἀλλ' ἰομέν μάλ' ἀπὸς μιν' ἐγὼ δὲ τοι ἡγεμονεύσω
 αὐλὴν ἐφ' ἡμετέρην, ἵνα κεν τετμοίμεν ἀνακτα.

NULLI CERTA DOMUS.—I. e., *There are no separate habitations here, we all live in common*; in modern parlance, *we are all socialists*; and so Silius, 13. 525: "*domus omnibus una*," pretty much our own notion of heaven.

RECENTIA RIVIS.—"Virentia," Servius. "*Aspersa aquis*," Cynth. Cenet. Neither explanation throws any light on the Virgilian expression, the meaning of which is neither that the meads are green nor that the meads are irrigated, but literally that the meads are fresh (always fresh) in consequence of their perpetual irrigation.

CAMPOSQUE NITENTES (vs. 677).—"Nitens," not simply of fertility, as *Georg.* 1. 153; 2. 211; but expressing the luminous appearance of the whole region, verse 640, above," Conington. If we accept this interpretation we must, *pari ratione*, interpret "*nitentes equos*," verse 654, *reflecting the light of the bright region in which they are grazing*—which is absurd. NITENTES, therefore, is to be understood exactly as in *Georg.* 1. 153; 2. 211, where, however, it is not "*fertile*," but *sleek and glossy*, as cattle from good feeding and caring (verse 654). Its opposite is *squalidus*. In the English language there is no exactly corresponding term applicable to land.

AT PATER ANCHISES, &c., . . . MANUSQUE (vv. 679-683).—See Rem. on vs. 716.

INCLUSAS ANIMAS SUPERUMQUE AD LUMEN ITURAS LUSTRABAT STUDIO RECOLENS (vv. 680-1).—So *Tab. Ceb.* 8: οχλος ο πολυς, ο παρα την πυλην εφεστως, οι μελλοντες εισπορευεσθαι εις τον βιον, ουτοι εισιν.

VENISTI TANDEM, TUAQUE SPECTATA PARENTI VICIT ITER DURUM PIETAS? (vv. 687-8).—SPECTATA, not EXPECTATA; first, because SPECTATA PIETAS affords a better sense than EXPECTATA PIETAS, inasmuch as while on the one hand it had been anything but complimentary to Aeneas to speak of his PIETAS as a thing not real and actually existent, but only future and expected, it was on the other hand in the highest degree complimentary, and only what Aeneas's PIETAS deserved, to speak of it as already tried and experienced; secondly, because the very term has been applied to the "pietas" of Aeneas by Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 37:

" hinc satus Aeneas, *pietas spectata* per ignes,
sacra, patremque humeris, altera sacra, tulit; "

thirdly, because EXPECTATA had a ready origin in 2. 283, and 8. 38; and lastly, because although Servius's editors represent him as reading and explaining EXPECTATA, it is perfectly clear from his words (see *Var. Lect.*) that he actually reads and explains SPECTATA.

[*Aliter*]. Not SPECTATA (although this very epithet has been applied to the "pietas" of Aeneas by Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 37, quoted above, but EXPECTATA, first, on account of the greater weight of MS. authority; and secondly, on account of the natural connexion of expectation with arrival. Compare 2. 282: "quibus, Hector, ab oris, *expectate, venis*?" Gruter, *Inscr.*, p. 692, No. 10: "C. Laelio, C. f. iv. magna omnium *expectatione* genito, et decimo octavo aetatis anno ab immani Atropo e vita reciso," &c. And Cic. *ad Fam.* 4. 9: "*venies* enim, mihi, *expectatus*." In our text, Virgil has, for the sake of varying the usual form of expression, separated "expectatus" from the "venire" and joined it to another verb.

NEC ME MEA CURA FEFELLIT (vs. 691).—No one, I believe, except Servius, who ever read these words has ever doubted for a moment that MEA CURA means the anxiety of Anchises for the

arrival of Aeneas. "Mea cogitatio non ME FEFELLIT," Cynth. Cenet. "Und nicht war tauschend die sehnsucht," Voss. It is, however, easier to feel that this is certainly the meaning than to show that the quaint old grammarian is wrong in his assertion that MEA CURA is said of Aeneas himself, as "mea maxima cura" and "iustissima cura" are elsewhere said of Ascanius. Perhaps the best argument against Servius, next after the reader's inward sense, is, that in those cases where cura is said of a person it is added as a further description or account of the person already designated by name or other description, not used as a substitute for the name or description itself. Accordingly, in the cases just cited we have

"regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem
Sidoniam *puer* ire parat, mea maxima cura,
dona ferens,"

and

"ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,
Dardanius caput, ecce, *puer* detectus honestum," &c.

IN VALLE REDUCTA (vs. 703).—"In anfractu vallis," Wagner (*Praest.*). I think not, but *in a valley which was an offset of that in which he himself was* (verse 679); *a side valley*, as we would say. If the meaning had been *in a bend or curve or turning of a valley*, how was Aeneas to have seen into it?

CAUSASQUE REQUIRIT INSCIUS AENEAS; QUAE SINT EA FLUMINA PORRO, &c. (vv. 710-11).—PORRO belongs not (with Cynth. Cenet.) to REQUIRIT, but (with Servius) to FLUMINA, and signifies *away there, on there, forward there, further on there*. It seems to be intermediate between *prope* and *procul*.

716-725.

HAS EQUIDEM MEMORARE TIBI ATQUE OSTENDERE CORAM
 IAMPRIDEM HANC PROLEM CUPIO ENUMERARE MEORUM
 QUO MAGIS ITALIA MECUM LAETERE REPERTA
 O PATER ANNE ALIQUAS AD CAELUM HINC IRE PUTANDUM EST
 SUBLIMES ANIMAS ITERUMQUE IN TARDA REVERTI
 CORPORA QUAE LUCIS MISERIS TAM DIRA CUPIDO
 DICAM EQUIDEM NEC TE SUSPENSUM NATE TENEBO
 SUSCIPIT ANCHISES ATQUE ORDINE SINGULA PANDIT
 PRINCIPIO CAELUM AC TERRAS CAMPOSQUE LIQUENTES
 LUCENTEMQUE GLOBUM LUNAE TITANIAQUE ASTRA

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*, &c.] (vv. 716-7).

CORAM, IAMPRIDEM HANC PROLEM **III** P. Manut.; La Cerda; Heyne;
 Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.

CORAM IAMPRIDEM, AC **III** Brunck.

CORAM IAMPRIDEM, HANC **III** Voss.

IAMPRIDEM HANC **III** Ribbeck, who encloses vs. 716 in square brackets.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 722-4).

III P. Manut.:

DICAM EQUIDEM, NEC TE SUSPENSUM, NATE, TENEBO,
 SUSCIPIT ANCHISES, ATQUE ORDINE SINGULA PANDIT.
 PRINCIPIO, &c.

III Heyne:

DICAM EQUIDEM; NEC TE SUSPENSUM, NATE, TENEBO;
 SUSCIPIT ANCHISES, ATQUE ORDINE SINGULA PANDIT.
 PRINCIPIO, &c.

III Wakefield, who observes very correctly: "Correxī pessimā distinctionem, quae vitiat alias editiones; quamvis rectiora monuerit Servius, et veram constructionem loci aperuerit." Wakefield, however, is very wrong in commencing a paragraph with *PRINCIPIO*. The paragraph begins with *DICAM*:

DICAM EQUIDEM, NEC TE SUSPENSUM, NATE, TENEBO,
 SUSCIPIT ANCHISES: ATQUE ORDINE SINGULA PANDIT.
 PRINCIPIO, &c.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 725).

LUCENTEM ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal.* ■■■ P. Manut.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

LUC
INGENTEM ■ *Med.* (INGENTEM).

Ribbeck has placed the first of these lines within brackets, and observes in a note: "Versum 716, quem non interpretatur Servius, poeta primo conamine in schedas effusum postea in eius vicem v. 717 elaborato omitti voluerat, sed relictum in textu delere religioni habuerunt amici." And the friends performed a very friendly part not only towards Virgil, but towards the sense—the sense requiring the former line scarcely less than the latter, inasmuch as without the former line there is no TIBI and no OSTENDERE CORAM, both essential to the full expression of Anchises' meaning, which is not that he had been a long time desirous to enumerate his offspring, but that he had been a long time desirous to enumerate his offspring *to his son Aeneas* (TIBI); and not merely to enumerate them to him, but, as clearly appears from every line of the sequel, *to show them to him in person* (OSTENDERE CORAM). The two lines are mutually dependent, each of them, according to the author's usual habit, supplying something which is wanting in the other, and both together making up a sense which it was impossible, without a concentration wholly foreign to the author's manner, to express within narrower limits. There is a similar division of the same subject-matter into two mutually dependent passages or clauses a little above, where we are informed, vv. 680, 681, that Anchises "lustrabat inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras," and, verse 682, that he "recensebat numerum carosque nepotes." Is it not plain that the "recensebat" there repeats "lustrabat," exactly as in our text ENUMERARE repeats MEMORARE and OSTENDERE CORAM; and that "omnem suorum numerum carosque nepotes" there repeats "inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras," exactly as in our text PROLEM MEORUM repeats HAS, those identical "inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras"? And is it not equally plain that as verse 683

is there added expressly for the sake of the statement that the "*inclusae animae*" were Anchises' own "*nepotes*," so the second verse of our text is the similar completion of the first, containing as it does not merely a similar but the very same statement, viz., that the "*inclusae animae*" were the posterity of Anchises (*PROLEM MEORUM*)? And such is by no means exceptionally or unusually Virgil's manner of writing, viz., to add an additional sentence, with its own separate verb and separate adverbs and adjectives, for every additional point or item which he wishes to add to the first or principal point or item. The additional point or item both in our text itself and in its parallel is *my posterity*; and in order to add in this thought with sufficient emphasis, clearness, and fulness, the poet adds not merely the word "*nepotes*" in the one case, and the word *PROLEM* in the other, but makes each word the subject of a new clause or sentence, supplying it with its own verb, a varied repetition of the original verb, with its own enhancing adjective or adverb, or both, and, in the parallel case, with a paraphernalia of no less than four secondary substantives—all suggested by the first additional point or item. Clearness and distinctness, roundness, copiousness and richness, are the results of this kind of construction; but a poet must not be always copious, round, and rich. He must sometimes, even at the risk of becoming obscure, be brief and energetic, else we tire of him, as we do of Spenser and Tasso. It is with great judgment, then, that Virgil does not always use this construction, but very frequently the opposite; and, instead of forming a new and separate clause for his new item, puts the new item into the old clause, attaching it, no matter how improperly (to use a favourite term of the grammarians), to the original verb, and so forcing it sometimes into very strange and, as one might be inclined to think (*pace talis nominis*), very bad company. A striking example of this kind is afforded by 10. 12:

" cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas."

This latter construction has been frequently animadverted upon

by my predecessors; but the former, as I think, not less remarkable, seems wholly to have escaped their notice.

IAMPRIDEM (vs. 717).—In order that the sentiment of the first line repeated in the second may be expressed more strongly and emphatically in the second than it had been expressed in the first, IAMPRIDEM is added to the second line, just as we would say in English “I have been wishing to tell you, *this long time* I have been wishing to see you and tell you;” or as we would not say simply “Father! father!” or “God! God!” but we would repeat either word with some variation, as, for instance, “Father, dear father!” or “God, gracious God!” If any doubt remains on the reader’s mind that this is really a double, or, if he so please, a compound, passage made up of two simple ones, and corresponding in every respect to the double or compound passage with which I have just compared it, let him observe that that passage, too, has its “iampridem” or enhancing adverb in “forte,” and that the enhancing adverb occupies the same position, viz., that of first word of the verse, in both passages.

If every line were to be omitted which Servius has not commented on, and the structure of which is not quite conformable with a commentator’s views of Virgilian versification, we should have a very different Aeneid indeed from that which we now so happily possess, and which may Apollo in his goodness long preserve from the ruthless shears of Peerlkamps and Gruppés.

PROLEM MEORUM.—So vs. 682, “numerus suorum.”

ENUMERARE.—It is “*annumerare*,” not *enumerare*, in that passage of Seneca where Seneca, in the character of Nero, says that he is ready to render an account to the gods of the human race committed to his charge, that he is ready to count them over one by one to the gods, *de Clem. 1. 1*: “Hodie diis immortalibus, si a me rationem repetant, *annumerare* genus humanum paratus sum.” I strongly suspect that the reading should be the same in our text.

REPERTA (vs. 718).—*Found, discovered, made out, with much care and trouble.* See Rem. on “*dolis repertis*,” 4. 128; and Rem on “*divitiis repertis*,” 6. 610.

O PATER, &c., . . . CORPORA (vv. 719-21).—"IRE SUBLIMES, redire, AD CAELUM, h. e. ad vitam," Heyne. "ALIQUAS (irgend eine seele) HINC SUBLIMES (aufwärts) AD CAELUM (die oberwelt) IRE," Thiel. "Ita IRE ut SUBLIMES evadant, in locum perveniant altiore," Gossrau. "SUBLIMES, i. e. *sursum tendentes* (cf. 1. 263 et 5. 255), cum IRE coniungendum esse patet," Forbiger. "Iunge IRE SUBLIMES," Wagner (1861). I object (1), that the structure ALIQUAS ANIMAS IRE SUBLIMES AD CAELUM too forcibly and roughly separates the words SUBLIMES and ANIMAS placed together in so close and natural connexion. (2), that the emphasis thrown by this structure on SUBLIMES (see Rem. on "ora," 2. 247), and especially on SUBLIMES coming after AD CAELUM, is too strong, suggests the notion of ascent not merely to the upper world, the upper 'air, already expressed by AD CAELUM, but to the sky, *i. e.* to heaven, which is not, and is not even by those who adopt the structure pretended to be, the meaning. (3), that it being **only** (both according to our author himself, verse 758 :

"illustres animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,"

and those later writers who have adopted their notions of such matters from our author, *ex. gr.* Manil. 1. 756 (ed. Delph.) :

"an fortes animae, dignataque nomina caelo
corporibus resoluta suis, terraeque remissa,
huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia caelum
aetherios vivunt annos, mundoque fruuntur?"

(where Gronov. *Observ.* 1. 11 : "'Terrae remissa' dicit pro 'terra remissa'" [Bentley reads "terraque remissa"]); Calpurn. 8. 35 :

"omniparens aether, et rerum causa liquores,
corporis et genitrix tellus, vitalis et aer,
accipite hos calamos, atque haec nostro Meliboeo
mittite, si sentire datur post fata quietis.
nam si *sublimes animae* caelestia templa
sidereasque colunt sedes, mundoque fruuntur ;
tu nostros adverte modos, quos ipse benigno
pectore fovisti, quos tu, Meliboe, probasti")

some nobler spirits, and not the vulgar crowd of spirits who

come back to the earth from Lethe, the addition to ANIMAS of SUBLIMES in the sense of *noble, elevated, sublime*, is absolutely necessary. (4), that *sublimis* is no less commonly used figuratively, or to express moral elevation, than literally, or to express physical elevation (*ex. gr.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1. 15. 23 :

“ *carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti.*”

Id. *ex Ponto*, 3. 3. 103 :

“ *mens tua sublimis supra genus eminet ipsum.*”

Id. *Met.* 4. 420 :

“ *aspicit hanc natis thalamoque Athamantis habentem
sublimes animos, et alumni numine, Iuno.*”

Id. *Fast.* 1. 295 :

“ *quid vetat et stellas, ut quaeque oriturque caditque
dicere? promissi pars sit et ista mei.
felices animos, quibus haec cognoscere primis,
inque domos superas scādere cura fuit !
credibile est illos pariter vitiisque locisque
altius humanis exseruisse caput.
non Venus et vinum sublimia pectora fregit,
officiumve fori, militiaeve labor.
nec levis ambitio, perfusaque gloria fuco,
magnarumve fames sollicitavit opum.
admovere oculis distantia sidera nostris ;
aetheraque ingenio supponere suo,*”

where “*sublimia*” is, according to Ovid’s usual play upon words, used literally and figuratively at once. Varro, *R. R.* 2. 4: “*antiqui reges et sublimes viri*”). And (5), because that some spirits should be willing to return into the dull flesh is a less proper subject for Aeneas’s surprise and wonder than that some sublime spirits should. For all these reasons, I agree unhesitatingly with Servius (ed. Lion): “*non omnes, sed sublimium;*” and, there being no important variety of reading on which to throw the blame, ascribe the mistake of Heyne, Thiel, Gossrau, Forbiger, and Wagner, no less than the hesitation of Ascensius (“*in sublimi sitas, aut egregias*”), La Cerda (“*an illustres et nobiles, ut plerique; an haec est sententia:*

ferine potest ut animae quae nunc sunt in inferno iterum supernae et sublimes reddantur?"), and Conington ("SUBLIMES apparently with IRE, like 'sublimis abit,' 1. 415 [419]. It would seem to be more forcible, if we could take it of the nature of the soul, that which ought to make it delight in an exalted life, as opposed to the life enjoyed in connexion with TARDA CORPORA . . . but the presence of AD CAELUM in the context would make this awkward here"), **either** to the inherent obscurity of the Latin language, or to a defect of style in our author, **or** perhaps to both causes combined.

SUBLIMES ANIMAS.—So vs. 758 (already quoted), "illustres animas"; 11. 24, "egregias animas"; 6. 827, "concordes animae"; 6. 818, "animamque superbam ultoris Bruti." The Roman is styled "sublimis," lofty or sublime-minded, by Hor. *Epist. 2. 1. 164*:

"tentavit quoque rem [Romanus], si digne vertere posset,
et placuit sibi, natura *sublimis* et acer;"

and a young man in comparison of his senior, by the same author, *Art. Poet. 165*:

"*sublimis* cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix."

QUAE LUCIS MISERIS TAM DIRA CUPIDO?—Wagner (ad vers. 888) objects that it is inconsistent in our author to describe the spirits who inhabit the Elysian plains, which enjoy a splendid sunlight of their own (vs. 640:

"largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt"),

as having a dire longing for the light. The error is not, however, in Virgil, but in his commentator, "lux" in our text not meaning *light*, but (according to a use of the term very common in Latin writers) *life*. Compare Sil. Ital. 16. 72:

"per medios Hannon, palmas post terga revinctus,
ecce, trahebatur, *lucem*que (heu dulcia caeli
lumina!) captivus *lucem* inter vincla petebat."

Virg. *Georg. 4. 255*:

. . . "tum corpora *lucis* carentum
exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt."

Ibid. 4. 471 :

“ at cantu commotæ Erebi de sedibus imis
umbræ ibant tennes simulacraque luce carentum.”

And so *Aen.* 6. 761 : “ proxima sorte tenet lucis loca ” [*the lot* (or *lots*) not of *light*, but of *life*]. So completely, in this use of the word *lux* for *life*, is the notion of *light* lost and that of *life* substituted for it, that Telesinus (*Sil.* 10. 153) “ exhalat lucem in auras,” exhales, of course not his *light*, but his *life* into the air :

. . . “ supremam Telesinus in auras
exhalat lucem, et dubitantia lumina condit.”

The Latin writers seem to have adopted this use of *light* for *life* from the Greeks. See Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulid.* 1289 (Stock) :

κουκετι μοι φως,
ουδ' αελιου τοδε φεγγος,

where φως so entirely means *life*, and so little means *light*, that in order to express *light* the poet found it necessary to add αελιου φεγγος. The Italians use the term in the same sense, as Petr. *Son.* (“ Quando io son tutto volto in quella parte ”):

“ i che temo del cor che mi si parte,
e veggio presso il fin de la mia luce.”

See Remm. on 1. 550 ; 2. 360.

PRINCIPIO CAELUM AC TERRAS, &c.—There could be no clearer or more explicit exposition of that pantheism, that God-in-all, which is the real core, not indeed of exoteric, popular, or, if I may so say, heathen, but of esoteric, hidden, mystic Christianity, that pantheism which is denounced by the apostle of the exoteric doctrine as the fundamental, first and worst, error of the wicked and impious times on which it has been the unhappy lot of his most sacred Holiness to fall. See “ Syllabus Complectens Praecipuos Nostræ Aetatis Errores Qui Notantur In Allocutionibus Consistorialibus, In Encyclicis, Aliisque Apostolicis Litteris Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papæ IX.,” § I. : “ Pantheismus, Naturalismus et Rationalismus absolutus. I. Nullum. supremum, sapientissimum, providentissimumque Numen divinum

existit ab hac rerum universitate distinctum, et Deus idem est ac rerum natura et iccirco immutationibus obnoxius, Deusque reapse fit in homine et mundo, atque omnia Deus sunt et ipsisimam Dei habent substantiam; ac una eademque res est Deus cum mundo, et proinde spiritus cum materia, necessitas cum libertate, verum cum falso, bonum cum malo, et iustum cum iniusto. (Alloc. Maxima quidem * 9 iunii 1862).” A similar exposition of the same philosophical theory is to be found in many other of the Latin poets, *ex. gr.* in Lucretius, in Manilius, 2. 60:

“ namque canam tacita naturae mente potentem
infusumque deum caelo, terrisque, fretoque,
ingentem aequali moderantem foedere molem,
totumque alterno consensu vivere mundum,
et rationis agi motu, cum spiritus unus
per cunctas habitat partes atque irriget orbem,
omnia pervolitans, corpusque animale figuret; ”

and again, 1. 525:

“ at manet incolumis mundus suaeque omnia servat,
quae nec longa dies auget minuitque senectus,
nec motus puncto curvat, cursusque fatigat;
idem semper erit, quoniam semper fuit idem.
non alium videre patres aliumve nepotes
aspicient: deus est, qui non mutatur in aevum.”

PRINCIPIO.—Compare fragment of the *Chrysippus* of Euripides, quoted in Rem. on 4. 160-168; also Hesiod, *Theog.* 43:

. . . αἱ δ' ἀμβροτον ὄσσαν ιεῖσαι
θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλειουσιν αἰοδη,
ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ἐτικτεν.

LUCENTEMQUE GLOBUM LUNAE TITANIAQUE ASTRA.—“Sol et Luna erant Titanes. Luna TITANIAQUE ASTRA, quasi diceret: luna, ac non sola luna sed utrumque astrum Titanium,” Wagner (1861). So the meaning is: *both the moon, and the sun and moon; both Luna, and Sol and Luna!* I rather suspect not, but *both the moon and the sun*. “Astra” alone, without even so much as an explanatory or defining adjunct, is used twice at least by Statius

* “quidem”: so the newspaper cutting inserted in Dr. James Henry’s MS.—J. F. D.

to signify the sun's light, **the sun**, viz., *Theb. 11. 93* (of the effect of the sun's light on the torch and snakes of *Megaera*):

. . . "hebet infera caelo
taxus, et insuetos angues nimia *astra* soporant ;"

and *ibid. 1. 304* (of *Mercury*):

"summa pedum propere plantaribus illigat alis,
obnubique comas, et temperat *astra* galero,"

protects his head from the heat of the sun with his galerus, undoubtedly the meaning of Statius, as appears from a comparison with Calpurn. *Eclog. 1. 6*:

"nos quoque vicinis cur non succedimus umbris?
torrida cur solo defendimus ora galero?"

Sol and Luna are indeed both of them Titans, and so far Wagner is right; but Sol is especially and peculiarly Titan, the Titan (as 4. 118:

. . . "ubi primos crastinus ortus
extulerit *Titan*, radiisque retexerit orbem."

Seneca, *Herc. Act. 968* (*Dejanira*, when about to kill herself, apostrophizing the sun and life):

"recede, *Titan*, tuque, quae blanda tenes
in luce miseros, vita");

and the cave from which the sun sets out on his daily journey is the Titanian cave, "*Titania antra*" (as Val. Flacc. 4. 90, of the rising sun:

"interea, magni iamiam subeuntibus astris
Oceani genitale caput, *Titania* frenis
antra sonant; Sol auricomus, cingentibus Horis,
multifidum iubar, et bisseño sidere textam
loricam induitur").

MAGNO SE CORPORE MISCET.—"Per totum mundum didita est anima mundi," Heyne. I find some difficulty in reconciling this use of the term *magno corpore*—here a repetition of *TOTAM MOLEM*, which is again a general term embracing the previously enumerated particulars—with the use of the same term *Georg. 2. 325*, and *Pervigilium Veneris, 55*, for the earth alone. Perhaps the best way of explaining the apparent incon-

gruity is to consider that the mundus, or universe of the ancient cosmogony, was the earth considered as a magnum corpus, of which the sun, moon, and constellations were but the dependencies and outfittings; and that our author, when speaking in our text of the "tota moles" and the "magnum corpus," was in fact thinking only of that great earth of ours of which the whole of the heavens, nocturnal as well as diurnal, was no more than the garniture. This explanation seems to derive no small confirmation from the application of this very term "corpore" to the earth by Cicero, *de Divinat.* 1. 11, in the course of a poem which treats of the mundus in a manner so similar to that of our text as to be quoted by commentators as parallel:

" principio aethereo flammatus Iuppiter igni
vertitur, et totum collustrat lumine mundum,
menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit:
quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat,
aetheris aeterni septa atque inclusa cavernis.
.....
omnia iam cernes divina mente notata.
.....
aut cum se gravido tremefecit corpore tellus."

If it be objected that the same term is applied by Ovid, *Met.* 1. 18, to the chaos out of which all things were created, I reply, as before, that the chaos of the ancients—and indeed I might say of the moderns who, adopting the ancient theory, believe in a chaos—consisted merely of the as yet unarranged materials of the earth, out of which materials issued at a certain moment, nobody knew why or how, the existing arrangement of land, water, air, light, and fire. The "corpus" of Ovid's chaos was, then, nothing more or less than the corpus of the as yet unarranged earth, exactly as Virgil's "corpus magnum" was the corpus of the same earth arranged and digested into its—shall I say organs, or shall I say departments?—land, water, air, light, and fire.

733-744.

HINC METUUNT CUIPUNTQUE DOLENT GAUDENTQUE NEQUE AURAS
 RESPICIUNT CLAUSAE TENEBRIS ET CARCERE CAECO
 QUIN ET SUPREMO QUUM LUMINE VITA RELIQUIT
 NON TAMEN OMNE MALUM MISERIS NEC FUNDITUS OMNES
 CORPOREAE EXCEDUNT PESTES PENITUSQUE NECESSE EST
 MULTA DIU CONCRETA MODIS INOLESCERE MIRIS
 ERGO EXERCENTUR POENIS VETERUMQUE MALORUM
 SUPPLICIA EXPENDUNT ALIAE PANDUNTUR INANES
 SUSPENSÆ AD VENTOS ALIIS SUB GURGITE VASTO
 INFECTUM ELUITUR SCELUS AUT EXURITUR IGNI
 QUISQUE SUOS PATIMUR MANES EXINDE PER AMPLUM
 MITTIMUR ELYSIUM ET PAUCI LAETA ARVA TENEMUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 733).

NEC **■** *Rom.* **■■■** P. Manut.; D. Heins.

NEQUE **■** *Vat.* (NEQ.*), *Pal.*, *Med.* (NEQ.*); "In antiquis omnibus codd. quos viderim eodem exemplo legitur NEQUR," Pierius.† **■■■** N. Heins. (1670); Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 734).

RESPICIUNT **■■** **‡‡**. **■■■** Don. (ad Ter. *Andr.* 5. 4. 34); St. Hieronym. (*Ep.* 133, ad Ctesiphont.); Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; Paris, 1600; Fabricius; Bersm.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); Fea (*Saggio*); Haupt.

DESPICIUNT **■** *Vat.*, *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.*; Pierius* (but see note on NEQUE above). **■■** **‡‡**; cod. Canon. (Butler). **■■■** Ven. 1472; Hildebert. *Epist.* 57; Phil.

DISPICIUNT **■■** **‡‡**. **■■■** N. Heins. (1676, 1704); Heyne; Peerlk.; Pott.; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*); Ribb.

* Inexactly quoted by Ribb. NEQUE.

† Our generally so correct and trustworthy Pierius should have excepted the Roman, which, as we have seen, reads NEC. With respect to DESPICIUNT involved with NEQUE in the same too universal statement, "In antiquis omnibus codd. quos viderim eodem exemplo legitur NEQUE AURAS DESPICIUNT," he has himself taken care to make the exception "Alicubi etiam 'respicere' habetur."

SUSPICIUNT ■■■ Mil. 1474; Mod.

Conington has RESPICIUNT in his small ed.; DISPICIUNT, supported with a note, in his large ed.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 738).

INOLESCERE ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ ††. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.

MOLLESCERE ■■ †; Casanata (Fea). ■■■ Ven. 1471, 1472; Mod.

ABOLESCERE ■■■ Fea (*Saggio*) ex con.

AURAS (vs. 733).—"Lucem," Heyne, Wagner. The reader who, taking the trouble to cast his eye over the Heynian index, shall have observed that in no one of the other ninety-four instances in which it has been used by Virgil does the word *aurae* bear the meaning of "lux," will hardly require to be informed by me how little likely it is that "lux" should be the correct interpretation of AURAE in the passage before us. From the slightest examination of those ninety-four instances it is perfectly clear that (omitting the metaphorical "populares aurae" of 6. 817) Virgil never uses the word *aurae* except in one or other of the two following senses, or, to speak more accurately, in one or other of the two following varieties of the same general sense: either, first, to express those *airs* which we feel blowing upon us, the gentler currents of that atmosphere by which we are immediately surrounded; or, secondly, those remoter parts of the same atmosphere, which, high above our heads, and beyond our reach or touch, and made known to us only by our sense of sight, we denominate *the sky*. In the former of these senses the word is to be understood in all such expressions as the following: "crebrescunt optatae aurae," 3. 530; "vocat carbasus auras," 4. 417; "Zephyri tepentibus auris," *Georg.* 2. 330; &c. Examples of its use in the latter sense are: "omnia ferre sub auras," 2. 158; "furit aestus ad auras," 2. 759; "sub auras erigit fluctus," 3. 422; "saxa sub

auras glomerat," 3. 576; "auras suspiciens," 10. 898; "assurgere in auras," *Georg.* 3. 109. Often, but by no means always, when *aurae* is used in this second sense, an adjective is added in order to give force and clearness: "auras aetherias," *Georg.* 2. 291; "superas auras," 5. 427, above; "aerias auras," 5. 520 [not, surely, *aerial air*, or *aerial light*, but *aerial sky*]. It is in this, its second, sense, that "*aurae*" is used in the passage before us. The souls, shut up in the dark prison of the body, lose their fine perception, become brutalized, and cease to look back to, or have any regard for, their celestial origin, the *caelum*, sky, or "*aurae*" ("*superas auras*"), from whence they originally came. Compare 6. 363: "*caeli iucundum lumen et auras*," where again the addition of "*auras*" to a word expressive of light shows that "*auras*" itself does not express that idea. The German *luft* corresponds to the Latin *aurae*, not merely in the first of these significations, but, as appears from the following example, in the second also, Werner, *Die Söhne des Thales*, theil 2, prolog:

"es dünkte ihm, als schaut' er unsern erdball
gleich einer ungeheuren grünen kugel,
die zwischen meer und *luft* gehänget war."

This double Virgilian use of the word *aurae* once clearly established, we immediately perceive the true meaning of that generally misunderstood passage in the first *Eclogue* (vs. 57), "*canet frondator ad auras*," not *will sing to the air*, which were as much as to say *will sing to no purpose, will throw away his song* (see "*partem volucres dispersit in auras*," 11. 795, where "*volucres*" is added to show that "*auras*" is used in the former of the two senses given above), but *will sing to the sky, his only company—will sing alone*, or, as correctly rendered by Fea, *da se*.

RESPICIUNT (vs. 734) is the true reading. The meaning afforded by DISPICIUNT ("*proprie dicitur de iis qui caeci fuerant, aut in tenebris versantes primum vident lucem*," Wagner) is inappropriate, the (as I think) plain drift and intention of Virgil, as shown by the whole context, being to say, not *cannot distinctly see (distinguish)*, but *do not care to see, have acquired a*

disinclination to see; precisely the meaning contained in the vulgar reading *RESPICIUNT*: *NEQUE AURAS RESPICIUNT*, *no longer look towards, or care for, those auras, that sky from which they originally came* ("Obliviscuntur naturae suae, quam AURAS vocavit," Servius. "Despicit naturam aeriam," Cynth. Cenet.). Compare Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1. 9: "Homini una est agnitio sui, si originis natalisque principia atque exordia prima respexerit, nec se quae siverit extra . . . Nec deseruisse unquam caelum videtur, quod respectu et cogitationibus possidebat. . . . caelum respectu vel quum adhuc corpore tenentur habitantes." Cic. *Somn. Scip.*: "Quam cum magis intuerer, 'quaeso,' inquit Africanus, 'quousque humi defixa tua mens erit? Nonne aspicias, quae in templa veneris?'" where "templa" is the sky with its luminaries, the heavens, *i. e.* the AURAS of our text. Compare also 4. 236:

"nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva."

Hom. *Il.* 1. 160: τῶν οὐ τι μεταρπη οὐδ' ἀλεγιζεις. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 357:

τῶν δ' οὐτι μεταρπη οὐδ' ἀγορευς
χρειοὶ ἐνίσχομενος.

On the other hand, and in favour of the reading *DISPICIUNT* as much as the above-quoted passage of Macrobius is in favour of *RESPICIUNT*, we have Plotinus, in the beginning of the ninth book of the fifth Ennead, dividing men into three classes, of which the most intellectual class corresponds nearly to the state of man considered apart from the incumbrances of the flesh, as here described by Virgil, and going on to say: Τρίτον δὲ γένος θείων ἀνθρώπων, δυνάμει τε κρείττονι καὶ οἰζυτήτι ὁμμάτων, εἶδε τε ὡς περ ὑπὸ οἰζυδορκίας τὴν ἀνω αἰγλήν, καὶ ἡρθῇ τε ἐκεῖ, οἷον ὑπὲρ νεφῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐνταυθα ἀχλὺς, καὶ ἐμείνεν ἐκεῖ.

AURAS RESPICIUNT.—Compare Cic. *de Legg.* 1. 9: "Nam cum ceteras animantes abiecisset [natura] ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad caelique quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit."

QUIN ET SUPREMO CUM LUMINE VITA RELIQUIT.—There is a manifest awkwardness in this line. CUM has the position (between SUPREMO and LUMINE) which it should occupy if it were

the preposition; yet it is the conjunction. This, if I may so say, false position almost necessitates the reader, even after his having connected CUM as the conjunction with RELIQUIT, to connect it, imperceptibly to himself, as the preposition with SUPREMO LUMINE, and to understand the words to mean not *when at their last day life has left them*, but *when life with its last day has left them*.

SUPREMO LUMINE is not "with its last ray" (Conington), but *at their last day*, i. e., *their last day having arrived, their last light having shone on them*.

INOLESCERE (vs. 738).—I reject Fea's conjecture, ABOLESCERE, and adhere to the vulgar reading and interpretation; first, because of the excellent sense thus obtained; and secondly, because both reading and interpretation are confirmed both by Claudian in his account of the condemnation of the shade of Rufinus by Rhadamanthus, in *Rufin.* 2. 504:

. . . "en, pectus inustae
deformant maculae, vitiisque *inolevit* imago;"

and by Silius, 8. 582:

"nunc Silarus quos nutrit aquis, quo gurgite tradunt
duritiem lapidum mersis *inolescere* ramis."

The MOLLESCERE of the Casanata MS. quoted by Fea, of three of the second-class MSS. examined by myself, and of the Modena ed. of 1475, has evidently arisen from the IN of INOLESCERE being mistaken by the copyist for M, the former being sometimes written so like the latter in those MSS. in which the I has no dot, as to be absolutely undistinguishable from it.

ERGO EXERCENTUR POENIS, VETERUMQUE MALORUM SUPPLICIA EXPENDUNT.—Compare Sil. 13. 869 (ed. Rup.):

. . . "sed luce remota
si nulla est venia, et merito mors ipsa laborat,
perfidiae Poenus quibus aut Phlegethontis in undis
exuret ductor scelus, aut quae digna renatos
ales in aeternum laniabit morsibus artus?"

PANDUNTUR INANES SUSPENSÆ AD VENTOS.—These words are periphrastic of crucifixion. PANDUNTUR, *are opened, expanded, spread*, i. e., *their arms are spread wide out on each side to their*

greatest length so that the person appears as if opened. *SUSPENSÆ*, *hung up*, viz., on the cross. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 309: ζωντες κρεμαστοι. Manil. 5. 551 (Jacob., of Andromeda):

“ mollia per duras *panduntur* brachia cautes ;
astrinxere pedes scopulis iniectaque vincla,
et cruce virginea moritura puella pependit.”

Matthew Paris records an ordinance of the king of France in 1248, A. D., that clippers of coin “ patibulis laqueatos vento praesentari;” which is plainly no other than hanging in chains.

INFECTUM . . . SCELUS . . . EXURITUR IGNI.—So *Georg.* 1. 87:

. . . “ illis omne per ignem
excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis humor.”

QUISQUE SUOS PATIMUR MANES. EXINDE PER AMPLUM MITTIMUR ELYSIUM, ET PAUCI LAETA ARVA TENEMUS.—It has been argued concerning these verses that they are either misplaced and should come after the three following lines, or that they are interpolated—“ Ut nunc versus se ordine excipiant, aut nova in Elysio fit, aut inchoata ante animarum purgatio in Elysio absolvitur, quod omnino novum est et insolens. Nam si vss. 743, 744 iam peracta purgatione, in Elysium missae sunt animae, quomodo iterum v. 745 sequi potest DONEC LONGA DIES, &c., hoc est, DONEC *purgatae fuerint*? Itaque suspicari licet versus esse transpositos; et retrahendos vss. 745-747 ante 743 [a change in the order of the verses which has been actually adopted not merely by the Parma editor and Brunck and Bothe, but even by Ribbeck]. . . Enimvero quo curatius hunc locum inspicio, eo manifestius mihi fit, versus esse, seu a poeta nondum expolitos, nec in suum numerum et ordinem redactos, seu, quod multo magis probabile, supposititios et e margine illatos 743, 744,” Heyne. On the contrary, the verses are genuine and in their proper place; an intercalation of the author himself to meet the obvious objection not only of Aeneas on the moment, but of every reader: “ How is the account you are now giving consistent with your being found yourself here in Elysium—verse 638 :

“ devenere locos lactos et amoena vireta
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas ;”

and, still more explicit, 5. 734: 'amoena piorum concilia Elysiumque colo'? It is as impossible, on the one hand, that you, so lately dead, should already have undergone this tedious purgatory, as it is impossible, on the other, that you should be here in Elysium without having undergone it, without having had your mortal alloy thoroughly purged out." The two verses afford as satisfactory an answer as could perhaps be given to so embarrassing a question. "Everyone is treated according to his particular circumstances—*QUISQUE SUOS PATIMUR MANES*; the more impure, the longer the purification; the less impure, the shorter. With very exalted spirits, the process is little more than a form, and we are despatched off-hand to wide Elysium, where a few of us (*PAUCI*) remain permanently, while the greater number are sent back again, as you see yonder, to life;" the last clause of the intercalation having for its object to parry the further and no less obvious inquiry, "is your stay also in Elysium to be as temporary as that of all those whom we see yonder at the river's side?" The passage being thus understood, the change of person from the third to the first has a satisfactory explanation, Anchises digressing in the clauses, *PATIMUR*, *MITTIMUR*, and *TENEMUS*, from the more general account of the whole human race, broken off at *IGNI* and resumed at *DONEC*, to the particular account of the category to which he himself belongs.

MANES.—**Not**, according to Servius's first guess, "supplicia quae sunt apud Manes," this being a meaning of *Manes* not only without example, but plainly invented to serve the present occasion; nor, according to Servius's second guess, "genios quos cum vita sortimur," a meaning no less without example, and even if admitted to be one of the meanings of the term, affording no intelligible sense in our context; nor yet with Mr. Munro, *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, vol. 2, No. 3, page 145: "garb of death, i. e., the shadowy semblance of one's living self which the dead spirit [!] was supposed to assume at the funeral pile or elsewhere [!]"—a meaning as wholly without example as either of the former, and affording in the context a scarcely more intelligible sense, **but** the state of death, i. e., the state of disembodied

spirits in Hades, exactly as (a), Val. Flacc. 1. 649 :

. . . "nec iam merito tibi, Typhi, quietum
ulla parens volet Elysium *Manesque* piorum"

[the state, condition, or place of the pious dead]. (*b*), Stat.
Theb. 11. 562 (of Eteocles) :

. . . "nondum ille *peractis*
Manibus ultrices animam servabat in iras"

(where "nondum *peractis Manibus*" is : *the state of death not being yet completely brought about ; in other words, Eteocles not being yet completely dead*). (*c*), Ovid, *Met. 9. 406* (of Amphiaras) :

"seductaque suos *Manes* tellure videbit
vivos adhuc vates"

[will, while yet living, see himself dead, will go down alive to the state of the dead, will witness his own death]. **And** (*d*), even Ovid, *Trist. 5. 14. 12* :

"nil feret ad *Manes* divitis umbra suos,"

the very passage cited by Wagner (1861) in proof of his assertion : "Quod in vivo homine corpus est, id in mortuo umbra ; quod animus, manes," and his consequent interpretation of our text : "Itaque MANES SUOS pati, quandoquidem agitur de supplicii interpretabimur : poenas libidinum atque omnis pravitatis suae pati," Ovid's meaning being, all the while, *not the shadow of the body will carry down to the departed spirit, but the shadow (or departed spirit) will carry down to its state of being, or place, in Hades*. See Macrobius, *Somn. Scip. 1. 10* : "Secundum haec igitur quae a theologis asseruntur, si vere QUISQUE SUOS PATIMUR MANES, et inferos in his corporibus esse credimus, quid aliud intelligendum est, quam mori animam, cum ad corporis inferna demergitur : vivere autem, cum ad supera post corpus evadit?" i. e., "if we are, as the theologists say, actually at present suffering a state of the dead, from which we are to be relieved at our death," etc.—in which passage of Macrobius it will be observed that not only "*Manes*" but "*inferos*" is used in the precise sense which I assign to MANES in our text.

PATIMUR.—Not *suffer as punishment*, but *undergo*, are *subjected to*; as Lucan, 5. 86 (of the Delphic shrine):

“quis latet hic superum? quod numen ab aethere pressum
dignatur caecas inclusum habitare cavernas?
quis *terram* caeli *patitur* deus, omnia cursus
aeterni secreta tenens, mundique futuri
consciis, ac populis sese proferre paratus,
contactusque ferens hominum, magnusque, potensque,
sive canit fatum, seu quod iubet ille canendo
fit fatum?”

where a god of heaven is said to suffer earth; precisely as in our text a man of earth is said to suffer MANES, *i. e.*, Hades, or the state or place of the dead, the state or place of disembodied spirits. Nay, we have even “*patimur caelum*,” *viz.*, in the sense of bearing the sky, *i. e.*, the climate, Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 3. 7:

“*nec caelum patimur, nec aquis assuevimus istis.*”

The expression *pati MANES* receives also some light no less from the expression “*pati exequias*” used by Venant. Fortun. *Poem.* 3. 9 (of Christ):

“*funeris exequias pateris, vitae autor, et orbis,*”

than from the expression “*pati sepulcra*,” used by Symposius, *Aenigm.* 53 (“*Vitis*”):

“*nolo toro iungi, quamvis placet esse maritam.
nolo virum thalamo; per me mea nata propago est.
nolo sepulcra pati; scio me submergere terra,*”

and the expression “*perpeti mortalia membra*” used by Val. Flacc. 3. 378:

“*non si mortalia membra,
sortitusque breves, et parvi tempora fati
perpetimur.*”

As “*pati exequias*” (*to suffer or undergo obsequies*) is *to be buried*, and “*pati sepulcra*” (*to suffer or undergo sepulture*) is also *to be buried*, and “*perpeti mortalia membra*,” &c., *to be short-lived*, so *pati MANES* (*to suffer or undergo Manes*) is *to be Manes*. Very parallel to the passage before us is *Georg.* 4. 225:

“*hinc
quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,*”

meaning that everyone at his birth gets or is subjected to a particular life, a life of a peculiar, separate kind, as, in our text, everyone at his death gets or is subjected to a particular MANES, a particular kind of death-existence.

EXINDE PER AMPLUM MITTIMUR ELYSIUM, ET PAUCI LAETA ARVA TENEMUS.—The PER and the AMPLUM indicate the abundance of space in Elysium, where each has sufficient room without interfering with or encroaching on his neighbour. See Rem. on 3. 631.

LAETA ARVA.—A repetition under another form of ELYSIUM in the preceding part of the line, according to our author's usual habit of avoiding alike the repetition of the originally assumed term and the substitution for it of the personal pronoun, by the use of a new substantive (often joined with its own adjective or participle or adverb); which new substantive represents and brings back to mind the original term.

745-751.

DONEC LONGA DIES PERFECTO TEMPORIS ORBE
CONCRETAM EXEMIT LABEM PURUMQUE RELIQUIT
AETHERIUM SENSUM ATQUE AURAI SIMPLICIS IGNEM
HAS OMNES UBI MILLE ROTAM VOLVERE PER ANNOS
LETHAEUM AD FLUVIUM DEUS EVOCAT AGMINE MAGNO
SCILICET IMMEMORES SUPERA UT CONVEXA REVISANT
RURSUS ET INCIPIANT IN CORPORA VELLE REVERTI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 746).

RELINQUIT ■ *Vat., Med.* ■■ $\frac{3}{5}$. ■■■ Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*).

RELIQUIT ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■ $\frac{4}{5}$. ■■■ Ven. 1471; Mil. 1475; P. Manut.;
D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Phil.; Pott.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 750).

REVISANT RURSUS, ET INCIP. ■■■ Wakef.; Süpfle.

REVISANT, RURSUS ET INCIP. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Thiel;
Jahn.

REVISANT RURSUS ET INCIP. ■■■ Wagn. (1861); Forb.; Conington.

HAS OMNES (vs. 748).—Not the whole of those of whom he has been speaking in the immediately preceding lines, but that special crowd which had attracted the attention of Aeneas, vs. 703, and concerning which he had made the inquiry QUIVE VIRI TANTO COMPLERINT AGMINE RIPAS, and had received the answer ANIMAE QUIBUS ALTERA FATO CORPORA DEBENTUR. The increasing curiosity of Aeneas concerning these “animae” and the river on whose banks they were collected—an increasing curiosity manifested by the second and more urgent inquiry: O PATER, ANNE ALIQUAS, &c.—had made it necessary for Anchises to give a general description (PRINCIPIO—IGNEM, vv. 724-47) of the purgatorial process undergone by souls in Hades. This description finished at IGNEM, vs. 747. Anchises returns (see Rem. on l. 150) to the particular subject of Aeneas’s curiosity, the “animae” gathered on the banks of Lethe, and says HAS OMNES, “this crowd concerning which you just now asked me consists of those who, having completed their thousand years in Elysium after their expurgation, are in a fit state to re-ascend to earth, and, preparatory to such re-ascent, are brought down, as you see, to Lethe, to drink the waters of that river, in order that in their new life they may have no recollection of their old (SCILICET IMMEMORES, &c.).” At the same time, although HAS OMNES thus points out the special crowd concerning which Aeneas had inquired and concerning which Anchises had undertaken to inform him fully and not keep him in suspense—

DICAM EQUIDEM, NEC TE SUSPENSUM, NATE, TENEBRO—

the reader must not fall into the mistake that the purified souls are divided into two categories, one consisting of those who remain permanently in Elysium, and the other of those who are specially

selected for re-ascent to earth. On the contrary, our author's meaning is, that all the purified souls after a thousand years' residence in Elysium are alike brought down to Lethe and alike re-ascent to earth, and the *HAS OMNES* are those of them who at the time of Aeneas's visit had already undergone their thousand years of preparation and were then ready for the re-ascent. In nothing is our author's admirable tact more conspicuous than in the manner in which the whole account is calculated to flatter Roman vanity, and especially the vanity of Augustus. The special attention of Aeneas is attracted by the concourse and bustle on the banks of Lethe. To his inquiry concerning it, Anchises answers that this was the very thing he had been so anxious to show and explain to his son: that those were the souls of the blest, preparing to ascend to earth and become his Roman posterity; that yonder was Silvius the Alban king, yonder Procas, yonder Capys, yonder Numitor; that there were the founders of Nomentum and Gabii and Fidenae and Collatium; there Romulus, the son of Mars, the founder of Rome itself; there Julius, the head of the long Julian line; and there, greatest of all, Augustus; there every remarkable hero of the Roman history, from the foundation of the city down to the time in which the poem was written: the prophet, wiser than most prophets, prophesying no further than his own time, eschewing the *à priori*, and fearlessly divining *à posteriori* alone. To this splendid spectacle of foreshadowed Roman grandeur, the whole account of the original animation of all things by the divine spirit, of the corruption of the compound arising, of course, as in our own cosmogony, from the earthly ingredient, of the purging out of this corruption and of the restoration of the spiritual part to its primitive purity, is but subsidiary—an explanation necessary to satisfy Aeneas and, of course, the reader, how it happened that souls having had experience of the wretchedness of this life should yet desire to return to it even from Elysium:

O PATER, ANNE ALIQUAS AD CAELUM HINC IRE PUTANDUM EST
 SUBLIMES ANIMAS, ITERUMQUE AD TARDA REVERTI
 CORPORA ? QUAE LUCIS MISERIS TAM DIRA CUPIDO ?

Nay, the whole of Aeneas's journey to the shades is made with

the same ultimate purpose of flattering the vanity of the author's fellow-countrymen and especially the vanity of Augustus himself by the prefiguration of their and his greatness—see 5. 737:

“tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.”

The inculcated doctrine, it will be observed, is precisely the *e contra* of ours, inasmuch as it is to the effect that Elysium is the recruiting place for this world, not this world the recruiting place for Elysium.

If it was its subtle flattery of the Romans and the great head of the Roman empire which contributed more than any other of its characteristics to the success of the Aeneid as a poem, not only at its first appearance but for many ages after, and indeed so long as the Roman empire lasted, a success so great as to place its author not merely on a level with, but even above, the author of the Iliad, it is mainly the same flattery, the same manifest ignoble end and tendency and scope of the work, which in later times has produced the opposite effect, the disparagement and debasement from its otherwise well-merited elevation, of a poem too essentially and intrinsically Roman to interest in the highest degree any but Romans, and easily driven out of the field by any work, no matter how inferior, which, following the example it had itself set, addressed itself to the vanity, tastes and prejudices of its contemporaries.

HAS is emphatic not merely as a pronoun placed before its verb, and (see Rem. on 2. 247) first word of the line, but as the repetition of HAS, verse 716. To this HAS, so repeated, or, in other words, to the souls pointed to by this HAS, the whole intervening account (vv. 716-747) refers.

ROTAM (vs. 748).—Viz., *aeri, temporis*. Compare Sil. 6. 120 (ed. Ruperti):

“talīs lege deū clivoso tramite vitae
per varios praeceps casus rota volvitur aevi.”

Anacr. 4. 7 (ed. Barnes):

τροχος αρματος γαρ οια
βιοτος τρεχει κυλισθεις,
ολιγη δε κεισομεσθα
κονις, οστων λυθεντων.

SCILICET IMMEMORES SUPERA UT CONVEXA REVISANT RURSUS, ET INCIPIANT IN CORPORA VELLE REVERTI.—The pause which the editors have put at REVISANT shows that they have wholly misunderstood the sense, which is not that the souls may revisit the SUPERA CONVEXA again, and there, viz., in the SUPERA CONVEXA, acquire the desire to return into the flesh, but that the souls may acquire the desire to return into the flesh and revisit the upper world (or this earth) again; INCIPIANT IN CORPORA VELLE REVERTI and SUPERA CONVEXA REVISANT being mutually explanatory (or different views of the same object, viz., the return to this life); RURSUS belonging to REVISANT, not to INCIPIANT; and the two sentences constituting Virgil's usual *υστερον προτερον*. The pause is, therefore, to be removed from REVISANT and placed after RURSUS. Compare 7. 767 (of Hippolytus):

. . . “ad sidera rursus
aetheria et superas caeli venisse sub auras.”

REVISANT RURSUS.—Let no one be offended with the seeming pleonasm. We have, Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 3. 81: “iterum revisam;” Id. *Met.* 12. 557: “rursus reponere;” Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4. 4: “rursum reverterunt;” *ibid.* 6. 3: “rursus reduxit;” Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3. 93: “rursus renovato cursu;” Virg. *Georg.* 2. 231: “omnemque repones rursus humum” (where “rursus” occupies the same position with respect to “repones” as in our text with respect to REVISANT); *ibid.* 2. 480: “rursusque in se ipsa residant;” *ibid.* 2. 78: “aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur;” *Aen.* 4. 531: “rursusque resurgens saevit amor;” *ibid.* 9. 391: “rursus perplexum iter omne revolvens.”

SUPERA CONVEXA.—The upper world as opposed to the Inferi, or Manes.

IMMEMORES.—The gist of Anchises' long answer to the question:

O PATER, ANNE ALIQUAS AD CAELUM HINC IRE PUTANDUM EST
SUBLIMES ANIMAS, ITERUMQUE AD TARDA REVERTI
CORPORA? QUAE LUCIS MISERIS TAM DIRA CUPIDO?

In order that the souls should be willing and desirous (CUPIDO in Aeneas's question and VELLE in the answer of Anchises) to

ascend into life, it was necessary that they should first lose all memory of previous existence, not only the memory of the wretchedness they had formerly suffered in the world, and during their expurgation in Hades, but all memory also of the blessedness they were leaving behind in Elysium; and so in fact ran the myth. Compare Sil. 13. 558 :

“ hac animae caelum repetunt ; ac mille peractis
oblitae Ditem redeunt in corpora lustris.”

Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1. 12 : “ Nam si animae memoriam rerum divinarum, quarum in caelo erant consciae, ad corpora usque deferrent, nulla inter homines foret de divinitate dissensio. Sed *oblivionem* quidem omnes descendendo hauriunt ; aliae vero magis, minus aliae.” Recollection of the past lost, instinctive love of life comes into play unopposed, and the souls begin IN CORPORA VELLE REVERTI. How natural this VELLE will appear to anyone who considers how few there are who do not retain it even in spite of a clear and perfect memory of a most wretched past ; how very few and rare, indeed, are those who at the last moment of a well-remembered, proverbially wretched, existence do not turn from non-existence with horror, and clutch with almost frantic desperation at the flimsiest straw, the vainest shadow, the minutest, most impalpable, mote of existence no matter where, or how, or when, or what. It is existence, and they ask no more.

INCIPIANT VELLE.—Compare *Georg.* 4. 448 : “ desine velle.”

761-765.

PROXIMA SORTE TENET LUCIS LOCA PRIMUS AD AURAS
 AETHERIAS ITALO COMMIXTUS SANGUINE SURGET
 SILVIUS ALBANUM NOMEN TUA POSTUMA PROLES
 QUEM TIBI LONGAEVO SERUM LAVINIA CONIUX
 EDUCET SILVIS REGEM REGUMQUE PARENTEM

PROXIMA SORTE TENET LUCIS LOCA.—The meaning is not that the place next the upper world was obtained by Silvius by the actual casting of lots; but, Virgil being a poet, not an historian, and using terms metaphorically, the meaning is that there is Silvius in his allotted (assigned or appointed) place next the upper world. The expression is of the same kind as “sortiti remos,” 3. 510, where see Rem. I am inclined to think that the “urna” and “sors” of Horace (*Od.* 2. 3), quoted as grounds for a literal interpretation of our text, are similarly metaphorical, just as his “exilium” in the same sentence certainly is. LUCIS is to be rendered not *light*, but *life*. See Rem. on vs. 721, *supra*.

[*Aliter*]. PROXIMA SORTE TENET LUCIS LOCA.—“Hunc primum sors continget in regiones LUCIS . . . redeundi,” Forbiger. “Proximus est qui in lucem prodeat,” Wagn. (*Praest.*). Who that reads these translations does not see in them the translation not of our text, but of the immediately subsequent PRIMAS AD AURAS AETHERIAS SURGET? Our text must mean something different, or one of the clauses is useless. Besides, by what possibility can *tenere* PROXIMA LOCA LUCIS, *hold the nearest part of the light* (i.e., *of life*), *be rise first to light*? Heinsius, seeing the difficulty, would, if he could, read *luci*, and so obtain the sense, *here in Hades occupies the place nearest the light* (i.e., *nearest life*), an unobjectionable meaning if there were any authority for the reading *luci*, and if all the MSS. did not agree in LUCIS. What then? are we to substitute Heinsius’s conjecture? Not certainly as the only means of

obtaining a good sense out of the passage. To obtain an unexceptionable sense as well as unexceptionable construction we have only to join LUCIS with SORTE. We have then *holds the nearest place by the sors LUCIS*, i. e., by the lots or sortes which determined who was to ascend to life first. Compare 11. 110, "Martis sorte;" 12. 54, "pugnae sorte;" Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 463, "sorte tori;" Id. *Trist.* 5. 3. 28, "sors vitae." The "sors" of our text, viz., the *sors LUCIS*, is thus the exact opposite of the *sors mortis*, that *sors* spoken of by Horace, *Od.* 2. 3. 22:

. . . "omnium
versatur urna, serius, ocius
sors exitura, et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cymbae."

PROXIMA LOCA, absolutely, as vs. 434: "proxima deinde tenent moesti loca," where not only is the thing described similar, but "proxima" and "loca" occupy precisely the same situation in the line, and are separated from each other by precisely the same interval, as in our text.

PROXIMA.—Next or nearest to what? Of course to Anchises, Aeneas, and the Sibyl; for all these Roman worthies not only had their faces turned towards Anchises and his party (ADVERSOS, vs. 755), but were coming towards them (VENIENTUM, *ibid.*). And so precisely PROXIMUS ILLE PROCAS, vs. 767, *that next one* (viz., next to Silvius) *is Procas*.

SILVIUS, ALBANUM NOMEN.—See Rem. on 12. 514.

POSTUMA (vs. 763).—Not with Aul. Gellius, Servius, Heyne, "post humationem parentis creatus;" and Douglas, "born effir thy deces child posthumus;" but with Caesellius (ap. Aul. Gell. 2. 16), Cynth. Cenet., Turnebus, and La Cerda, "qui Aenea iam sene, tardo seroque partu est editus," Gr. *τηλυγετος*: first, because this interpretation alone agrees with the context

QUEM TIBI LONGAERO SERUM LAVINIA CONIUX
EDUCET SILVIS;

secondly, because all mention or even allusion to the death of the person addressed was always studiously avoided by the ancients (as it is indeed still by the moderns) not only as in a

high degree impolite, but as unlucky and ominous; and thirdly, because not only is Silvius expressly stated by Ausonius (*Ep.* 16) to have been the *last* or *latest* son of Aeneas, but stated in such terms as scarcely leave room to doubt that the statement of Ausonius is the mere reiteration of that of Virgil:

“ ut quondam in Albæ moenibus
supremus Aeneae satus
 Silvius Iulis miscuit.”

SERUM (compare 8. 581, Evander, of his son Pallas: “*mea sola et sera voluptas*”) is thus explanatory and complementary of POSTUMA, as “*postumam*” is of “*seram*,” Apul. *Apolog.*: “*Quamquam est praecipiti aevo, tamen suscipiat disciplinam, seram plane et postumam,*” where it will be observed that “*postumam*” cannot have the signification of *post mortem*. Indeed I do not doubt that the spelling of this word with an *h*, and its derivation from *humus*, are both of them the mere work of the grammarians; and, unless an earlier instance of the use of the word in its sense of *post humum* can be adduced, I would be inclined to think that this sense of the word dates from the pun of Plautus, *Aulul.* act 2, sc. 1. 40:

“ post mediam aetatem, qui mediam ducit uxorem domum,
 si eam senex anum praegnantem fortuitu fecerit,
 quid dubitas quin sit paratum nomen puero *Postumus* ?”

771-781.

QUI—HONORE

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 771-2).

QUI IUVENES! QUANTAS OSTENTANT, ASPICE, VIRES! ■■■ Wakef.; Thiel;
 Jahn; Süpfle; Ribb.

QUI IUVENES! QUANTAS OSTENTANT, ASPICE, VIRES, ATQUE . . . QUERCU!
 ■■■ Forb.

QUI IUVENES QUANTAS OSTENTANT, ASPICE, VIRES! ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins.
 QUI IUVENES QUANTAS OSTENTANT, ASPICE, VIRES ■■■ P. Manut.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 775).

LAUDE—SUPERBOS ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Phil.

LAUDE—SUPERBOS * OMITTED ■ *Rom., Pak., Med.* ■■ Cod. Canon.
 (Butler). OMITTED or STIGMATIZED ■■■ Haupt; Wagn.
 (*Praest.*); Ribb.; Weichert.

TERRAE (vs. 777).—"Erdplätze," Thiel. "Länder," Voss.
 This is not the meaning. "Terra" is here used as generic
 appellation of an inhabited place, whether city, town, village,
 or hamlet, and corresponds exactly to the German *ort*, and the
 English *place*. So Ovid, *Met.* 6. 70 (of the web woven by Pallas
 in her contest with Arachne):

"Cecropia Pallas scopulum Mavortis in arce
 pingit, et antiquam de *terrae* nomine litem,"

where "*terrae*" is the city ("urbem," verse 77) which is to get
 the name, viz., the city of Athens. The Italians use the word
 (as well as its diminutive *terretta*) in the same sense to the pre-
 sent day, as Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 5. 78:

"non cavalcaro molto, ch' a le mura
 si trovar de la *terra*, e in su la porta;"

and *ibid.*:

. . . "la battaglia . . .
 che tra Lureanio, e un cavalier istrano
 si fa nel' altro capo della *terra*"

(in both which places "*terra*" is the city of St. Andrews in
 Scotland). *Dizionar. Univ. Geograph.*: "Terravalle, grossa *terra*
 del Regn. Lomb. Venet." "Report of General De Failly to the

* This verse is stated by Ruhkopf to have been interpolated by Fabricius Lam-
 pugnani after the introduction of printing. See Ribbeck, whose statement seems
 copied from Ruhkopf, neither of them giving any other authority than "*dicatur*"
 or "*fraude, ut fertur.*"

French minister of war," *La Riforma* (newspaper), 18 Nov. 1867: "Le importanti posizioni di Mentana e di Monterotondo, grosse terre circondate di salde mura, e coperte al nord e al sud da un terreno frastagliato e di molto difficile accesso." Nibby, *Descrizioni di Roma*, I, p. 241 (of Ardea): "Dividesi la città antica in tre parti: quella occupata della terra odierna [*the modern town*], che è la più meridionale essendo la più fortificata in origine, e per estensione la più piccola, fu la città primitiva e poscia la cittadella." *Ibid.*, p. 242: "L'attuale terra di Ardea [*the present town of Ardea*] occupa soltanto il sito della cittadella antica." Rocca (vol. 1, p. 434), *Luoghi occulti della lingua Latina*: "Si accampo appresso alla terra: *apud oppidum castra fecit*." Our author's meaning, therefore, is not that they will build the places mentioned, where there are no places at all, but that they will make the at present existing but inconsiderable and inglorious places (*SINE NOMINE TERRAE*) of Collatia, Pometii, &c., considerable and glorious (*HAEC TUM NOMINA ERUNT*).

SINE NOMINE (vs. 787).—See Remm. on 9. 343; 1. 613; 2. 554; 12. 514.

VIDEN UT GEMINAE STANT VERTICE CRISTAE, ET PATER IPSE SUO SUPERUM IAM SIGNAT HONORE (vv. 780-1).—This so much disputed passage is, I think, to be cleared up by a reference to *Stat. Silv.* 5. 2. 175:

"vade, puer, tantisque enixus suffice donis:
felix qui magno iam nunc sub praeside iuras,
cuique sacer primum tradit Germanicus ense!
non minus hoc fortis, quam si tibi panderet ipse
Bellipotens aquilas, torvaque induceret ora
casside."

The parallelism between the two passages is complete. In both the reference is to the induction of a neophyte into the profession of arms; in Statius, to that of Crispinus by his patron Germanicus, whose equipping of him with his arms is stated by the poet to have been as auspicious as if the ceremony had been performed by Mars himself, as if Mars himself had set the helmet on his head; in Virgil, the reference is to the similar

induction or installation of Romulus here in the under-world, and before his birth, by the actual *setting of the helmet on his head* by his father, the god of war himself. Compare Sil. 13. 361 :

“ Fulvius, ut finem spoliandis aedibus, aere
belligero revocante, dedit, sublimis ab alto
suggestu, magnis fautor non futilis ausis :
‘ Lanuvio generate,’ inquit, ‘ quem Sospita Iuno
dat nobis, Milo, *Gradivi* cape victor *honorem*,
tempora murali cinctus turrita *corona*,”

where the “*honos Gradivi*” is conferred, in the shape of a mural crown, on the victorious soldier. Also Id. 10. 397 :

. . . “ *nudae plerisque sinistrae*
detrito clipeo ; *desunt pugnacibus enses* ;
saucius omnis eques ; *galeis* carpere *superbum*
cristarum decus, et *damnarunt Martis honores*,”

where “*Martis honores*” are the crested helmets of the soldiers, perhaps also the swords, shields, or other arms. Compare also Tacit. *Germ.* 13 : “*Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant.*”

PATER.—Not, with Heyne and Wagner, PATER SUPERUM, first because of the intervening suo, and secondly because it was not the part of Jupiter to bestow martial honours; but, with Servius, Cynth. Cenet., Voss and Ladewig, PATER eius (*Romuli*), i. e., Mars, because as it was Venus’s office to bestow beauty, Apollo’s, knowledge of futurity and medicine, Mercury’s, eloquence, Pallas’s, prudence, so it was the special office of Mars to bestow martial honour.

IPSE.—I. e., no less a person than his father himself, that father being the god of war; he received his martial honour from no second or inferior hand, from no king, no deputy, but from Mars himself. For PATER IPSE, compare 11. 558, “*ipse pater*” [the very father, no less a person than the father—viz., of Camilla]; and 7. 92, “*pater ipse*” [the father himself, no less a person than the father—viz., of Lavinia].

SUO HONORE.—That honour which it was Mars’s peculiar

office to bestow, *martial honour*. The words refer back to and explain GEMINAE STANT VERTICE CRISTAE; the two-crested helmet being the emblem of the suo (*Martiali*) HONORE bestowed on him by Mars.

SUPERUM.—Neither, for the reasons assigned above, “superorum,” with Heyne and Wagner, nor “deum,” with Servius, but *virum*, i. e., *inter homines degentem*.

GEMINAE CRISTAE.—Simply another way of saying *helmet*. GEMINAE, because two make a better picture than one; therefore 6. 190: “*geminae columbae*,” and 8. 680: “*geminas cui tempora flammæ laeta vomunt*.” The picture of *helmeted* Romulus is peculiarly proper, Romulus being always represented helmeted. If the following passage of Valerius Maximus (1. 6) be sufficiently explicit to establish the opinion that a double-crested helmet was the peculiar ensign or emblem of Mars: “*Cognitum pariter atque creditum est, Martem patrem tunc populo suo adfuisse: inter cetera huiusce rei manifesta indicia, galea quoque duabus distincta pinnis, qua caeleste caput tectum fuerat, argumentum prae-buit*,” and if, besides, there be sufficient authority for believing that the actual Romulus, in imitation of his reputed father, wore a double-crested helmet, then, in that case, the martial honour with which the god of war is here represented as having decorated his prefigured son is his own double-crested helmet.

[*Utter*]. ET PATER IPSE SUO SUPERUM IAM SIGNAT HONORE.—*And the father of the gods himself already marks him with his own honour*, i. e., with the honour of godhead, Jupiter’s honour being that of being a god. Compare Sil. 3. 601 (Jupiter, in conversation with Venus, of Vespasian):

“*nec Stygis ille lacus viduataque lumine regna,
sed superum sedes, nostrosque tenebit honores,*”

where “*nostros honores*” is *the honour of godhead*. It was to be expected *a priori* that the so famous, and by all Latin poets so much insisted on, translation of Rome’s founder to heaven should not in this solemn review of Rome’s heroes be passed over in total silence; or, it may be, IPSE PATER SIGNAT SUPERUM—

SUPERUM being adjective, as Sil. 1. 17 :

“tantarum causas irarum, odiumque perenni
servatum studio, et mandata nepotibus arma,
fas aperire mihi, *superasque* recludere mentes.”

[*Aliter*]. ET PATER IPSE SUO SUPERUM IAM SIGNAT HONORE.
—“Merito virtutis Mars Romulum deum esse significat,” Servius, understanding PATER to be the father of Romulus, *i. e.*, Mars, and supplying *Romulum* to the accusative SUPERUM. I agree with modern commentators, La Cerda, Heyne, Wagner, in connecting PATER and SUPERUM, and understanding the sense to be: *the father of the gods marks him with honour*. So far I find little difficulty. But the next step is difficult. What honour, and whose honour, is meant? La Cerda gives one answer to the two questions: “Caelestem iam facit, iam hinc destinat in numerum immortalium.” Heyne adopts La Cerda’s answer; while Wagner, in his ed. Heyn., observes: “Suo HONORE: qui ei destinatus est; iam nunc in eo sunt signa futurae magnitudinis; quod nulla causa est, quare accipias de eo superorumcoetui ascribendo;” and in his *Praestabilior*: “Conspicuum facit ea dignitate oris quae in ipso, Iove, explendescit. Cf. *Georg.* 2. 392. Servius accepit: *cum* SUPERUM, *deum*, ut Mars PATER sit Romuli.” “Was ist hiegegen zu erinnern? SUPERUM von suo abhängig gemacht, ware ein flickwort; suo sagt alles. Bei PATER aber hat man schon Mars gedacht, ehe das zweideutige SUPERUM den gedanken an Jupiter richten konnte. Wollte Virgil dieses, so musste er sagen: ET SUPERUM PATER IPSE SUO I. S. H.,” Voss. “Sieh’st du ure auf dem scheitel der zurefache helmbusch steht und der vater selbst (Mars, s. v. 777) ihn schon jetzt mit dem ihm auf der oberwelt eigenen schmucke bezeichnet,” Ladewig.

There is also Ovid, *Met.* 1. 192 (Jupiter threatening the world with the deluge):

“sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica numina, Nymphae,
Fauniquae, Satyrique, et monticolae Silvani;
quos quoniam *caeli nondum dignamur honore*,
quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus;”

Ibid. 2. 514 (Juno, complaining of Calisto's and Arcas's promotion to heaven):

“mentiar, obscurum nisi nox cum fecerit orbem,
nuper *honoratus summo*, mea vulnera, *caelo*
videritis stellas illic, ubi circulus axem
ultimus extremum, spatioque brevissimus, ambit.”

782-801.

EN—NILI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 793).

DIVI ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.*: “In Romano cod., in Mediceo, et plerisque aliis legere est DIVI GENUS, id quod in nomismatum etiam inscriptionibus invenias, ut in nummo pulcherrimo, a cuius altera parte C. Caesaris caput habetur, titulus est DIVOS IULIUS, ab altera vero parte Augusti Octaviani caput, cum inscriptione AUGUSTUS DIVI.F., ad quem titulum crediderim hoc loco Virgilium adlusisse. Praetereo vero lapidum inscriptiones quae sunt et in Capitolio et alibi in quibus DIVI F. scriptum observavi. Sane etiam in Porcio cod. DIVI GENUS prius fuit. In eo vero quem Ianus Vitalis mihi tradidit, dubio procul DIVI GENUS legitur,” Pierius. ■■ Servius (“Caesaris, qui factus est deus”); N. Heins. (1670); Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

DIVUM ■■ R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.

EN HUIUS, &c., . . . TENENTES (vv. 782-8).—Byron, in one of the happiest of his passages, gives us the reverse of this fine simile, also applied to Rome, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 4. 78, 79:

“O Rome! my country! city of the soul!
the orphans of the heart must turn to thee,
lone mother of dead empires! and control
in their shut breasts their petty misery. . . .
The Niobe of nations! there she stands
childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;
an empty urn within her withered hands,
whose holy dust was scattered long ago.”

Pity that Lord Byron was not equal to sustain this unusually fine image. The very next line spoils it all by the confusion which it makes between the real urn of which it speaks and the figurative urn of the lines immediately preceding :

“ The Scipios’ tomb contains no ashes now ;
 the very sepulchres lie tenantless
 of their heroic dwellers : dost thou flow,
 old Tyber, through a marble wilderness ?
 rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress ! ”

otherwise the comparison of Rome, in her present desolate state, to Niobe is quite equal to Virgil’s comparison of her, in her palmy state, to Cybele. His previous comparison (stanza 2 of the same canto) of Venice to the turret-crowned Cybele is one of a different kind :

“ She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
 rising with her tiara of proud towers
 at airy distance with majestic motion,
 a ruler of the waters and their powers :
 and such she was :—her daughters had their dowers
 from spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
 poured in her lap all gems in sparkling showers :
 in purple was she robed, and of her feast
 monarchs partook, and deemed their dignity increased ; ”

the resemblance in the case of this comparison being only between the domes of Venice and the turret crown of the goddess, and not extending, as in the case of Virgil’s, to the children of the goddess and the heroes, the offspring of the city. Byron’s idea was borrowed, as he himself informs us, from Sabellicus, *de Venetæ Urbis Situ Narratio* (Taur. 1527), lib. 1, fol. 202 : “ Quo fit, ut, qui superne urbem contempletur, turritam telluris imaginem medio oceano figuratam se putet inspicere.” Milton is, as usual, correct, *Arcades*, 20 :

“ might she the wise Latona be,
 or the towered Cybele,
 mother of a hundred gods.”

ROMANOSQUE TUOS (vs. 790).—“ TUOS seems to be emphatic—*Romans of your own stock*,” Conington. I think not. Tuos

to be emphatic should be placed in the emphatic position. But it is not. That position is occupied by *ROMANOS*. *ROMANOS*, therefore, is the emphatic word, and the meaning is *the Romans, the great and mighty Romans, your children*. *ROMANOS* acquires this emphasis not merely by its position—first word in the line and followed closely by a full pause (see Rem. on 2. 247)—but by the preparation made for it as well by the whole of the preceding line as by *HANC GENTEM*, of which it is the emphatic repetition. The second word in the line, when it at the same time closes a sentence, is never emphatic, but the first word always is. Thus, vs. 794: "*Latio regnata per arva Saturno quondam*," it is not "*quondam*," but "*Saturno*," on which both the emphasis of the thought and the *ictus* of the voice falls; vs. 795: "*super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium*," the important emphatic word is not "*imperium*," but "*proferet*;" vs. 803: "*aut Erymanthi pacarit nemora*," the important emphatic word is not "*nemora*," but "*pacarit*;" vs. 809: "*ille autem ramis insignis olivae sacra ferens*," the important word is not "*ferens*," but "*sacra*;" vs. 769, "*Silvius*," not "*Aeneas*;" vs. 740, "*supplicia*," not "*expendunt*;" vs. 711, "*inscius*," not "*Aeneas*;" vs. 603, "*imminet*," not "*adsimilis*;" and so on through the whole poem.

HIC CAESAR ET OMNIS IULI PROGENIES, MAGNUM CAELI VENTURA SUB AXEM (vv. 790-91).—In other words: *about to come upon earth*. Compare Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 216 (Pallas to Dis when he appears on earth in order to carry off Proserpine):

. . . "tua cur sede relictâ
audes Tartareis caelum incestare quadrigis,"

as we would say, *the light of day, or the face of heaven*. In both places the notion is that of coming from another world, from another state of existence, into this world, described or contradistinguished by its relationship to the sky or air. Compare also Pind. *Theb.* 899:

"quem nisi servasset magnarum rector aquarum,
ut profugus laetis Troiam repararet in arvis,
Augustumque genus claris submitteret astris,
non claræ gentis nobis mansisset origo,"

the last but one of which verses is so exactly parallel to our text, and the expression “claris submitteret astris” so almost identical with Claudian’s “ederet astrorum radiis,” *Laus Serenae*, 46:

. . . “necdum moderamina mundi
sumserat illa domus, cum te Lucina beatis
ederet astrorum radiis,”

as to leave no doubt in my mind that Mueller (ad Pindar. Theb. 901) is as correct in understanding the words of Pindarus Thebanus to mean the mere birth of the “Augustum genus” into this world as Lachmann, *Bericht der Verhandl. der Berl. Acad. der Wissensch.*, 1841, p. 3, is incorrect in understanding them to mean its apotheosis, and using them for the purpose of fixing the date of the composition of the *Homerus Latinus* to be anterior to the death of Tiberius: “Die verse waren nicht mehr wahr und schicklich nachdem Tiberius gestorben und nicht vergöttert war.” See Rem. on “astra,” 3. 567.

CAELI AXEM.—“Merely i. q. caelum, the light of the upper world,” Conington. No, no; *the rolling heaven or sky, the heavens regarded as turning on a pivot, pole or axis*; as Ovid, *Fust.* 4. 179:

“ter sine perpetuo caelum versetur in axe;
ter iungat Titan, terque resolvat equos;”

Id. Trist. 1. 3. 47:

“iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat,
versaue ab axe suo Parrhasis Arctos erat;”

Aen. 2. 250: “vertitur interea caelum;” *ibid.* 4. 481:

. . . “ubi maximus Atlas
axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum;”

in every one of which passages we have the revolving motion distinctly specified. As here axis, the imaginary central line on which the sky revolves, is taken for the revolving sky itself, so elsewhere the axis or axle of a chariot is taken for the chariot itself.

HIC VIR, HIC EST (vs. 792).—English, *this, this is the man*.

DIVI GENUS (vs. 793).—*I. e.*, DIVI Iulii GENUS, exactly as,

verse 840: "genus armipotentis Achilli;" 10. 228: "deum gens." Divi, the generally accepted reading, is confirmed by Cynth. Cenet., who says, very explicitly: "Legendum est DIVI, et non DIVUM; nam genus fuit Caesaris divi."

IACET EXTRA SIDERA TELLUS, EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS, UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS AXEM HUMERO TORQUET STELLIS ARDENTIBUS APTUM (vv. 796-8).—The clause EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS explains the clause EXTRA SIDERA, and the clause UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS, &c., explains the clause EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS, as if Virgil had said: EXTRA SIDERA, EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS, *extra illam plagam* UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS, &c. In other words, the three expressions EXTRA SIDERA, EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS, UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS AXEM HUMERO TORQUET STELLIS ARDENTIBUS APTUM, designate, each in a different manner, the same thing, viz., the boundary, towards the south, of the habitable world; EXTRA SIDERA expressing that limit loosely and generally, EXTRA ANNI SOLISQUE VIAS expressing the same limit more particularly (explaining what the author meant by the term EXTRA SIDERA), and UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS, &c., filling up and ornamenting the picture with the giant figure supposed to stand upon and mark that extreme limit. Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 517:

Ατλας δ' ουρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερὴς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
πειράσιν ἐν γαίῃς, προπάρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων
ἐστῆως, κεφαλὴ τε καὶ ἀκαματοῖσι χερεσσί.

Eurip. *Hipp.* 1:

πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι, κοῦκ ἀνωγυμὸς
θεὰ κεκλημαὶ Κυπρίς, οὐρανοῦ τ' ἐσώ,
οἱ τε πόντου θερμῶν τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν
ναίουσιν εἰσώ, φῶς ὀρώντες ἡλίου.

Ibid. 751:

Ἑσπερίδων δ' ἐπὶ μῆλοσπορον ἀκτὰν
ἀνυσταίμι ταν αἰοῖδαν,
ἰν' ὁ ποντομέδων
πορφύρεας λίμνης
ναύταις οὐκ ἐθ' ὁδὸν νέμει,
σεμνὸν τερμῶνα κυρῶν
οὐρανοῦ, τὰν Ἀτλὰς ἔχει.

Ibid. 1066 :

HIPP. αλλα μ' ἐξέλας χθονος ;

THE. περὰ γε πορτου, τερμονων τ' Ἀτλαντικων,
εἰ πως δυναμην.

Lucr. 5. 36 :

“ propter Atlanteum litus, pelagique severa,
quo neque noster adit quisquam, neque barbarus audet.”

Hor. *Od.* 1. 34. 11 :

“ quo Styx, et invisi horrida Taenari
sedes, Atlanteusque finis
concutitur.”

Lucan. 9. 867 (Cato's army in Africa retreating before Caesar):

. . . “sed longius ista
nulla iacet tellus, quam fama cognita nobis
tristia regna Iubae
. evolvimur orbe,
terga damus ferienda Noto”

[Qu. ?—go beyond the south pole, and no longer meet the south wind blowing in our face, but have it blowing on our backs].

Ibid. 9. 604 (of Cato's march in Africa southward of the temple of Ammon) :

. . . “iam spissior ignis,
et plaga, qua nullam superi mortalibus ultra
a medio fecere die, calcatur, et unda
rarior.”

IACET EXTRA SIDERA TELLUS.—As we say vulgarly, “beyond God speed,” and as Shakespeare said, *Tempest*, act 2, sc. 1 :

“ ANT. Who's the next heir of Naples ?

SEN. Claribel.

ANT. She that is queen of Tunis ; she that dwells
ten leagues beyond man's life ; she that from Naples
can have no note, unless the sun were post,
(the man i' th' moon 's too slow), till new-born chins
be rough and razorable.”

MAXIMUS (vs. 797).—Adopting the suggestion of Keil (*Götting. Philol.* vol. 2, p. 166), I read MAXIMUS, not CAELIFER, first,

because MAXIMUS is cited by Probus, *Ecl.* 6. 31; and, secondly, because CAELIFER seems to be a mere gloss or interpretation of AXEM HUMERO TORQUET. But why not AXEM HUMERO TORQUET a variation of the theme CAELIFER, according to my own principle? Because theme and variation require two sentences, two verbs, two actions; whereas CAELIFER AXEM HUMERO TORQUET is only one sentence descriptive of one action, and AXEM HUMERO TORQUET contains in itself the whole idea expressed by CAELIFER. Either, therefore, Virgil wrote MAXIMUS, or, if he wrote CAELIFER, was guilty of a *fade* repetition.

AXEM (vs. 798).—See Rem. on vs. 791.

TURBANT TREPIDA (vs. 801).—The two words coalesce into the one notion of *flutter*, exactly as the two words “improvida turbat,” 2. 200, where see Rem., coalesce into the one notion of *alarm*.

807-813.

ET DUBITAMUS ADHUC VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS
AUT METUS AUSONIA PROHIBET CONSISTERE TERRA
QUIS PROCUL ILLE AUTEM RAMIS INSIGNIS OLIVAE
SACRA FERENS NOSCO CRINES INCANAQUE MENTA
REGIS ROMANI PRIMUS QUI LEGIBUS URBEM
FUNDABIT CURIBUS PARVIS ET PAUPERE TERRA
MISSUS IN IMPERIUM MAGNUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 807).

VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS [* *Med.* **■** $\frac{1}{2}$, Servius]. **■■■** Ven. 1470;
Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; Wakef.

[VIRTUTE EXTENDERE VIRES *■ Pal., Rom.* **■■** $\frac{1}{2}$].

VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE VIRES **■■■** Diomedes.

* The readings supplied within square brackets are taken from Ribbeck, an important slip of Dr. Henry's *variae lectiones* having been lost.—J. F. D.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 810).

PRIMAM ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "In plerisque codd. antiquis PRIMAM legitur," Pierius. ■■ ††; cod. Camerarii (Bersm.). ■■■ Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*; Prino.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; R. Steph.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Voss; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

PRIMUS ■■ †. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471; Mod.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Wakef.

PRIMUM ■ "In Mediceo PRIMUM est," Pierius. ■■ †.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 812).

FUNDABIT ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■■ Cod. Reg. Spartiani, *Vita Hadriani* (Casaub.); R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

FUNDAVIT ■■■ Cod. Pal. Spartiani, *Vita Hadriani* (Gruter).

VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS.—Even supposing that the MS. authority in support of the reading VIRTUTE EXTENDERE VIRES were *equal to that on which the reading VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS rests—even supposing that Servius had recognised both readings alike and not the latter only, and that the latter reading were not so remarkably confirmed by 10. 468: "famam extendere factis, hoc virtutis opus," as well as by the *Epist. ad Liviam*, 447:

"quid numeras annos? vixi maturior annis.

acta senem faciunt: haec numeranda tibi.

his aevum fuit implendum, non senibus annis.

hostibus eveniat longa senecta meis,"

I should yet be very unwilling to agree to the ejection from the text of a reading which is, at least, good Latin, in order to make room for a reading involving an expression hardly Latin ("EXTENDERE VIRES antequam probemus, idoneis exemplis demonstrandum erit, Latinum id esse," Wagner, ed. Heyn.), and for which I have as yet found no parallel except Livy's (7. 25, ed. Walker) "*extendere omnes imperii vires consules delectu habendo*

* See note on the preceding page. As the lines are wanting in the *Vat. Fr.* it may be supposed that Dr. Henry had found that a great majority of second class MSS. have VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS.—J. F. D.

iussit," where the reading "extendere" is not only doubtful, but, if accepted (viz., in place of "ostendere"), affords no good sense. But the expression VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS, although good Latin, affords, it will be said, a sense almost, if not quite, as weak as VIRTUTE EXTENDERE VIRES. To be sure, if no better sense can be obtained for it than *spread one's glory wide by brave deeds* ("VIRTUTEM per facta exerere ut multa strenue facta edas," Heyne; "durch that zu verbreiten die tugend," Voss; "to spread far and wide," Forcell.); but unless I greatly mistake, a much better meaning for the words suggests itself on a comparison of them with the parallel passage of Silius, 9. 373 (of Paullus Aemilius):

"is postquam frangi res, atque augescere vidit
exitium, 'brevis hoc vitae quodeunque relictum
extendamus,' ait, 'nam virtus futile nomen,
ni decori sat sint pariendo tempora leti.'
dixit; et in medios, qua dextera concita Poeni
limitem agit, vasto connixus turbine fertur,"

where the meaning can only be: *having but a few moments to live, let me extend those moments by brave deeds, i. e., let me by brave deeds, in the short space of time I have to live, extend my life, the fame of my life, beyond my life's actual limits, into future ages.* That this is Paullus's meaning is placed beyond doubt by his immediately rushing into the midst of the enemy in order to do those brave deeds which should *extend* his life, the fame of his life, *into future ages*, and then die on the spot. Exactly similar is the meaning of "*famam extendere factis*" in that passage of our author, 10. 467, which furnished Silius with his model:

. . . "breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae; sed *famam extendere factis*
hoc virtutis opus,"

not merely *extend one's fame far and wide about one's self and during one's life*, but (as shown by the opposition between "*breve tempus vitae*" and "*extendere*," and Sallust's precisely parallel "*Quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere*," and Cicero's (*de Senect.* ed. Lamb. p. 415, l. 48) "*Quum enim id [extremum tempus vitae] advenit, tunc illud quod praeteriit effluxit; tantum remanet,*

quod *virtute et recte factis* consecutus sis”) *lengthen one’s fame, extend one’s fame into future ages.* Compare Sil. 2. 511 (Fide speaking):

“*extendam leti decus, atque in sæcula mittam,*”

where “*decus*” is the *VIRTUTEM* of our text, and where “*extendam*” is explained by “*in sæcula mittam*,” and Sil. 13. 634 (his mother’s shade to Scipio):

“*verum age, nate, tuos ortus, ne bella pavescas
ulla, nec in caelum dubites te tollere factis,
quando aperire datur nobis, nunc denique disce,*”

an amplification and pushing to its utmost of the thought

ET DUBITAMUS ADHUC VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS ?

How very much Latin writers use *extendere* in this sense, viz., of *extending, lengthening into futurity*, will farther appear on a comparison of Livy, 28. 43, where Scipio replies to Fabius in the senate: “*tanquam non longius, quam quantum vitæ humanæ spatium est, cupiditas gloriæ extendatur, maximaque pars eius in memoriam ac posteritatem promineat;*” of Plin. *Ep.* 5. 8 (of writing history): “*Mihi pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere, quibus æternitas debeatur, aliorumque famam cum sua extendere;*” and *ibid.* 7. 31: “*cuius [Bassi] memoriam tam grata prædicatione prorogat et extendit, ut librum de vita eius ediderit*”—in all which instances the notion expressed by *extendere* is that of extension in length, lengthening, the very notion expressed by it in the phrases “*extendere vitam*,” Sil. 2. 102:

“*verum ut, opum levior, venatu extendere vitam
abnuat;*”

“*extendere lucem*,” Sil. 2. 524:

“*sed prohibet culpa pollutam extendere lucem
casta Fides;*”

“*extendere ævum*,” Sil. 3. 94:

. . . “*te longa stare senecta,
ævumque extendisse velim.*”

EXTENDERE VIRTUTEM, then, in our text, and “*extendere famam*,” 10. 468, is not merely *to spread wide one’s fame*, but spe-

cially and peculiarly to spread it wide in the direction of futurity, i. e., send down one's fame to posterity (Claudian's "producere famam," in *Stilich.* 1. 36), the chief object of Roman ambition and the predominant passion of Romans in the best times of Rome; a meaning which is not only suitable to the context, but so suitable that it would not be easy to imagine a more suitable. Compare, in addition to the above quotations, Stat. *Theb.* 4. 32 :

" nunc mihi fama prior, mundique arcana vetustas,
cui meminisse ducum, vitasque extendere curae,
pande viros."

ET DUBITAMUS ADHUC VIRTUTEM EXTENDERE FACTIS AUT METUS AUSONIA PROHIBET CONSISTERE TERRA?—Two simpler sentences in place of one more complex one, the question being put in the first line generally, in the second particularly; and the FACTIS of the first line being the CONSISTERE of the second; as if Anchises had said: ET DUBITAMUS ADHUC famam EXTENDERE in omne aevum dum intrepidi consistimus AUSONIA TERRA?

FACTIS.—Plural and general, but at the same time pointing specially to the specific deed (AUSONIA CONSISTERE TERRA) which was pre-eminently to send down the Trojan glory to posterity, and in which Aeneas was actually at the very time engaged.

VIRTUTEM.—I. e., gloriam virtutis, virtus (properly virtue) being used to signify the reward of virtue, as laus (properly the reward of virtue) is so often used to signify the virtue of which it is the reward.

CONSISTERE.—To stand with all our might, to plant our foot firmly on; as "con-gemuit," 2. 631; "con-torsit," 2. 52; "con-ticuere," 2. 1; where see Remm.

SACRA FERENS.—Officiating as priest, in the character of priest ("sacricola," Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 74; *εποφορος*, Plut. *Is. et Osir.*), as if he had said QUIS AUTEM ILLE PROCUL sacerdos, s. vates, RAMIS INSIGNIS OLIVAE? Compare Manil. 1. 1:

" carmine divinas artes et conscia fati
sidera, diversos hominum variantia casus,
(caelestis rationis opus!) deducere mundo
aggredior, primusque novis Heliconas movere
cantibus et viridi nutantes vertice silvas,
hospita sacra ferens, nulli memorata priorum;"

and *ibid.* vs. 22:

. . . "certa cum lege canentem
mundus et immenso *vatem* circumstrepit orbe,"

the "*vatem*" of the second of which passages is exactly equivalent to and repeats the "*sacra ferens*" of the first.

INCANAQUE MENTA REGIS ROMANI.—Flavius Vopiscus informs us (*Vita Taciti*, 5) that when Tacitus declined the imperial crown offered to him by the Roman senate, and alleged his unfitness, on account of his age, the whole senate cried out, and repeated the cry ten times: "Et tu legisti, INCANAQUE MENTA REGIS ROMANI." Salmasius, ad Spart. *Vita Hadriani*, p. 20, referring to these words as constituting part of Hadrian's *sors Virgiliana*, noticed below, says, "Optime in Hadrianum conveniebat quem canos ad imperium attulisse quidam volunt, in *Vita Taciti*, 'Hadrianus senex ad imperium venit.' Pseudo-sibylla de Hadriano: μετ' αὐτον δ' ἄλλος ἀναξει ἀργυροκρανος ἀνηρ."

CRINES INCANAQUE MENTA.—*Incanos* CRINES INCANAQUE MENTA; *incanos* being supplied to CRINES from INCANA. In English: *I recognise the hoary chin and hair*, i.e., *the hoary chin and hoary hair*. Compare 7. 15:

"hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
vincla recusantum, et sera sub nocte rudentum;
setigerique sues, atque in praesepibus ursi
saevire; ac formae magnorum ululare luporum,"

where all the animals are understood to be in the praesepia, though the word is applied to the bears alone.

PRIMAM QUI LEGIBUS URBEM FUNDABIT.—The reading is PRIMAM, not PRIMUS, not only on account of the superior MS. authority and better sense, but because so quoted by Spartian, where he informs us (*Vita Hadriani*) that Hadrian (afterwards Roman emperor), consulting the *sortes Virgilianae* concerning his future fortunes, drew the verses

NOSCO CRINES INCANAQUE MENTA
REGIS ROMANI, PRIMAM QUI LEGIBUS URBEM
FUNDABIT [*aliter*, FUNDAVIT]

as his *sors*. On which reading of PRIMAM in Spartian, Casaubon .

remarks: "Apud poetam est PRIMUS; sed hoc videtur de industria mutatum, ut falsum de Hadriano et invidiosum nimis futurum;" and Salmasius: "Non de industria mutatum puto PRIMUS in PRIMAM, quod illud PRIMUS Adriani vita non caperet. Sed memoria lapsum Spartianum in referendis versibus"—observations which show, first, that the only editorial reading of Virgil's word known to either critic was PRIMUS; and secondly, that the MSS. of Spartian, so far as they were known to either critic, read PRIMAM.

PRIMAM.—*First*; not in reference to others who were to come after Numa, nor as if Virgil had said that Numa would be the first to establish the city with laws, but *first* with reference to FUNDABIT LEGIBUS; as if Virgil had said *who will give the city its first laws, its first legal, juridical stability, its first constitution* (in the general not the modern conventional sense of that word). Compare 7. 61: "*primas cum conderet arces*," where "*primas*" is *first*, not in reference to other founders who were to come after Latinus, or as if Virgil had said *who was the first to found the fortress*, but in reference to "*conderet*," and as if Virgil had said *was first founding the fortress, was first giving its foundation to the fortress, was first setting the fortress on its foundation*. Compare also 5. 857:

"vix *primos* inopina quies laxaverat artus,"

where "*primos*" is *first*, not in reference to other sleeps which were to follow, but in reference to "*laxaverat*," and as if Virgil had said *had first relaxed his limbs*. In every one of the three sentences the sense is precisely the same as if, instead of PRIMAM, "*primas*," and "*primos*," Virgil had written PRIMUM. In every one of the three instances the adjective is as intimately bound up with the verb as if it had been an adverb. Compare also Sil. 13. 533 (of the gates of Hades):

"cingunt regna decem portae: quarum una receptat
belligeros, dura Gradivi sorte creatos.
altera, qui leges posuere atque inclita iura
gentibus, et *primas* fundarunt moenibus urbes,"

built the first cities with fortifications, fortified the first cities—

“*primas*” in this instance also being the exact equivalent of *primum*.

LEGIBUS URBEM FUNDABIT.—Compare Plin. *Paneg.* 34: “*Provida severitate cavisti, ne fundata legibus civitas eversa legibus videretur.*”

FUNDABIT.—Not *will found* (*fundamenta locabit*) but *will make stable, or firm and secure*. Compare 6. 3: “*dente tenaci ancora fundabat naves,*” where “*dente tenaci*” corresponds to the LEGIBUS of our text, “*ancora*” to Numa, and “*naves*” to URBEM, “*fundare*” being common to both sentences. Compare also the just quoted passage of Silius: “*primas fundarunt moenibus urbes,*” differing from the Virgil sentence only in one word, and meaning not *founded on or with fortifications*, but *made fast, firm and secure with fortifications*.

CURIBUS PARVIS ET PAUPERE TERRA MISSUS IN IMPERIUM MAGNUM.—Who had ever guessed, *a priori*, that words so peculiarly and properly applicable to Numa Pompilius were one day to be applied (little altered) to a character almost in every respect the point-blank opposite of the priest of Cures? Yet so they have been applied by Virgil’s often happy, sometimes happiest, imitator, in his imitated account of the spirits prepared in the underworld for return to the upper, Sil. 13. 853 (ed. Rup.):

“*hic Marius (nec multa dies iam restat ituro
aetheream in lucem) veniet tibi origine parva
in longum imperium consul.*”

813-824.

CUI—CUPIDO

CUI DEINDE, &c., . . . AGMINA (vv. 813-6).—Observe the fine effect, first, of the postponement of the name until after the introductory CUI . . . MOVEBIT, and then of its position in the

beginning of the new line and in close connexion with IN ARMA. You almost see Tullus calling out the soldiers, you almost hear their rallying cry, "Tullus! Tullus!" See Rem. on 2. 246.

RESIDES (vs. 814).—See Rem. on 726.

POPULARIBUS AURIS (vs. 817).—The figure is taken from sailing before a gentle breeze or *aura*, as if he had said, IAM NIMIUM GAUDENS *velificari* AURIS POPULARIBUS. Compare Flor. 1. 9: "Brutus vero *favore civium* etiam domus suae clade et parricidio *velificatus* est." Lucan, 1. 132 (of Pompey): "totus popularibus auris impelli." Prudent. *contra Symm.* 2. 153:

. . . "ne se popularibus auris
ostentet, pulcroque inflata tumescat honore."

Cic. *Sext.* 47, *ad fin.*: "Quem neque periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit . . . de suo cursu . . . demovere." Metast. *Artasers.* 2. 2:

. . . "un' alma grande
è teatro a se stessa, . . .
e placida, e sicura
del volgo spettator l'*aura* non cura."

FASCESQUE VIDERE RECEPTOS (vs. 819).—"Regiam dignitatem et imperium a regibus in consules translatum," Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger. No: not merely *transferred*, but *recovered*, viz., to the state or people, out of the dangerous hands of the Tarquins. And so Conington, correctly, quoting the words of Brutus, Liv. 2. 2: "Non credere populum Romanum, *solidam libertatem recuperatam esse*."

CONSULIS IMPERIUM, &c., . . . CUPIDO (vv. 820-4).—Two opposite errors have been committed by commentators respecting this passage; the one, that of connecting INFELIX too intimately with what comes after; the other, that of connecting it too intimately with what goes before. The former is the old error of Macrobius and Augustine, the latter of whom (*de Civit. Dei*, 3. 16) thus paraphrases: "Quomodolibet EA FACTA posterii ferant, i. e., praeferant et extollant, qui filios occidit INFELIX est;" and such it may be presumed is the meaning assigned to the passage by all those editors and commentators who (and among the number are the two Heinsii) place a semicolon or

period at MINORES, and do not interpunctuate at all between VOCABIT and INFELIX. The interpretation is erroneous, if it were only because FERANT cannot alone and without adjunct signify *extol* (*laudibus extollant*), which yet it is made to signify by those who adopt this mode of interpretation. The other error is that of those **who**, placing either (with Heyne and Wagner) a note of exclamation or (with Thiel) a period after INFELIX, and writing UTCUNQUE with a capital initial, while, at the same time, they place only a comma at MINORES, and either no interpunctuation at all or only a comma at VOCABIT, **separate** INFELIX entirely from what follows, and unite it closely with the preceding lines; an arrangement not to be endured, if it were only because it divides the whole sentence CONSULIS . . . INFELIX into two parts, the first part ending with ACCIPIET, and followed by a full pause and break in the sense at the end of the first syllable of the second foot, and the second part ending with INFELIX and likewise followed by a full pause and break in the sense at the end of the first syllable of the second foot. To which argument, if not in itself sufficiently convincing, may be added, that INFELIX, whether as epithet or exclamation, assorts but indifferently in the same sentence with PULCHRA. I, therefore, place a period at VOCABIT, thus closing the first of the two parts, of which the passage consists, with the fine sense and the fine cadence, PULCHRA PRO LIBERTATE VOCABIT. Brutus has now performed his duty, his first duty according to the morals of his time, and a full pause follows, and then comes the reflexion, INFELIX ! the tribute to parental feeling, and then again, after this tribute, the return to the passion of patriotism and the glory of the patriot, whatever might be the judgement of times following a different rule of morals.

NOVA BELLA MOVENTES (vs. 821).—Bella movere, and, 1. 545, bella ciere, are *to make war, to war*; as lacrymas ciere is *to weep*. See Rem. on verse 468. NOVA BELLA = *revolutionary wars*. The existing order of things being the result or upshot of *old wars*, wars tending to bring about a new order of things (revolution) are with propriety called NOVA, *new*.

UTCUNQUE FERENT EA FACTA MINORES, VINCET AMOR PATRIAE LAUDUMQUE IMMENSA CUPIDO (vv. 823-4).—"At first sight there may seem some incongruity between Brutus's indifference to the opinion of posterity and his unmeasured thirst of fame; but the meaning apparently is that he will risk being called cruel by posterity, so long as he forces them to acknowledge that he is great," Conington; incorrectly, as I think. Brutus does not anticipate any condemnation of his act by posterity. He balances only between his paternal feelings and his feelings as a Roman citizen, and these latter conquer (VINCET). Compare Claud. in *Eutrop.* 1. 441:

. . . "natos hoc dedere poenae
profuit, et misero civem praeponere patri."

Brutus sacrifices his children, and, in his children, himself, to his country, and, in doing so, is only doing what he thinks is his bounden duty to do. His rule of duty is the approbation of his country, the only rule he knows, the only rule ever known by a great and primitive Roman—

VINCET AMOR PATRIAE LAUDUMQUE IMMENSA CUPIDO,

where LAUDUM is, as commonly elsewhere, equivalent to virtutis, and where AMOR PATRIAE and LAUDUM IMMENSA CUPIDO are, as nearly as may be, identical. The words UTCUNQUE FERENT EA FACTA MINORES, supposed to represent Brutus's disregard for the opinion of posterity, are not the expression of any feeling whatever of Brutus, but are Virgil's own reflection on Brutus's conduct, expressed in an apostrophe to Brutus: *Unhappy man, whatever your posterity (i. e., we, your posterity) may think of your act, you at least were only influenced by patriotism and immense love of virtue.*

UTCUNQUE FERENT EA FACTA MINORES (vs. 823).—FERENT, shall take, i. e., shall view, shall regard. So 7. 78:

"id vero horrendum ac visu mirabile ferri"

[was taken, was held, was considered, was viewed].

UTCUNQUE FERENT.—I. e., *utrum male ferant, an bene ferant.* Compare Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 2. 648: "*quod male fers, assuesce; feres bene;*" id. *Met.* 3. 253 (of the different ways in which

different persons took, “ferebant,” viewed, the punishment inflicted by Diana on Actæon) :

“ rumor in ambiguo est : aliis violentior aequo
visa dea est ; alii laudant, dignamque severa
virginitate vocant ; pars invenit utraque causas.”

EA.—Not *haec* or *illa*, but EA, and meaning not merely *those deeds*, but *those deeds and deeds of that kind*.

MINORES.—Not the times later than Virgil’s, but the times later than Brutus’s, *i.e.*, Virgil’s own times.

VINCET.—Peerlkamp well quotes the words of this very Brutus, Liv. 2. 2 : “ nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas reipublicae *vinceret*.”

LAUDUM (vs. 824).—Equivalent here as elsewhere to *virtue*, inasmuch as it is only what is virtue, or, rather, what is thought to be virtue, that is praised.

IMMENSA.—Peerlkamp remarks that this word implies disapproval. I think not ; on the contrary, it implies approbation, for who, especially what Roman, ever disapproved of love of country and immense desire of “ laudes,” *i.e.*, of virtue, or what is praised as being great and good, and the duty of everyone ? If Virgil expresses disapprobation of the act of Brutus, that disapprobation must be sought in the words UTCUNQUE FERENT EA FACTA MINORES ; and if those words *do* express disapprobation, what disapprobation can be lighter than that of UTCUNQUE FERENT, what words less expressive of personal disapprobation than FERENT MINORES ? No, no ; the MINORES of Brutus may have variously regarded and discussed the act of their great ancestor, but Virgil did not, and could not without impropriety, have disapproved in such a poem (and especially in a part of it devoted to the commemoration of the famous deeds of the ancient fathers of Rome) of this pre-eminently self-denying and Roman act. The sentiment expressed by Virgil amounts to this : No matter how the deed may be viewed by later generations, patriotism and boundless love of virtue were triumphant. Compare *Georg.* 4. 205 :

“ tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis,”

the not very dissimilar peroration of our author's eulogy of the heroic deeds performed in the public cause by individual members of a, perhaps, at bottom, not very differently constituted community. See also *Poems Philosophical*, p. 135 :

“ ‘ let the law take its course,’ the Roman said,
sitting in judgment ; and the lictors seized
forthwith the two young men, the judge's sons,
and stripped them to the waist and bound and flogged.
In vain turned towards the judgement-seat the youths'
wild eyes, imploring ; the uplifted axe
severed first one and then the other's head.
Proud to have executed Roman justice
even on his own rebellious sons, the judge,
unblenched, descended from the judgement-seat.
Home to his desolate house returned, the sire
in secret wept his disobedient children.
Such were the wondrous men that made Rome Rome.”

828-846.

NOCTE—FABII

VAR. LECT. (vs. 829).

LUMINA ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Rome, 1469 ; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 ; Mod. ; Mil. 1475 ; Bresc. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704) ; Phil. ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Pott. ; Jahn ; Wagn. (1832, 1861) ; Süpfle ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribb. ; Conington.

LIMINA ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Wakef.*

* Quoting *Georg.* 4. 358 : “ ‘ Fas illi limina divum tangere ’ ait ; ” *Aen.* 5. 797 : “ liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim ; ” *Lucr.* 3. 1078 :

“ oscitat extemplo ; tetigit quum limina villae ; ”

Marius Victorinus in *Gen.* 3. 280 :

. . . “ primo a limine vitæ,
verum mente deum venerans ; ”

Arnobius, 2, p. 92 (Leyden, 1651) : “ antequam Tages Thuscus oras *contingeret luminis.* ”

VAR. LECT. (vs. 836).

SANGUIS MEUS ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Brunck; Wakef.; Heyne; Lad.; Wagn. (*Praest.*).

SANGUIS PIUS ■■■ Fabric.; Voss.

NOCTE (vs. 828).—I. e., *Stygia* NOCTE; opposed to LUMINA VITAE, which is = the ordinary lux = *life*, verse 761.

LUMINA (vs. 829).—LUMINA, not LIMINA; first, on account of the greater MS. authority; secondly, on account of the strong opposition between NOCTE and LUMINA, and wholly wanting between NOCTE and LIMINA; thirdly, on account of Cicero's "vitai lumina liquit" (*de Divinatione*), and Arnobius's "antequam Tages Thusous oras contingeret luminis" (*adv. Gentes*, 2. 69, ed. Orellii), as well as of Virgil's own repetition of the expression "lumina vitae," 7. 771; fourthly, on account of the converse expression, "te attigerit Aurora," 4. 568; and lastly, on account of the bad omen of stumbling on the threshold.

QUANTAS ACIES STRAGEMQUE CIEBUNT! (vs. 830).—I. e., *quantopere dimicabunt! quantopere trucidabunt!* See Ramm. on vv. 468 and 820 of this book.

AGGERIBUS ALPINIS (vs. 831).—The Alps regarded as the rampart of Italy. Compare Cic. in *L. Pison.* (ed. Lamb. vol. 2, p. 540): "Cuius ego imperium, non *Alpium vallum* ascensui transgressionique Gallorum . . . obicio et oppono." Id. *Phil.* 5 (ed. Lamb. vol. 2, p. 621): "Ut eius [Antonii] furorem ne *Alpium* quidem muro cohibere possemus." Sil. 3. 496 (of the passage of the Alps by Hercules):

"primus *inexpertas* adiit Tiryntius *arces*."

Id. 3. 447:

"*aggeribus* caput *Alpinis* et rupe nivali
prosilat in Celtas, ingentemque extrahit amnem
spumanti Rhodanus proscindens gurgite campos"

(where the identical term is applied to the Alps regarded as barriers on the western confines of Gaul).

ARCE MONOECI (vs. 831).—So Ammian. 15. 10: "*Monoeci arcem et portum ad perennem sui memoriam consecravit* [Hercules]." Monoecus, the modern Monaco, being at the very foot of the mountain, and on the very level of the sea, the "*arx MONOECI*" must have been a fort or castle on the side of the mountain overhanging the town Monoecus, and probably in the situation of the modern Turbia, where I and my daughter slept on the night of Tuesday, Jan. 15, 1861, and where they show Roman ruins.

SANGUIS MEUS (vs. 836).—MEUS, not PIUS, is most undoubtedly the true reading. Anchises addresses Julius Caesar as his blood, *i. e.*, his offspring, Julius Caesar being the descendant of Aeneas the son of Anchises. Reading MEUS (for which reading alone there is, so far as I know, any MS. authority), we have not only the parental tenderness of the speaker, but we have the genealogy of Caesar and the house of the Caesars, on both sides, viz., both on mother's and father's side: on the mother's side in GENUS QUI DUCIS OLYMPO; on the father's in SANGUIS MEUS: further, we have this genealogy on both sides divine, Anchises himself being descended from Jupiter through Dardanus: further still, we have the identical double genealogy which Horace has in so similar terms assigned to Augustus, *Carm. Saecul. 50*:

"clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis;"

and lastly, we have in SANGUIS MEUS an expression not only used in the same sense and manner by other Latin writers (as *Stat. Theb. 3. 239*:

. . . "vos, o superi, meus ordine sanguis,
ne pugnate odiis,"

a very plain imitation of our text, and showing that the reading in Statius's time was not PIUS but MEUS), but one which, derived from the Greek (compare *Hom. Od. 16. 300*:

εἰ εἶπεν γ' ἐμὸς ἐσσι καὶ αἱματος ἡμετεροῖο.

Id. II. 6. 211:

αὐτῆς τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἱματος εὐχομαι εἶναι),

has descended into modern languages, as Goldoni, *La Scozzese*, scen. ult. (il conte di Sterlingh to his daughter, who has thrown herself at his feet): “Abzati, sangue mio;” Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 9. 27:

. . . “e cominciò la guerra,
che tutto il *sangue mio* cacciò sotterra.”

Compare Manil. 5. 664:

. . . “iactantur corpora nodis,
expectantque novas acies, ferroque necantur,
inficiturque *suo* permixtus *sanguine* pontus”

(where Gronov.: “ex se nato, quem ipse dedit piscibus”); Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 309 (Amph. addressing Megara):

“o *socia nostri sanguinis*, casta fide
servans torum gnatosque magnanimi Herculis.”

The words are in the vocative, not, as they are so often taken to be (*ex. gr.*, by Wagner, who compares, having first incorrectly [see Rem. *ad loc.*] punctuated, l. 668), in the nominative, first on account of the vivacity of the vocative SANGUIS MEUS, and the dead heaviness of the same words considered as dependent on an imagined *tu qui es*; and secondly, because examples of a vocative meus are by no means so rare as has been supposed. Compare Plaut. *Cas.* 1. 49:

“sine amabo ted amari, *meus* festus dies,
meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus.”

Job, 14: “Ubi fugiam nisi ad te, Deus *meus*?” Also, the “Domine, Deus meus” which occurs so frequently in the formularies of the Roman Catholic Church can only be vocative.

GEMINOS, DUO FULMINA BELLI, SCIPIADAS (vv. 843-4).—“Die zween kriegsdonner,” Voss. No; fulmen is not *the* thunder, but *the* thunderbolt, Germ. *wetterstrahl*. Lucan, 1. 533:

. . . “*tacitum* sine nubibus ullis
fulmen, et Arctois rapiens e partibus ignem,
percussit Latiale caput.”

As SCIPIADAS FULMINA BELLI, in Virgil, so, in actual history, Bajazet *Ildyrym*, i. e., Bajazet *Thunderbolt*. See Hammer,

Geschichte des Osman. Reichs, Pest, 1827, vol. 1, p. 335: "So vollendete Bajesid der Wetterstrahl, der vierzehn jahre lang Europa und Asien erobernd durchzuckt hatte seine flammende laubahn."

PARVOQUE POTENTEM FABRICIUM (vv. 844-5).—"In parva re domestica divitem," Heyne, Thiel, Ladewig, Forbiger, Wagner (1861), Conington; not merely erroneously, but with an utter perversion of Virgil's meaning, which is not that Fabricius was rich in his poverty ("Qui etiam in parva re domestica ob parsimoniam et continentiam dives est," Forbiger, 3rd ed.), but that Fabricius was powerful (influential and respected, a great and powerful man) in, on, with, perhaps even through, or by means of, his poverty. Virgil might, indeed, have represented Fabricius, as the commentators have understood him to represent him, and as he has been actually represented by Valerius Maximus, 4. 3, viz., as rich in his poverty, rich on a little, "continentiae suae beneficio sine pecunia praedives, sine usu familiae abunde comitatus: quia locupletem illum faciebat, non multa possidere, sed modica desiderare;" or, as he has been represented by Claudian, in *Rufin.* 1. 200, content with an honourable little, an honourable poverty:

. . . "contentus honesto
Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum."

Or he might have represented him as the husbandman of the olden time has been represented by Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 139, viz., as happy on a little or happy in his poverty:

"agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati."

But it is not so Virgil has thought proper to represent him. Virgil has thought proper to represent him—a much greater praise—as powerful on little, *i. e.*, powerful without riches, powerful without owing his power to wealth, powerful therefore by his virtue alone ("Fabricium vocat PARVO POTENTEM, quia cum summa esset frugalitate, tamen insignis admodum fuit rebus gestis," La Cerda), the very picture given of him by Seneca, *Epist.* 120: "Maiusque regno iudicavit regias opes posse

contemnere;" and no doubt the picture of him which Servius had in his mind when he wrote his gloss: "paupertate gloriosum." Virgil's Fabrius, "PARVO potens," is thus the direct opposite of the *μεγα δυναμενος ολβιος* of Homer, *Epigr. 15* (Eiresione):

*δωμα προσετραπομεσθ' ανδρος μεγα δυναμενοιο,
ος μεγα μιν δυναται, μεγα δε βραμει ολβιος αιει,*

as well as of the "Euboicus miles, locuples, multo auro potens" of Plautus, *Epid. 1. 2. 50*, the rich Euboean soldier, powerful owing to his much gold. Compare 7. 56: "Turnus, avis atavisque potens" [not rich on account of his high descent, but powerful (influential and respected) on account of his high descent]. 1. 535:

"terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae"

[not rich with arms and a teeming soil, but powerful (influential and respected) by means of its arms and teeming soil]. Ovid, *Met. 6. 677*:

. . . "Erechtheus,
iustitia dubium validiusne potentior armis"

[not whether richer by means of his justice or by means of his arms, but whether more influential and respected on account of his justice or on account of his arms]. Ovid, *Fast. 4. 255*: "Roma potens opibus" [not rich with wealth, but powerful by means of its wealth, influential and respected on account of its wealth]. Tacit. *Hist. 1. 73*: "Calvia Crispinilla . . . potens pecunia, et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent" [not rich by means of her money, and her being childless, but powerful (influential and respected) on account of her money and her being childless]. Also Propert. 3. 22. 21 (of the Romans):

"nam quantum ferro tantum pietate potentes
stamus: victrices temperat ira manus."

Seneca, *Hipp. 984* (chorus):

"tristis virtus perversa tulit
praemia recti: castos sequitur
mala paupertas; vitioque potens
regnat adulter"

[who has rendered himself powerful by a wicked course]. Id. *Octav.* 947 :

“ quid non potuit quondam genetrix
tua, quæ rexit principis aulam,
cara marito, *partuque potens* ? ”

[powerful on account of her being mother of an heir to the throne]. Sil. 15. 159 (ed. Rup.) : “ Dive [Neptune] tridente potens.” *Æn.* 12. 827 :

“ sit Romana *potens* Italia *virtute* propago ”

[powerful, raised to power, by Italian “virtus”]. In all these examples, as in our text, *potens* is used in its ordinary sense of *powerful*, i. e., *able to effect much, influential and respected*, exactly as Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 81 :

“ regna Iovis coniux, virtutem filia iactat.
ipse *potens* dubito, fortis an esse velim.”

The other use of *potens*, viz., to signify *happy, contented*, is not Virgilian. I am unable to decide in which of the two senses *potens* is used by Apuleius in his “*parvo potens*,” *de Magia*, 18 : “*Paupertas olim philosophiæ vernacula est, frugi, sobria, parvo potens, æmula laudis.*”

QUO FESSUM RAPITIS, FABII ? (vs. 846).—“*Quantas res vestri me memoria attingere cogit, qui vestri nominis laudibus celebrandis enumerandisque fatigor ?*” Thiel. “Alluding to the numbers and exploits of the Fabii which tire the narrator who tries to count them,” Conington. No ; but—as 3. 710 : “*Hic me, pater optime, fessum deseris ;*” 5. 615 : “*Heu tot vada fessis et tantum superesse maris*”—*me, already tired out (viz., with describing), and therefore not able to enter on the task of describing more.*

850-860.

CAELIQUE MEATUS

DESCRIBENT RADIO ET SURGENTIA SIDERA DICENT
 TU REGERE IMPERIO POPULOS ROMANE MEMENTO
 HAE TIBI ERUNT ARTES PACISQUE IMPONERE MOREM
 PARCERE SUBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SUPERBOS
 SIC PATER ANCHISES ATQUE HAEC MIRANTIBUS ADDIT
 ASPICE UT INSIGNIS SPOLIIS MARCELLUS OPIMIS
 INGREDITUR VICTORQUE VIROS SUPEREMINET OMNES
 HIC REM ROMANAM MAGNO TURBANTE TUMULTU
 SISTET EQUUS STERNET POENOS GALLUMQUE REBELLEM
 TERTIAQUE ARMA PATRI SUSPENDET CAPTA QUIRINO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 853).

PACI ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ 38; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471; Mod.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersm.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Ribb.

PACIS ■■ 38; Camerarii (Bersm.), Longobard. (Pierius). ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; R. Steph.; D. Heins.; Burm.; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (1861).

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 859).

SISTET EQUUS · ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Voss.

SISTET, EQUUS ■ Pierius: "In plerisque veteribus exemplaribus comma praeiecta est dictioni EQUUS." ■■■ Brunck; Haupt; Wagn. (*Præst.*); Ribb.; Wakef. (;); Lad.

CAELI MEATUS.—"H. e. siderum cursus," Heyne. I think not, the stars being specifically mentioned in the next line; but the circuli, or great heavenly circles, thus enumerated by Germanicus Caesar in his *Aratea*: "Læteus, Tropicus Cancrī, Tropicus Capricornī, Aequinoctialis, Zodiacus." That these circles

are the MEATUS CAELI of Virgil is further rendered probable, first, by the remarkable circumstance that Germ. Caesar, after the description of these circles, passes immediately to the description of the "orientia et occidentia [sidera]," just as in our text Virgil passes from the CAELI MEATUS to the SURGENTIA SIDERA; secondly, by the fact that one of these circuli (viz., Zodiacus) is actually denominated by the same Germanicus, "*via solis*," 3. 1: "*una via est solis bisseis lucida signis*;" and thirdly, by the application of the term "re-meare" by the same author to the annual re-turn of the sun to that point in his circle from whence he had set out, *Fragm.* 3:

. . . "namque anno solem remeare videbis,
moverit unde suos currus per signa volantes."

Compare Apoll. Rhod. of the circles on the armillary sphere,* *Argon.* 3. 137: *χρυσῆα μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετευχάται*. Also Marcian. 1. 4: "*Ipsius meatus caeli siderumque monstrabat*."

DESCRIBENT RADIO.—*Will describe with the radius* (pointer, *Fr. baguette*) *on the solid sphere*. See *Pittur. de Ercol.* vol. 2, tab. 8, for a Urania represented with the radius in one hand, tracing these "meatus" on a globe held in the other; and compare Martian. Capell. *de Nupt. Philol.* 2: "*Prospicio quendam feminam luculentam radium dextra, altera sphaeram solidam gestantem*."

TU REGERE, &c., . . . SUPERBOS (vv. 852-4).—Probably an allusion to the deified Romulus's original charter to the Romans, *Liv.* 1. 6: "'Abi, nuntia,' inquit, 'Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit. Proinde rem militarem colant.'" Compare *Liv.* 5. 27 (Camillus, to the schoolmaster of the Falisci): "*Ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis . . . vincam*;" *Cic. de Orat.* 3. 136: "*Ut virtutis a nostris, sic doctrinae sunt ab illis exempla repetenda*."

* This "armillary sphere" is the *toss-ball* (that Zeus used to play with, when he was a little baby-boy), ornamented with gilt circular lines, and a blue one crossing them at the equator, as it were, which Aphrodite promises to Eros if he will charm Medea and Jason into love for one another. The *ἀψίδες* are the two poles of the ball where the gold circles intersect.—J. F. D.

PACISQUE IMPONERE MOREM.—“PACIS praeferrem, cuius mos est, ut stipendia et tributa imponantur victis gentibus et provinciis, et ita pax concilietur, liberatis ab regio et alieno iure,” Burmann. “*Leges PACIS ponere, ferre*, ut *Aen.* 1. 264 (268): ‘moresque viris et moenia ponet,’” Heyne, *V. L.* The former of these interpretations is wholly erroneous; the latter, an approach, a distant approach, to the truth; a pale, meagre shadow of the strong and manly original. IMPONERE is not “ponere, ferre,” nor does the sentence correspond to “moresque viris et moenia ponet.” And (1), IMPONERE is not “ponere, ferre,” because it is always and invariably to *im-pose*, to *place*, or *set one thing over another thing*; and generally in such a manner that the former commands the latter, dominates. So 6. 621: “dominumque potentem imposuit.” 6. 774: “imponent montibus arces.” *Georg.* 1. 60:

. . . “has leges aeternaque foedera certis
imposuit Natura locis.”

Lucan. 3. 393:

“quodque virum toti properans *imponere* mundo.”

Justin. 6. 9: “Quibus rebus effectum est, ut . . . Philippus . . . regnum Macedoniae, Graeciae et Asiae cervicibus, velut iugum servitutis, *imponeret*.” And especially, Lucil. *Aetn.* 44 (of the Gigantes):

. . . “captivique Iovis transferre . . .
imperium et victo leges *imponere* caelo.”

And so in the passage before us, *impose* MOREM PACIS upon the conquered nations (“*debellatis populis*”); *set* MOREM PACIS (“*velut iugum*”) upon them; in plain prose, *compel them to cultivate the arts of peace*. Compare Arnobius, 3. 26: “*Servitutis conditionem imponere*.” And (2), the words quoted by Heyne from the first Book, “*moresque viris et moenia ponet*,” are not parallel; (a) because “*mores*” in that context may, and most probably does, comprehend *mores belli* (compare “*mos erat Hesperio in Latio*,” &c., 7. 601) as well as *mores pacis*; i. e., means the entire manners of the nation; (b) because those “*mores*” were not imposed upon conquered nations, but laid down for his own people; and therefore (c) Virgil uses, not the strong *im-*

ponere, implying compulsion, but *ponere*, a term so mild as to be equally applicable to “*mores*” and “*moenia*.”

The Italians preserve, in their *imporre*, the Latin term in its original sense. See Nibby, *Roma Moderna*, part 1, p. 116 (of Canova’s statue of Pope Ganganelli): “Sul quale [sciz. seggio] è assiso il Pàpa in contegno composto insieme di dignità e di bontà in atto di stendere il braccio destro, e nella mossa d’*imporre*, consigliare, e proteggere; azione che il Milizia nelle sue lettere paragona a quella maestosa del Marco Aurelio.”

PACIS MOREM.—The expression “*mos pacis*” occurs both in Silius (16. 379):

. . . “*pacis de more putares*
aequata fronte et concordi currere freno,”

and Ammian (22. 12): “*Haecque dum ita procedunt, more pacis multorum curiosior Iulianus novam consilii viam ingressus est;*” and the not very dissimilar expressions “*pacis opus*” in Calpurnius (*Ecl.* 1. 67, quoted in Rem. on vs. 811, above), and in Virgil himself, *Aen.* 4. 618, “*leges pacis;*” and *Georg.* 1. 51, “*caeli morem;*” with which compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 156:

“*hic pacis leges, hic locus arma capit;*”

and especially, id. *Fasti*, 2. 17:

“*ergo ades, et placido paulum mea munera vultu*
respice; pacando si quid ab hoste vacas”

(where the office of forcing nations to peace, *i. e.*, of imposing peace on nations is ascribed as his peculiar office, his office *par excellence*, to Augustus); also id. *Fasti*, 4. 407:

“*pace Ceres laeta est, et vos optate, coloni,*
perpetuam pacem pacificumque ducem;”

and Manil. 5. 708:

“*ille tigrim rabie solvet pacique domabit,*
quaeque alia infestant silvis animalia terras
iunget amicitia secum”

(where “*paci domare*” is, as nearly as may be, equivalent to PACIS IMPONERE MOREM). MOREM PACIS is thus to be considered

as equivalent to MOREM *pacificum*, just as “funera pacis,” Manil. 1. 884 (Jacob),

“qualis Erectheos pestis populata colonos
extulit antiquas per funera pacis Athenas,”

is to be considered as equivalent to funera pacifica. Between our text so read and understood, and the

“Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam”

of the first Book there is an exact parallelism, the fundamental idea of both passages being that of the Romans commanding the whole world in peace. See Rem. on 1. 283; and compare Mart. 12. 9:

“palma regit nostros, mitissime Caesar, Iberos,
et placido fruitur pax peregrina iugo;”

and Prudent. *cont. Symm.* 2. 635:

“iam mundus te, Christe, capit, quem congrege nexu
pax et Roma tenent; capita haec et culmina rerum
esse iubet, nec Roma tibi sine pace probatur;
et pax ut placeat facit excellentia Romae
quae motus varios simul et ditione coercet,
et terrore premit.”

This is the sum and substance of the famous “pax Romana.” The Romans were to have it all their own way, and they would leave the world at peace. There are people perverse enough to interpret the “L’ empire c’est la paix” of the modern Augustus pretty much in the same manner.

PACISQUE IMPONERE MOREM is not, with Conington, in apposition with HAE TIBI ERUNT ARTES, but, with Ribbeck, co-ordinate with REGERE, HAE TIBI ERUNT ARTES being parenthetical.

[*Aliter*]. PACISQUE IMPONERE MOREM.—“*Leges* PACIS ponere, ferre, ut *Aen.* 1. 264 [268]: ‘moresque viris et moenia ponet,’” Heyne. I think not. PACIS MOREM is not “*leges* PACIS,” but *leges*, the *mos* of peace being to be governed by laws, as the *mos* of war is to be governed by force of arms. IMPONERE PACIS MOREM, therefore, is equivalent to IMPONERE *leges*, and Anchises’ monition to the Roman corresponds exactly to

Venus's pact with Jupiter, 4. 231 : "totum sub leges mitteret orbem."

VICTORQUE VIROS SUPEREMINET OMNES.—See Rem. on 8. 162.

HIC REM ROMANAM MAGNO TURBANTE TUMULTU SISTET EQUES STERNET POENOS GALLUMQUE REBELLEM.—I consider EQUES to be the descriptive or defining adjunct of HIC, and to belong specially to SISTET; less on account of the point placed after EQUES in the three first-class codices, Vatican Fragment, Palatine and Medicean, than (■), because it is Virgil's usual manner thus to connect a pronoun in a preceding line with a verb in the following line, and to add in the closest connexion with the verb a describing, limiting, or explaining adjunct of the pronoun, as 7. 612 :

" ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
insignis reservat stridentia limina consul ; "

7. 255 :

" hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
portendi generum, paribusque in regna vocari
auspiciis ; "

7. 783 :

" ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus
vertitur arma tenens, et toto vertice supra est ; "

(2), because the four dissyllables SISTET, EQUES, STERNET, POENOS, languid and monotonous to the ear, if the pause be placed at SISTET, become lively and agreeable to the ear as soon as the pause is removed to EQUES. **And** (3), because SISTET is more emphatic with, STERNET more emphatic without, EQUES. Of course, joined with HIC SISTET, EQUES—which, joined with STERNET, is equivalent to *on horseback* (EQUES STERNET, *will ride over*)—comes to mean *knight, member of the order of equites* ; as if Virgil had said : This is the knight who shall, &c.

On the only other occasion on which our author uses the word eques in the nominative singular, he places it precisely in this position, viz., second word in the line, after a dissyllable and succeeded by a pause, 10. 239 :

" Areas eques : medias illis opponere turmas. "

Place the pause after "Arcas" in this line, instead of after "eques," and what kind of an unreadable verse have you?—

"Arcas : eques medias illis opponere turmas."

Yet this is the very sort of verse our text becomes when the pause is placed after *sistet*. Compare also Val. Flacc. 1. 410 (of Achilles riding the Centaur):

"discat *eques* placidi conscendere terga ministri;"

and Claud. in *Eutrop.* 2. 73:

. . . "numerosus ubique
fulget *eques*;"

in both which places "eques" has the same position in the line and the same close connexion with the preceding dissyllable as in our text. Also Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 1. 124 (of Stilicho):

. . . "cumque igne propinquo
frigora vix ferrent alii, tunc triste rigentem
Danubium calcabat *eques*;"

Ovid, *Met.* 8. 301:

"Tyndaridae gemini, spectatus caestibus alter,
alter *equo* ; primaque ratis molitor Iason ;"

and Virgil himself, *Aen.* 12. 355: "*sistit equos* biuiges, et curru desilit." A very slight examination will be sufficient to satisfy the reader that **as** nothing is more usual to Virgil than to pause and even to conclude the sense at the end of the second of two dissyllables placed at the beginning of a verse, "felle dolor," "velle fugam," "flumen agit," "colla fovet," "fata vocant," "victor habet," "terra viros," "largus opum," "diva deam," "disce tuum," "morte pati," "illa volat," "arte morer," "terra mihi," "multa gemens," "cede deo," "nate dea," "tela tenens," "alta petens," and so on a thousand times over, **so** nothing is more unusual to him than either to pause or conclude the sense at the end of the first of two dissyllables so placed, and that in the rare case of his doing so he immediately pauses or breaks the sense again in order to lighten the disproportionately heavy end

of the line, as 12. 894 :

. . . "non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox ; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis"

(where the longer pause after "ferox" than after "dicta" has the effect of throwing "ferox" to "dicta," and separating it entirely from the remainder of the line); 10. 142 :

"Nympha decus fluviorum, animo gratissima nostro."

The same rule is followed by Ovid in all his hexameter poetry, ex. gr. *Met.* 12. 281 :

. . . "inque humeros limen tellure revulsum
tollit, onus plaustris ; quod ne permittat in hostem. . ."

See Rem. on "facta patrum," 10. 282.

861-875.

ATQUE—TUMULTUM

ATQUE HIC AENEAS (vs. 861), &c.—Applied by Silius to the shade of Homer as seen by Scipio, 13. 778 :

"atque hic Elysio tendentem limite cernens
effigiem iuvenis castam, cui vitta ligabat
purpurea effusos per colla nitentia crines ;
'dic' ait, 'hic quinam, virgo ? nam luce refulget
praecipua frons sacra viro ; multaeque sequuntur
mirantes animae et laeto clamore frequentant.
qui vultus ! quem, si Stygia non esset in umbra,
dixissem facile esse deum.' 'non falleris,' inquit,
docta comes Triviae : 'meruit deus esse videri ;
et fuit in tanto non parvum pectore numen :
carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes,
et cantu Musas et Phoebum aequavit honore.
atque haec cuncta, priusquam cerneret, ordine terris
prodidit, et vestram tulit usque ad sidera Troiam."

Sic (vs. 864).—"Tam tristi specie," Peerlkamp, Forbiger.
No ; for why should the reference be to FRONS LAETA PARUM ET

DEIECTO LUMINA VULTU rather than to EGREGIUM FORMA IUVENEM ET FULGENTIBUS ARMIS, to one only of the constituent parts of the description and not to both? Aeneas had seen Marcellus, FRONS LAETA PARUM ET DEIECTO LUMINA VULTU, but he had no less seen him EGREGIUM FORMA IUVENEM ET FULGENTIBUS ARMIS. To the entire picture which the youth presented, not to any particular part of it, does the sic refer. Compare 7. 668 :

“ ipse pedes tegumen torquens immane leonis,
terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
indutus capiti, *sic* regia tecta subibat
horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu ”

(where the reference of “*sic*” is to the whole aspect and appearance); also 4. 637 :

“ dic, corpus properet fluviali spargere lympa,
et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.
sic veniat ”

(where “*sic*” means having so sprinkled herself, and bringing so along with her the atoning victims).

QUIS STREPITUS CIRCA COMITUM! (vs. 866).—Compare Eurip. *Phoen.* 150 (ed. Musgr.) of Parthenopæus :

. . . *ὡς ὄχλος νῦν ὑστερῶ ποδὶ
πανοπλος ἀμφεπέει.*

“QUIS STREPITUS CIRCA COMITUM: sine dubio ad popularem favorem referendum,” Heyne, Forbiger. Not exactly. A person of rank and dignity was never left alone, no matter whether he was popular or not. In ancient no less than in modern times, a great man is always surrounded by a crowd. There was no such thing in ancient times, as there is no such thing now, as a prince without courtiers, these courtiers being evidence not of the popularity of the person who was surrounded by them, but of his importance. So Tacit. *Germ.* 13: “Magnaue et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium.” Com-

pare also 11. 655 :

“ at circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo,
Tullaque, et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
Italides ; quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit, pacisque bonas bellicue ministras.”

The word COMITUM is unfortunate, coming so close on COMITATUR. The picture, too, is confused, the younger Marcellus himself “comes” of the elder (COMITATUR EUNTEM) having his “comites” (QUI STREPITUS CIRCA COMITUM). This is, indeed, wheels within wheels.

QUANTUM INSTAR IN IPSO EST ! (vs. 866).—INSTAR, “similitudo,” Servius, Pomp. Sabinus, Wagner, Forbiger, Voss. Corporis forma,” Donatus, Heyne, All wrong. Instar never is “similitudo,” never “corporis forma,” but always *amount* ; when placed absolutely, as in our text, *the absolute inherent amount, substance, inhalt, gehalt, body*, of the thing itself ; when placed in relation with another object, *an amount equal*, or *equivalent to that other object, i.e., of equal worth, value, weight, magnitude, or import*. In our text, therefore, QUANTUM INSTAR IN IPSO ! *what an amount in himself ! what a greatness in himself ! How much there is in that single man !* and at 2. 15 : “instar montis equum,” *a horse, the amount of a mountain, equivalent to a mountain* ; Catull. 17. 12 :

“ insulsissimus est homo, nec sapit pueri instar
bimuli,”

as much as a two-year old child, the amount of a two-year old child. Suet. *Jul. Caesar*, 61 : “Cuius [equi] instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit,” *a counterpart of the horse, a statue no smaller than the horse ; not a likeness of the horse, for a likeness might be in miniature, but of the same size, shape, and weight as the horse* ; *Aen.* 7. 707 :

“ agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar,

himself equal to a great army ; Ovid, *Heroid.* 2. 30 :

“ sed scelus hoc meriti pondus et instar habet,”

the weight and worth, gehalt, of a merit ; Vell. Patere. 2. 29 :

"Cuius viri magnitudo *multorum voluminum instar* exigit," as if he had said: "*voluminum magnitudinem* exigit," a quantity of writing which would fill many volumes. Amm. 15. 1: "Ambitus terrae totius, quae nobis videtur immensa, ad magnitudinem universitatis *instar brevis* obtinet *puncti*," the worth, the value, the amount, the magnitude, of a small point. The commentators, finding *instar* generally used with a genitive of comparison, naturally fell into the error that *instar* signified *comparison*, viz., *likeness*. On the contrary, the word is positive in itself, meaning, as I have just stated, *absolute amount, value, worth, or magnitude*, and only becomes comparative by the addition of a noun in the genitive declaring the amount of the amount, the magnitude of the magnitude, if even in this case it can be correctly considered as comparative, and not as declaring still only the character of the subject, of which the noun in the genitive is no more than the measure. There is no corresponding English term.

As we have QUANTUM INSTAR in our text, so we have *parvum instar*" in Livy, 28. 17: "L. Scipio cum multis nobilibus captivis nuncius receptae Hispaniae Romam est missus, et quum caeteri laetitia gloriaque intenti eam rem vulgo ferrent, unus, qui gesserat, inexplabilis virtutis, veraeque laudis, *parvum instar* eorum, quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset, receptas Hispanias ducebat." Compare also Livy, 42. 55: "Apoloniatae trecentos equites, centum pedites miserunt. Aetolorum, alae unius *instar*, quantum in tota gente equitum erat, venerant."

SED NOX ATRA CAPUT TRISTI CIRCUMVOLAT UMBRA (vs. 867).—A similar thought has been thus finely expressed by Metastasio, *Gioas, Re di Giuda*, part 2 (Giojāda, commanding Atalia to leave the temple):

"da questo sacro albergo,
scellerata, t' invola, e no 'l funesti
l' aspetto di tua sorte,
la nera ch' hai d' intorno ombra di morte."

PROPRIA HAEC SI DONA FUISSENT (vs. 872).—PROPRIA, ἰδία, as *Tab. Celet.* (of the gifts of Fortune): Αὐτῇ κέλευει, ἐφῇ, μὴ

πιστευειν, μηδε ασφαλεις εχειν ο τι αν παρ' αυτης λαβη τις, μηδε ως ιδια ηγεισθαι· ουδεν γαρ κωλυει ταυτα παλιν αφελισθαι, και ετερω διδοναι. Compare Sil. 13. 823 (of Lucretia):

“ non datur, heu ! tibi, Roma, (nec est quod malle deceret)
hanc laudem retinere diu.”

Corn. Nep. in *Thrasymb.*: “Parva munera, diutina; locupletia, non *propria* esse consueverunt” [likely to be taken from us]. See Rem. on “da proprium,” 7. 331; and compare Ovid, *ad Liv.* 369:

“ vita data est utenda : data est sine foenore nobis
mutua, nec certa persoluenda die”

(where we have the same thought as in our text): life is not “data propria,” given in perpetuity or fee farm, as we would say, but “data mutua,” lent and to be returned.

FUNERA (vs. 875).—“Quum Virgilius dicit QUAE FUNERA, significat *quae lamenta in funere*,” Peerlkamp. No, by no means. The “lamenta” were but a very small part of a funeral. There were, besides the immense multitude, the pomp, the equipages, the torches, the gifts, the ceremonies of various kinds, often the trophies, the orations, &c. See the funeral of Pallas in the eleventh book. QUANTOS GEMITUS! QUAE FUNERA! *what lamentations, what funeral pomp there will be at that mausoleum, in that Campus Martius, beside that Tiber!*

TUMULUM (vs. 875).—The remains of Marcellus having been deposited not in the earth but in the family mausoleum, there was, of course, no barrow, or tumulus properly so called, raised over it. TUMULUM, therefore, in our text must be understood not in its primary and particular sense of *barrow*, but in its secondary and general sense of *tomb*. So Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 89:

“ per tumulos errat passis discincta capillis,
certaque de tepidis colligit ossa rogis”

(where “per tumulos” is not *among the barrows*, but *among the tombs*).

876-882

NEC PUER ILIACA QUISQUAM DE GENTE LATINOS
 IN TANTUM SPE TOLLET AVOS NEC ROMULA QUONDAM
 ULLO SE TANTUM TELLUS IACTABIT ALUMNO
 HEU PIETAS HEU PRISCA FIDES INVICTAQUE BELLO
 DEXTERA NON ILLI SE QUISQUAM INPUNE TULISSET
 OBVIUS ARMATO SEU QUUM PEDES IRET IN HOSTEM
 SEU SPUMANTIS EQUI FODERET CALCARIBUS ARMOS

NEC PUER, &c., . . . ALUMNO.—“In tantam spem TOLLET eos;
 tantam de se spem faciet: ut et Gr. *ἐλπίσιν ἐπαίρειν*,” Heyne.

. . . “erhebet
 so zur hofnung das herz Latinischen greisen.” — (Voss.)

. . . “che tanto
 de' Latini avi suoi la speme estolla.” (Caro.)

But the “Latini avi” of Marcellus were dead a thousand years before Marcellus was born. How then could Marcellus elevate their hopes? What inkling, what particle of information, of hope concerning him, could they have at all? To solve the difficulty it has been suggested that the “Latini avi” spoken of are the shades of the heroes of Latium, who either now, while both they and Marcellus are still in Hades, look on Marcellus with hope, or are hereafter to look up to him with hope from Hades, when he shall appear on earth a thousand years after they shall have left their temporary bodies and returned to Hades. To which ingenious explanation it is hardly necessary for me to object, first, that the “Latini avi” of our text must consistently be placed in the same category with the ROMULA TELLUS, and that if only the ghosts of the “Latini avi” are meant, so must also be meant only the ghost of the ROMULA TELLUS, *quod absurdum*; and secondly, that if the “Latini avi” are the ghosts of Marcellus’s Latin ancestors, &c., and not his Latin ancestors themselves, then not only are these “Latini avi” of Marcellus the only ghosts who take any part or interest in the

future glories of the race of Aeneas, as foreshown by Anchises, but the interest taken by them is confined to the single object, Marcellus, a conclusion scarcely less opposed to the almost perfect consistency, fitness, and verisimilitude of the whole of the rest of the scene. What other way then of getting out of the difficulty? None. What, then? Are we to remain in this slough, in the very midst of one of the finest landscapes of the whole of the Aeneid? No; the slough is of our own making—rather of Heyne's, Voss's, and the other more modern commentators. In the time of Servius it had no existence, and need not, unless we please, exist now. IN TANTUM SPE TOLLET AVOS, "*eriget generis antiquitatem. Et rhetorice spem laudat in puero, quia facta non invenit,*" says Servius, and says rightly. Marcellus will exalt his Latin ancestors, *i. e.*, will do credit to his Latin ancestors, will reflect glory on them. But how is he to do this, he who dies while yet a boy, before he is of age to perform a single martial exploit? The answer is, by SPE, by the promise he will give of being the greatest of Romans—*spes Marcelli* TOLLET AVOS: Marcellus, a boy, Marcellus, incomplete and no more than a "*spes*." Compare "*Epigr. Callimachi,*" *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 453:

δαδεκετη τον παιδα πατηρ απεθηκε φιλιππος
ενθαδε, την πολλην ελπιδα, Νικοτελην.

The parallelism between the two clauses of the sentence is thus complete. The promise given by Marcellus will reflect greater glory on his "*avi Latini*" than will be reflected on them by the promise given by any other son of the Ilian race. The land of Romulus will be prouder of this promising lad than of any other of its alumni. For TOLLET compare Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 12. 67:

"humanaeque memor sortis, quae tollit eodem
et premit; incertae ipsae verere vices."

HEU PIETAS, &c., . . . ARMOS.—Not spoken of the virtues actually possessed by Marcellus, but of the virtues he would have exhibited, had he lived; as if Virgil had said: Mourn for the loss in the bud of a flower which, if suffered to grow, would have been so lovely. The words from NON ILLI as far as ARMOS

are but an amplification, or filling up, of the idea already shortly set before the reader in the three emphatic words INVICTA BELLO DEXTERA.

TULISSET, IRET, FODERET.—All in the subjunctive mood, because no actual combats are referred to (for Marcellus died in his youth without ever having been a warrior), but only combats which would have taken place had he lived. Contrast Silius, 8. 406 :

“ Tullius aeratas raptabat in agmina turmas,
regia progenies, et Tullo sanguis ab alto.
indole, proh ! quanta iuvenis, quantumque daturus
Ausoniae populis ventura in secula civem !
ille, super Gangen, super exauditus et Indos,
implebit terras voce, et furialia bella
fulmine *compescet* linguae, nec deinde *relinquet*
par decus eloquii cuiquam sperare nepotum,”

in which prophecy of what was actually to happen the verbs are in the positive future tense, while in our text, containing only a statement of what would have happened had Marcellus lived, the verbs (TULISSET, IRET, FODERET) are in the conditional tenses only.

SEU CUM PEDES IRET IN HOSTEM, SEU SPUMANTIS EQUI FODERET CALCARIBUS ARMOS.—To be able to fight both on foot and on horseback was the highest accomplishment of a warrior. So Ovid (of Mezentius), *Fast.* 4. 882 :

“ et vel *equo* magnus, vel *pede* maior erat.”

SEU SPUMANTIS EQUI FODERET CALCARIBUS ARMOS.—“Tis insufferable that to make a harmonious verse a poet shall say that a gentleman spurred the shoulders of his horse instead of his sides:” “Verdicts of the learned concerning Virgil’s and Homer’s heroic poems; by Anonymous;” Somers’ *Tracts*, Scott’s ed., vol. 12, p. 10. The objection is as old as, and is thus answered by, Servius: “Species pro genere EQUI ARMOS pro *equo* posuit; non enim possunt armi calcaribus fodi,” a bad defence and equivalent to an admission of the charge brought against his client; which Voss seems to have been well aware

of, for he translates the words literally :

“ ob er den schäumenden ross' in die bug' einbohrte die spornen.”

Forbiger's solution of the difficulty is more plausible : “ ‘Armi’ hic latiore sensu positi pro lateribus equi, quae ab armis incipiunt ; nam armi ipsi calcaribus non fodiuntur,” which loose use of armi would exactly correspond with the use which we have already seen made of calx for the whole foot and of pectus for the whole trunk from the neck to the pubes. I think, however, that neither is this explanation the true one, and that ARMOS is to be taken in the literal sense of *forequarter*, because we find the armi or forequarter described by Horace, *Sat. 1. 6. 104*, as the precise seat of the horseman :

. . . “ nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques armos,”

where “armi,” so explicitly opposed to “lumbi,” the loins or hindquarter, cannot by possibility mean anything else than the shoulders or forequarter. The armi being thus established as the seat of the rider, it is easy and natural to suppose that it was the lower part of the armi, that part of the forequarter, which looks towards the ground and which was directly under or even in front of the rider, which was spurred by the horseman, not encumbered in those ancient times with stirrups, nor taught that it is graceful and elegant to ride with the toes turned inwards, or at least with the foot parallel to the horse's body, but sitting at ease, and, as all untaught horsemen sit at the present day, with the toes out and the heels in and the legs thrown very much forward, exactly as we see horsemen represented in the ancient medals and statues, and as that horseman of Corippus must have sat whose right foot was pierced by a spear which, entering at the near armus, had passed through his horse's body, *Johan. 4. 758* :

“ Guarsutiaeque levem coniecta comminus hasta
fundit equum. laevo tremuit confixa sub armo
fraxinus, et calido currens per viscera ferro
perque pedem dextrum domini consorta pendit ;”

which same Corippus, by the by, has elsewhere (*Johan. 2. 45*) adopted and made his own of the very words of our text :

. . . “seu pedes it [gens] campis praesumpta per hostes,
sive frementis equi pulsat calcaribus armos.”

883-902.

HEU—PUPPES

VAR. LECT. (vs. 888).

AERIS ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Phil.;
Voss; Haupt.; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.; Anson. *Cup. Cr. Adf., v. 1.*
AERIIS ■ *Rom.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 888).

LATIS ■■■ P. Manut.
LAETIS ■■■ Probus (Keil's ed., p. 12, l. 7).

VAR. LECT. (vs. 901).

LITTORE or LITORE ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ §§. ■■■ Serv. (ad *Aen.*
3. 16, and *8. 57*); Donat.; Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472; Mod.; Mil.
1475; Bresc.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Bersm.; La Cerda;
D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Burm.; Lad.;
Brunck; Haupt; Pott.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Ribb.
LIMITE ■■ †. ■■■ Heyne; Wakef.; Jahn.

HEU MISERANDE PUER! SI QUA FATA ASPERA RUMPAS, TU MAR-
CELLUS ERIS (vv. 883-4).—“SI QUA via ac ratione FATA RUMPAS,
. . . tam durum fatum effugere tibi liceat, tu ad M. Marcelli, b.
Punico ii clari, nomen ac gloriam es perventurus,” Heyne.
“Vide an in fine vs. 883 rectius posueris exclamandi signum,
ut hoc dicat poeta: *utinam RUMPAS aliquo modo FATA ASPERA!*”

Sic efficietur, ut nomen Marcelli—non iam illius qui bello Punico secundo magnas res gessit, sed ipsius filii Octaviae—hic demum positum singularem habeat vim ad miserationem movendam,” Wagner. Each critic is half right and half wrong; Wagner is right that the person meant by MARCELLUS is the son of Octavia, but wrong that SI QUA FATA ASPERA RUMPAS is an exclamation. Heyne is right that the words SI QUA FATA ASPERA RUMPAS express the condition on which the lad will become Marcellus, viz., if he does not die prematurely, but wrong that MARCELLUS means a Marcellus, a second Marcellus, and not specifically Marcellus the son of Octavia. The whole meaning is certainly and beyond doubt: *Ah! boy to be pitied, only live and thou shalt be the gentle knight, the mass of sterling worth and honesty, the invincible warrior; in one word, thou shalt be Marcellus.* The gist of the passage is that the PUER, the young son of Octavia, would be only the “*spes Marcelli*,” the promise of Marcellus, not be really Marcellus, not deserve to be called Marcellus, until grown up; but he was fated not to grow up; was not to break through his FATA ASPERA, and therefore Anchises (in imagination) throws flowers upon his tomb; observe, not on Marcellus’s tomb, but upon the tomb NEPOTIS, of Anchises’ descendant, the young son of Octavia. Compare Val. Flacc. 3. 183:

. . . “*spes maxima bellis*
pulcher Hylas, si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno.”

Cic. *Orat.* 30: “Adolescens non tam re et maturitate, quam spe et expectatione laudatus.”

TU MARCELLUS ERIS (vs. 884).—*Thou shalt be Marcellus* (Marcellus, the son of Octavia), exactly as verse 846: “tu Maximus ille es,” *thou art that Maximus.*

MANIBUS DATE LILIA PLENIS: PURPUREOS SPARGAM FLORES (vv. 884-5), &c.—Compare Allan Ramsay’s beautiful “Ode sacred to the memory of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton”:

“ with roses and the lily buds,
ye nymphs, her grave adorn,
and weeping tell, thus sweet she was,
thus early from us torn.”

LAURENTESQUE DOCET POPULOS, URBEMQUE LATINI (vs. 892).—Not a hendiadys, or one thing described by its two constituents, parts, or characters, as “ferro” and “compagibus” = *ferrea compage*, but two distinct things, *the city of Laurentum, and its people*; or more fully, *the city of Latinus and its Laurentian people*. Compare the verse of Lucilius quoted by Festus, *in voce* “Minor Delus”:

“inde Dicaearcheum populos, Delumque minorem;”

i. e., *the city of Dicaearchia, and its people*; or, more fully, *Delus minor, and its Dicaearchean people*.

HIS UBI TUM, &c., . . . PORTUM (vv. 898-901).—Compare Auson. *Cupid. Cruc. 101*:

“quae postquam multa perpessus nocte Cupido
effugit, pulsa tandem caligine somni
evolat ad superos, portaque evadit eburna.”

The words “pulsa tandem caligine somni” in this plain imitation of our author by the learned and elegant Ausonius leave no doubt on my mind that Virgil means to describe, in the words of our text, not alone Aeneas’s return from the underworld, but, at the same time, his awaking out of the dream in which only (as the poet would now at last intimate) his visit to the under-world had been paid.

Notwithstanding the strong reprobation with which this termination of the sixth Book of the Aeneid has been visited by Heyne, and others whose opinions have weight with the public, I think it impossible to imagine any *dénouement* more simple, natural, and (even in Virgil’s own time and before it had become classical from his use of it) classical, and poetical.

LIMITE RECTO (vs. 901).—*Straight*, i. e., *without deviation from the straight course*. Compare Val. Flacc. 4. 614:

. . . “sed limite recto
puppis, et aequali transcurrat carbasus aura.”

Stat. *Silv. 2. 2. 83*:

“ante tamen cunctas procul eminet una diaetas,
quae tibi Parthenopen *directo limite* ponti
ingerit”

[directly across the sea]. Id. *Theb.* 5. 735 :

“ iste quidem Argolicis haud olim indebitus armis
luctus adest. *recto* descendunt *limite* Parcae.”

Ibid. 5. 471 (Hypsipyle, of Jason) :

“ inde fugam Minyae, sociosque appellat Iason
efferus, o utinam iam tum mea littora *rectis*
praetervectus aquis”

(where “*praetervectus aquis rectis*” is *carried past Lemnos and straightforward or onward by the waters*). Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 6. 9 :

“ cum poteram *recto* transire Ceraunia *velo*”

(where “*recto velo*” is *right before the wind*, and consequently “*recto limite*”). The same thought is sometimes expressed by the term *rectus* applied directly to the ship itself, as Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 70 :

“ *rectaque* cum sociis, me duce, *navis* eat.”

The reading LIMITE is to be preferred to LITTORE, first because it affords a better sense, there being no reason why Virgil should so insist upon the precise course taken by the fleet to Caieta, viz., that it was along the shore, and every reason why here at the last verse but one of the Book he should despatch his charge with the words *went straight, without more ado, to Caieta* ; and secondly, because not only does the word LITTORE occur in the self-same position in the very next verse, the last verse of the Book, but the word “*littoribus*” meets us third word in the next Book. The reading LITTORE which has found so great favour both with copyists and editors seems to me to have arisen from a confusion of this verse with the next, just as the “*magnum deinde*” of the Roman MS. at verse 814 arose, not, as suggested by Ribbeck, from a confusion with the *Elegia ad Messallam*, but, very obviously and naturally, from a confusion with the line next but one preceding ; in which both those words occur.

AENEIDEA,

BOOK VII.

AENEIDEA.

VII.

1-4.

TU QUOQUE LITORIBUS NOSTRIS AENEIA NUTRIX
AETERNAM MORIENS FAMAM CAIETA DEDISTI
ET NUNC SERVAT HONOS SEDEM TUUS OSSAQUE NOMEN
HESPERIA IN MAGNA SI QUA EST EA GLORIA SIGNAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 4).

SIGNAT ■ *Rom.* ■■■. ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.
(1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Ribb.
SIGNANT ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■■ Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*).

The meaning is that the shores of Italy were rendered famous not only by the deaths of Misenus and Palinurus, but by that of Caieta also (quoque), the site of whose death and burial had taken and still to the author's time (NUNC) bore her name. This is I believe the sum and substance of three lines which, much studied and highly wrought as in common with the commencing lines of Virgil's other Books they evidently are, have yet been very variously interpreted by different commentators.

SEDEM (vs. 3).—*Seat, place, viz., of her bones, ossium* being suggested by the succeeding clause. Compare 6. 328: "*sedibus ossa quierunt.*" Ovid, *Met.* 7. 444:

. . . "sparsique latronis
terra negat *sedem*, *sedem* negat *ossibus* unda."

Ibid. 10. 33:

"serius aut citius *sedem* properamus ad unam."

Also Stat. *Theb.* 12. 664: "*tristes sine sedibus umbras.*" *Aen.* 6. 152:

"*sedibus* hunc refer ante suis et conde *sepulcro*"

(where "*conde sepulcro*" is the variation of the theme "*sedibus hunc refer ante suis*;" see Rem. on 1. 550). *Aen.* 6. 507 (of the cenotaph of Deiphobus): "*nomen et arma locum servant*" (where "*locum*," the place of sepulture, is the SEDEM of our text, "*servant*" is the SERVAT, and "*nomen*" is repeated).

Concerning this SEDEM, this seat of her bones, the question arises, whether it is to be understood literally, as the actual tumulus, the actual sepulchre of Caieta still subsisting in the time of Virgil, and marked with Caieta's name (compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 539:

"affusaeque iacent *tumulo*, *signataque saxa*
nomine complexae lacrimas in nomine fundunt"),

or whether it is not rather to be understood in that much looser sense in which "grave" and "tomb" are to be understood in the expressions: "Sebastopol was the grave of St. Arnaud," "The German forests were the tomb of the legions of Varus,"—viz., as the place where Caieta died and was buried, the place which was afterwards called by her name, the city Caieta. I am the more inclined to understand the passage in this last-mentioned manner, first because poetry consisting mainly in figures, the figurative is in any given case, *min* probably than the literal, the true sense; secondly, because the perpetuation of her name by a city is more honourable to Aeneas's nurse than the perpetuation of her name by a mere tomb; and thirdly, because Caieta thus becomes the connecting link, I may almost

say the catch-word, between the two books, the conclusion of the one bringing us to and leaving us at the port so called, the commencement of the other placing before our eyes the circumstances which caused the port to be so called. Nothing can be more smooth, easy, and natural than the transition. Never did geography, history, and etymology, more harmoniously combine to draw a vivid and at the same time sweet and touching picture. Nor was poesy absent, for no lines in the Aeneid are more musical than those which so sweetly prelude to the moonlight sail along the Circaean shore.

Exactly parallel to, and highly elucidatory of, the passage before us, and not improbably suggested by it, is Sil. 3. 439, where, speaking of Pyrene, whose death and burial in the Pyrenees caused those mountains to be so called, that author says:

. . . "tumulo tum membra reponit [Hercules]
supremum illaerymans; nec *honus* intercidit aevo,
defletumque tenent montes per saecula *nomen*,"

where there is precisely the same "*honus*," and precisely the same "*nomen*" as in our text, and where, as in our text no less than in the corresponding cases of Misenus and Palinurus alluded to in these very verses, it is the *ἐπιταφίος* place, not the actual tumulus, which perpetuates the name of the deceased. Compare also Sil. 12. 155 (of the promontory of Misenus, exactly similarly circumstanced, and actually referred to in the quoque of our text):

"nec non *Misenum servantem* Idaea *sepulcro*
nomina, et Herculeos videt ipso in littore Baulos,"

where it is the *mons* Misenus which preserves the name and fame of Misenus, the person—the sepulchre—"sepulcro" (perhaps here also not to be taken too literally), being no more than the medium through which the name of the deceased and buried person passed to the site, the promontory Misenum.

SIGNAT.—Those who with Wagner (1861) read SIGNANT not only go against the authority of the MSS. but against that universal sense which regards the name as the mark of the person, whether living or dead, not the person as the mark of the name;

may, go against the very use, essence and prerogative of name, which is to be in all things and of all things the signum, the mark *par excellence*. Accordingly, Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 862 :

“ *signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest.*”

Id. *Met.* 8. 539 (of Meleager’s sisters lamenting his death) :

. . . “ *signataque saxa
nomine complexae lacrimas in nomine fundunt.*”

Mart. 9. 18 (of Evarinus) :

“ *ille puer tota domino gratissimus aula,
nomine qui signat tempora verna suo.*”

Prudent. *adv. Symm.* 1 :

“ *utque Palatinis Capitolia condita saxis
signarent titulo proavi Iovis.*”

NOMEN SIGNAT, exactly as Sil. 11. 508 :

“ *est locus, Aetoli signat quem gloria regis.*”

Stat., *Silc.* 1. 4. 58 :

“ *tunc deus, Alpini qui iuxta culmina dorsi
signat Apollineo sanctos cognomine lucos,
respicit.*”

Claud. *Torpedo*, 1 :

“ *quis non indomitam dirae torpedinis artem
audiit, et merito signatas nomine vires*” ?

Rutil. *Itiner.* 1. 293 :

“ *haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus.*”

SI QUA EST EA GLORIA.—Is this a depreciation of Hesperia ? Can the meaning be : *It is a great glory (AETERNAM FAMAM) to Hesperia to hold Caieta’s bones, and a small glory to Caieta to be laid in Hesperia, and have an Hesperian town named after her ?* The compliment is as in the case of Ammian’s sojourn in Rome, reciprocal, Libanius to Ammian : *Και σε ζηλω του Ρωμην εχειν, κακεινην του σε. συ μεν γαρ εχεις ω των εν γη παραπλησιον ουδεν. η δε των εαυτης πολιτων, ος προγοινοι δαιμονες, ουχ*

υστερον. Why should it not be equal? why should Aeneas's nurse be exalted at the expense of Hesperia? Is it because the family of the reigning dynasty must be everything, and the country nothing? Had the *respublica*, the fatherland, already in the time of Virgil fallen so low, become so entirely out of date and forgotten? Or in what other way is this *SI QUA EST EA GLORIA* in these well meditated verses to be explained? Wagner answers that the words are not depreciatory but exalting: "*EA GLORIA, quae scilicet est amplissima,*" and quotes Ovid, *Fasti*, 6. 27: "*est aliquid nupsisse Iovi.*" My answer is the point-blank opposite. The words are depreciatory—not, however, of Hesperia—the depreciation of which had been in the worst of taste—but of glory itself, a moral reflection on the emptiness of glory; as if he had said, *Of whatever use to you, now that you are dead, can be the glory that your bones lie IN MAGNA HESPERIA?* *SI QUA EST EA GLORIA* is thus a moral reflection similar to those which Virgil has so often elsewhere made on similar occasions. *How vain is all earthly glory to the dead!* Compare 10. 826:

. . . "teque parentum
manibus et cineri, *si qua est ea cura*, remitto"

[if to the dead can be of any consequence what becomes of the dead body]. 6. 213: "*cineri ingrato suprema ferebant*" [the dead body, thankless, because, being dead, ignorant and insensible whether of kindness or unkindness, whether of weal or woe]. 6. 885:

"purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar *inani*
munere."

Nor let it be objected that ancient religion inculcated the efficacy and importance to the dead, the duty to the living, of such rites, of such *post-mortem* observances, gifts, and memorials. No doubt it did, and the words are in contradiction with ancient religious faith; but nature is stronger than faith, and Virgil had been a less admired poet than he so justly is if he had not sometimes given utterance to the swelling feelings of his human

heart. The meaning, therefore, is not that *that glory is great*, but *if that glory is anything at all to you*, there being no question at all about the greatness or smallness of the glory, the only question being whether that glory was anything at all to the dead : *si id* (viz., *quod tumulum habes in Hesperia*) *est tibi defunctae aliquid*; in other words, *if that which the living set so much value on is of any value at all to the dead*.

Silius's couplet, 12. 363 :

“ nec parvum decus, advecto cum classe paterna
agmine Thespiadum, terris, Iolae, dedisti,”

seems to have been modelled upon the two commencing lines of this seventh Book.

TENDIT ITER VELIS (vs. 7).—*Sails*; as 6. 240 : “tendere iter pennis,” *to fly*.

11-20.

DIVES INACCESSOS UBI SOLIS FILIA LUCOS
ADSIDUO RESONAT CANTU TECTISQUE SUPERBIS
URIT ODORATAM NOCTURNA IN LUMINA CEDRUM
ARGUTO TENUIS PERCURRENS PECTINE TELAS
HINC EXAUDIRI GEMITUS IRAEQUE LEONUM
VINCLA RECUSANTUM ET SERA SUB NOCTE RUDENTUM
SETIGERIQUE SUES ATQUE IN PRAESEPIBUS URSI
SAEVIRE AC FORMAE MAGNORUM ULULABE LUPORUM
QUOS HOMINUM EX FACIE DEA SAEVA POTENTIBUS HERBIS
INDUERAT CIRCE IN VOLTUS AC TERGA FERARUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 19). [*punct.*]

SAEVA POTENTIBUS HERBIS, IND. ■■■ “Strabo sic ait, Circaeum, promontorium excelsum, robore, lauro, myrtho, refertum, variarum radicum ferax; ideo volunt Circem medicamentis valuisse,” Cynth. Cenet.; Wakef.

SAEVA POTENTIBUS HERBIS IND. **III** P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. ; Jahn ; Thiel ; Süpfle ; Wagn. (1861) ; Ribb.

Servius says : "DEA SAEVA ; aut per se, aut HERBIS POTENTIBUS SAEVA."

INACCESSOS (vs. 11).—Gr. αβατους, απροσβατους, απροσφορους. The commentators and translators have wholly missed the true force of this word, which is neither "ad quos nullus debeat accedere, ad quos accedere periculosum est, sciz. metu veneficiorum" (Servius, Wagner, Forbiger), nor "ad quos raro accedunt homines, solitarios" (Heyne), but simply and according to the composition of the word, IN (not) ACCESSOS (*approached*), *never approached or visited or entered by anyone ; shunned by all ;* Virgil's meaning being, not that the groves of Circe were dangerous to approach, but that, in consequence of this danger, no one did approach them. Servius's childish observation "INACCESSOS, non *ad quos nullus accessit*, nam Ulixes illuc venit, sed *ad quos nullus debeat accedere*," has been sufficient to prevent not only the commentators and translators of Virgil, but even lexicographers, from assigning to the word its plain grammatical, and very emphatic sense. That the fear of Circe, the *dira superstitio loci* (NEU LITTORA DIRA SUBIRENT, verse 22), kept every one away from the place not only in Aeneas's time but so lately as the beginning of the present century, appears from the account given by Bonstetten, "voyage sur la scene des six derniers livres de l'Eneide" (Geneve, anno 13) : "Aucun des habitants du Monte Circeo n'oserait entrer dans la belle grotte que l'on trouve au haut de la montagne, et que le peuple croit avait servi de demeure a la maga, ou magicienne Circe. Ayant proposé à quelques paysans des environs de Circeo de m'accompagner dans la grotte, tous me refuserent," etc. Compare Plin. *H. N.* 10. 12 : "Deserta incolit ; nec tantum desolata, sed *dira etiam et inaccessa*," where it will be observed that Pliny applies to the locality of which he speaks the self-same words which are applied by Virgil to the residence of Circe, "inaccessus" (vs. 11) and "dirus" (vs. 22) ; and where "inaccessus" is used as a

steigerung or climax of "deserta" and "desolata," proof sufficient in itself how entirely wrong Heyne is in understanding it as equivalent to "ad quem raro accedunt homines, solitarium." Compare also Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 2: *αβατον εις ερημιαν*. Eurip. *Bacch.* 10 (Bacchus speaking):

αινω δε Καδμον, αβατον ος πεδον τοδε
τιθησι, θυγατρος σηκον.

Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* 5. 5 (of the Holy of Holies): Εκκειτο δ' ουδεν ολωσ εν αυτω, αβατον δε και αχραντον και αθιατον ην πασιν, αγιου δε αγιον εκαλειτο. Virgil himself, *Aen.* 8. 195 (of the cave of Cacus): "solis inaccessam radiis" [never visited by ray of sun].

CEDRUM (vs. 13).—The wood of the cedar, burned sometimes in the shape of a torch (see Stat. *Theb.* 3. 140:

"Thessalis haud aliter bello gavisā recenti,
cui gentile nefas hominem revocare canendo,
multifida attollens antiqua lumina cedro,
nocte subit campos"),

but by Circe no doubt in the same manner as by Calypso, Hom. *Od.* 5. 59, on a hearth or in braziers:

πυρ μεν επ' εσχαροφιν μεγα καιετο, τηλοθι δ' οδμη
κεδρου τ' ευκαιτοι θυου τ' ανα νησον οδωδει
δαιομενων.

The ancients, Greeks as well as Romans, were acquainted with a tree which they called *cedrus*, and which, on account of its being larger than another tree which they considered to be of the same species, they sometimes called more particularly *cedrus maior*, and sometimes *cedrelates* (κεδρος ελατη). This tree produced both a juice (*succus cedri*, and more shortly *cedrus* and a resin (*cedria* or *cedrium*); the former used for the purposes of light ("magni ad lumina usus," Plin. *H. N.* 34. 11), as well as for perfuming, preserving, and protecting from insects, books, paper, and other perishable objects. It seems highly probable that the *cedrus* thus described by Pliny, and further stated by him to resemble a juniper in appearance, was the *cedrus* whose

blaze illuminated Calypso's grotto and the splendid apartments of Circe.

A not very dissimilar though more homely picture is presented to us *Georgic* 1. 291, viz., of a countryman sitting up late into the night and making torches by the firelight, whilst his wife weaves, and accompanies her work with a song :

“ et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignes
pervigilat, ferroque faces inspicat acuto ;
interea longum cantu solata laborem
arguto coniux percurrit pectine telas.”

PECTINE in verse 14 must be the shuttle ; (1) because it is against all probability that Virgil should describe Circe as weaving with the sley, a part of the weaving apparatus so totally different from the shuttle, in words bearing so great a similarity to those in which Homer, *Od.* 5. 59 :

πυρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχαροφιν μέγα καιέτο, τηλοθὶ δ' ὀδμή
κέδρου τ' εὐκαταίοιο θυοῦν τ' ἀνα νησον ὀδῶδει,
δαίσιμον ἢ δ' ἐνδον αἰδίαουσ' ὅπῃ καλῇ,
ἱστον ἐποιχομένη, χρυσεῖη κερκιδ' ὑφαίνειν,

describes Calypso as weaving with the κερκίς, proved by its having fallen to the ground and out of the hand of Andromache, when she heard the cry raised at the death of Hector, *Il.* 22. 448 : χαμαὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκπέσσε κερκίς, and by Virgil's own most happy repetition of that touching incident, 9. 476 :

“ excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa,”

to be the *radius*, the shuttle ; (2) because the motion of the shuttle being smooth and easy, that of the sley consisting in repeated jerks or shocks, the picture of Circe weaving with the shuttle is as elegant as the picture of Circe weaving with the sley had been inelegant. (3), because the motion of the sley consisting of repeated slaps, jerks, or shocks, and being actually so described by Ovid, *Met.* 6. 56 :

“ inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis,
quod digiti expediunt atque inter stamina ductum
percusso feriunt insecti pectine dentes,”

it is little likely that Virgil should have described such short,

abrupt, jerking motion by the term PERCURRENS, descriptive of a smooth, even, gliding motion—compare 8. 391 :

. . . “tonitru cum rupta corusco
ignea rima micans *percurrit* lumine nimbos”

(where it is precisely the motion of a shuttle, not at all the motion of a sley, which is expressed by the “*percurrit*” of the lightning through the clouds); 6. 627 : “omnia poenarum *percurrere* nomina” [not *strike*, or *jerk*, or *slap the names*, as a sley strikes or jerks or slaps the threads of the woof, but *run through* or *over them*, as a shuttle runs through or over the threads of the warp]. 4, because it is little likely that Virgil should describe the motion of the sley by the very term used by Ovid to describe the so different motion of the shuttle, *Fusti*, 3. 819 (of Pallas) :

“illa etiam stantes *radio percurrere* telas
erudit.”

And (5), because ARGUTO (ἀργεῖ), wholly inapplicable to the clapping sound of the sley, is accurately descriptive of the whirring, whistling sound of the shuttle. See Rem. on “arguto,” below. For all these reasons I agree with Heyne (*excurs. ad loc.*) that PECTINE in our text is the shuttle ; and explain the application of the same term by Virgil and Ovid to two so different objects by the supposition that Ovid, calling the sley “pecten,” calls it by its proper technical name—a name derived from the similarity of the sley in shape to a common comb, and still preserved in Italian in the scarcely changed form of *pettine*, while it is represented in German by the corresponding German term *kamm*, as in French by the corresponding French term *peigne*—and that Virgil calling the shuttle “pecten” calls it not by its proper name (which is *radius* only, the *κερκίς* of the Greeks), but by the metaphorical term “pecten,” equivalent to *plectrum*, and that the meaning is: *running through the “telae” with her shuttle—plectrum* (viz., in the same way as a lyrist runs through the chords with his pecten); in other words, *accompanies her song with her whirring, whistling shuttle, with the music of her shuttle*, ARGUTO PECTINE. Compare the

accompaniment by Orpheus of his voice with his lyric "pecten," 6. 645 :

"nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
iamque eadem digitis, iam *pectine* pulsat eburno,"

where if Orpheus "pulsat," not *percurrit*, it is because he is not singing, but teaching music, sounding each note separately; while in our text Circe *PERCURRIT*, not *pulsat*, because she is singing, not teaching, and therefore sweeps all the chords (all the threads of the warp) together, *PERCURRIT*, exactly as Pan "percurrit," sweeps over all the openings of the syrinx at once, or with one sweep, Lucret. 4. 590 :

"unco saepe labro calamos *percurrit* hiantes."

We have thus the poetical turn instead of the dry matter of fact of the commentators, and we have besides a satisfactory clearing up of the confusion between the two "pectines," the "pecten" of Ovid, and of authors generally, meaning *the sley*, and the "pecten" of Virgil alone meaning *the shuttle*. The exordium of this seventh Book, perhaps the most exquisite of all our author's exordiums, thus acquires an additional charm.

ARGUTO (vs. 14).—"Garrulo, stridulo, sonanti," Servius. "'Argutum nemus' . . . ut illud (*A. 7. 14*): ARGUTO PERCURRENS PECTINE TELAS," Interpr. Virgilii Maii, ad *Ecl. 8. 22*. "Mit rasselndem kamme durchwebend," Voss. "An *sonanti*, et *stridulo*? ut vult Servius, ex illo 'arguta ilice'; an *gracili*, ut ego ex illo 'argutum caput'?" La Cerda. I agree with Servius, the Interpretes Virgilii Maii, and Voss, against La Cerda. ARGUTO describes the sound, not the shape, of the instrument; (1), because the whirr or whistle of the shuttle is exactly the sound of a vibrating chord described in the *Ciris*, 178, as "argutus":

"non *arguta* sonant tenui psalteria chorda;"

(2), because the whirr or whistle of the shuttle is constantly regarded as musical by the Greek poets (compare Aristoph.

Ranae, 1313 (Aeschylus mocking Euripides) :

αι θ' ὑπ' ὠροφίοι κατα γωνίας
εἰεἰεἰεἰεἰλίσσετε δακτυλοῖς φалаγγες
ιστοτονα πηνίσματα,
κερκίδος αοίδου μελέτας.

“Epigr. Antipatri,” *Anthol. Pal.* 6. 174 :

κερκίδα δ' εὐποιήτων, ἀηδὼνα τὰν ἐν ἐρίβοις.

“Epigr. Leonidae,” *ibid.* 6. 288 :

. . . καὶ τὰν ἀτρία κριναμένων
κερκίδα, τὰν ἰστων μολπατίδα.

“Epigr. Philippi,” *ibid.* 6. 247 :

κερκίδας ὀρθρολαοῖσι χελιδόσιν εἰκελοφώνους,
Παλλάδος ἰστοπονον λειομίτους καμάκας,
καὶ κτενα κοσμοκομῆν, καὶ δακτυλοτριπτον ἀτρακτον
σφονδυλοδινητῷ ῥηματι νηχομένον.

“Epigr. Antipatri Sidonii,” *ibid.* 6. 160 :

κερκίδα τὰν ὀρθρίνα, χελιδονίδων ἀμα φωνα,
μελπομέναν, ἰστων Παλλάδος ἀλκυονα.

“Epigr. eiusdem aliud,” *ibid.* 6. 47 :

κερκίδα τὴν φιλαοίδον· Ἀθηναίῃ θετὸ Βιττω
ἀνθεμα, λιμνῆς ἀρμένον ἐργασίης.

“Epigr. Archiae,” *ibid.* 6. 39 :

. . . πολυσπαθεὼν μελεδημονα κερκίδα πεπλῶν
εὐθροον);

and (3), on account of the admirable accordance of such meaning with PECTINE understood figuratively and as equivalent to plectro.

TELAS (vs. 14).—As the weaver's telae, i.e., fila, stamina, are the chordae on which he plays with his figurative plectrum or pecten, the shuttle, so the chordae on which the lyrist plays with his real plectrum or pecten are the lyrist's fila, and stamina, as Ovid, *Met.* 11. 169 : “tum stamina docto

pollice sollicitat [Apollo];" vet. poeta in *Anthol. Lat.* tom. 1, p. 624 (Burm.):

"musica contingens subtili *stamina* pulsu."

IN PRAESEPIBUS (vs. 17).—These words, though in the grammatical construction belonging to *URSI* alone, belong in the sense to all the animals equally, according to Virgil's usual habit of making up the whole complex thought by means of separate sentences, each sentence containing some idea not contained in any of the other sentences, yet intended to apply in the sense to the aggregate of all the sentences. Of which species of composition no less than two other instances are afforded by this very passage, *EXAUDIRI*, *VINCLA RECUSANTUM*, and *SERA SUB NOCTE*, belonging in the grammar to the first clause only, but in the sense to the aggregate of the clauses; while *FORMAE*, belonging in the grammar to the last clause alone, belongs in the sense no less to all the preceding clauses, the animals mentioned in those clauses being no less *formae* than the wolves. Compare "*forma tricornis umbrae*," 6. 289, where see Rem. For another example of the same kind see 11. 184:

"iam pater Aeneas, iam curvo in littore Tarchon
constituere pyras,"

where "*curvo in littore*" is intended to be understood no less of Aeneas than of Tarchon. This kind of composition is occasionally met with in English, where, however, it seems ascribable rather to slovenliness, or incapacity to write better, than either to choice and intention, or the genius of the language. *Ex. gr.*, in Gray's so celebrated, so universally-admired *Elegy*, we have the following stanza:

"no further seek his merits to disclose
or draw his frailties from their dread abode;
there they alike in trembling hope repose,
the bosom of his Father and his God,"

where although the predication is only that the bosom of God is the abode of youth's frailties, the sense is that it is the abode equally of his frailties and his merits.

SAEVIRE (vs. 18).—"Saevae voces edere," Wagner (*Praest.*); and so indeed, we should be obliged to understand the word if it were dependent on EXAUDIRI. But it is not dependent on, but co-ordinate with, EXAUDIRI, and means, not, specially, *to howl or cry*, but, generally, *to ramp, to be excited*, the picture, if I may use the expression, being transferred from the ears to the eyes and general understanding of the reader. For the perfection of the picture it was quite necessary that the animals should be represented not merely as howling, but also as ramping. In prose the idea would have been expressed by a participle, made to agree with SUES and URSI made in their turn to agree with LEONUM; thus: *setigerorumque suum atque ursorum saevientium*. It was as unnecessary in this clause to devote a special verb to howling—sufficiently expressed for the whole three clauses in GEMITUS, RUDENTUM, and ULULARE—as it was necessary to devote a verb to the ramping action of the animals, otherwise not described in any of the clauses.

FORMAE (vs. 18).—"Vocabulum *forma* interdum designat portentosam magnitudinem bestiarum, interdum deorum," Wagner (1861)—an observation which, if it mean that *forma* is never thus used of men or other objects not remarkable for a large size, is contradicted by 3. 591: "*ignoti nova forma viri*;" while, on the other hand, if the meaning of the observation be that "*forma*" in the present instance expresses the large size of the wolves spoken of, the contrary is shown by MAGNORUM, which our author would hardly have added to LUPORUM except for the purpose of expressing a character of the animal not otherwise expressed in the sentence. Instead, then, of *forma* expressing either generally or in this particular instance the great size of the object which it governs in the genitive case, it is used only as *imago* (compare 8. 23: "*imagine lunae*," instead of *luna*) and *corpus* with the genitive of the object are sometimes used by the Romans, and as *σχημα*, *χρημα*, and *δεμας*, with the genitive of the object are so often used by the Greeks, viz., partly for the sake of varied expression, and partly in order to place before the reader or hearer the thing itself, the *ipsissima res* spoken of, as contradistinguished from its mere name.

Compare Sil. 15. 86 :

“quum pecudes volucrumque genus *formasque ferarum*
segnem atque obscoenam passim stravisset in alvum,”

where “volucrum genus” and “formas ferarum” are merely varieties of expression for volucres and ferae, a variety absolutely necessary for the formation of the verse, which it was impossible to construct so long as the author was constrained to use the plain straightforward expressions, pecudes, volucres, ferae. Compare also *Aen.* 6. 479 :

“hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclytus armis
Parthenopaeus et Adraști pallentis *imago*,”

where Tydeus, Parthenopaeus, and Adrastus are all equally images, though for the sake of the rhythm and the more easy reference to the distinguishing pallor of Adrastus the term “imago” is applied to Adrastus only ; also Sil. 13. 587 :

. . . “sed et ostia Ditis
centenis suetus Briareus recludere palmis,
et Sphinx, virgineos rictus infecta cruore,
Scyllaque, Centaurique truces, *umbræque* Gigantum,”

where Briareus, Sphinx, Scylla, and the Centaurs, are no less *umbræ* than the Gigantes, though, for the sake of the versification the epithet “umbræ” is applied only to the last-mentioned. The expression in the text is the more proper, the metamorphosis of the men into animals having been only outward or with respect to shape, the mind remaining the same.

The statement of Wagner (ed. Heyn.): “Ingentem tamen magnitudinem bestiarum hoc vocabulo designari docet Pricæus ad Apul. *Met.* 4, p. 76,” a statement repeated by other commentators in full reliance on the accuracy of Wagner (as Forbiger: “Ingentem tamen magnitudinem bestiarum hoc vocabulo indicari docet Pricæus ad Apul. *Met.* 4, p. 76, a Wagn. laudatus”), has no other foundation than the mere citation, by Price, of our text, in illustration of Apuleius’s (*Met.* Gouda ed. lib. 4, p. 76) “Quis enim, quamvis fortis et intrepidus, *immani forma tantæ bestiae*, noctu præsertim visitata, non se ad fugam statim concitaret?” in which passage “forma” is simply *shape*

or *form*, the magnitude of the shape or form being expressed by "immani," exactly as in our text FORMAE is *shapes* or *forms*, the magnitude of the shapes or forms being expressed by MAGNORUM. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 72 :

" neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba,
astra tenent caeleste solum, *formae*que deorum ;"

ibid. 1. 416 :

" cetera diversis tellus animalia *formis*
sponte sua peperit ;"

ibid. 2. 78 : " per insidias iter est *formasque* ferarum ;" Sil. 15. 84 (ed. Rup.) :

" nonne vides, hominum ut celsos ad sidera vultus
sustulerit deus, ac sublimia finxerit ora ;
cum pecudes volucrumque genus *formasque* ferarum
segnem atque obscenam passim stravisset in alvum ?"

the first and third of which passages are the very passages on which Wagner, with an oscitancy or other aberration of mind similar to that just pointed out, justifies his gloss (1861) : " vocabulum *forma* interdum designat portentosam magnitudinem bestiarum."

HOMINUM EX FACIE . . . IN VULTUS AC TERGA FERARUM.—The naked thought is HOMINUM EX FACIE IN *faciem* FERARUM. For the sake no less of richness and variety than of the more easy completion of the verse, the second *facies* is changed into its constituent particulars VULTUS AC TERGA.

TERGA FERARUM (vs. 20).—The ordinary synecdoche for *corpora* FERARUM. Compare Hom. *Od.* 10. 239 (of the same Circean beasts) :

οι δε στυων μεν εχον κεφαλαι φωνην τε, δεμας τε.

See Remm. on 1. 638 ; 6. 422.

23-42.

NEPTUNUS—REGES

NEPTUNUS VENTIS IMPLEVIT VELA SECUNDIS, ATQUE FUGAM DEDIT, ET PRAETER VADA FERVIDA VEXIT (vv. 23, 24).—Three separate simple sentences, reducible to the one more complex one, NEPTUNUS *implens* VELA SECUNDIS VENTIS *velociter* *vexit* PRAETER VADA FERVIDA. In those helpless primitive times the intervention of Neptune to carry Aeneas, or, Hom. *Od.* 12. 71:

και νυ κε την ενθ' ωκα βαλεν μεγαλας ποτι πετρας,
αλλ' Ηρη παρεπεμψεν, επει φιλος ηεν Ιησων,

of Juno herself to carry Jason, past a dangerous spot was less a waste of god-power than it would be in this our happy steam and compass era. Perhaps, however, this is to take both authors too literally, and the meaning is not that either Neptune or Juno actually interfered in person, but only, as at 3. 715:

“ hinc me digressum vestris *deus* appulit oris,”

that an event at once so little to be anticipated and so *à propos* could only have been the work of divinity.

SECUNDIS (vs. 23).—*Seconding, fair, toward*. See Rem. on “*secunda*,” 1. 160.

VENTIS IMPLEVIT VELA SECUNDIS.—The whole four words are represented by the Greek *πλησιςτιος* (Hom. *Il.* 11. 7) and the English *full sail*.

VADA FERVIDA.—The “*ferventes aestibus undas*” of Ovid, *Met.* 14. 48, and Dryden’s “*boiling deep*,” translation of *Aen.*, book 1.

CUM VENTI POSUERE (vs. 27), *thème*; OMNISQUE REPENTE RESEDIT FLATUS, *variation*.

LENTO MARMORE (vs. 28).—That the meaning of “*lentus*,” as here applied to the sea, is *listless, languid, sluggish; having little motion, life, or activity, dead*, as we say in English, admits

of no manner of doubt; first, because such is the general meaning of the word; secondly, because no word can be more proper than "*lentus*," so understood, to express the condition of the sea CUM VENTI POSUERE OMNISQUE RESEDIT FLATUS; thirdly, because "*lentus*" in this sense harmonizes perfectly with LUC-TANTUR, inasmuch as in a dead calm the vessels, unassisted as they were either by sea or wind, could be got on only by the main force of rowing; and finally, because it is precisely in this sense, viz., of *dull, heavy, lifeless, without motion*, the word has been applied by Claudian, 6 *Cons. Honor.* 509, to the fountain of the Clitumnus:

. . . "tacito passu quem si quis adiret
lentus erat; si voce gradum maiore citasset,
commotis fervebat aquis."

"Piger" is applied by Claudian to a marsh in pretty much the same figurative sense, viz., of *dull, lazy, inactive, having little life or motion*, 4 *Cons. Honor.* 346:

"calcatur si *pigra palus* tuus, ante profundum
praetentet sonipes."

HUNC INTER, &c., . . . PRORUMPIT (vv. 30-32).—Compare Dionys. *Perieg.* 351

. . . ης δια μεσσης
Θυμβρις ελίσσόμενος καθαρὸν ροὸν εἰς ἀλά βαλλεν.

HUNC INTER (*lucum*).—*Between this grove, i. e., between the two parts of this grove, dividing this grove into two.* Compare 8. 96: "*secant silvas*."

AETHERA MULCEBANT CANTU LUCOQUE VOLABANT (vs. 34).—The reading AEQUORA has been preferred by some critics as agreeing better with, and almost required by, ASSUETAE RIPIS ET FLUMINIS ALVEO. On this very account, however, I object to it, as dwelling too much on the low flying of the birds, which would thus seem to be brought for the very purpose of singing the water to sleep. Whatever countenance is afforded to AEQUORA by Servius's quotation of that reading, in his comment on 4. 524, is neutralized by his treating us here to an almost *totidem verbis* repetition of that comment, served up as a comment on AETHERA. Wakefield's substitution of AERA for

AETHERA is uncalled for, the latter word being so often used for the former not only by poets generally, but even by Virgil himself. Let one example out of a thousand suffice, *Georg.*

1. 404 :

“ apparet liquido sublimis in *aere* Nisus,
et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo ;
quacunque illa levem fugiens secat *aethera* pennis,
ecce inimicus, atrox, magno stridore per *auras*
insequitur Nisus ; qua se fert Nisus ad *auras*,
illa levem fugiens raptim secat *aethera* pennis,”

where not only are “ aer ” and “ aether ” used promiscuously and indifferently according to the exigencies of the verse, but according to the same exigencies “ *aurae* ” is used indifferently and promiscuously for either.

TEMPORA RERUM (vs. 37).—“ QUAE TEMPORA RERUM ; quia, ut diximus supra [3. 587], secundum Lucretium, tempora, nisi ex rebus colligantur, per se nulla sunt,” Servius (ed. Lion). “ QUAE TEMPORA RERUM fuerint, non tam, quibus temporibus Aeneas advenerit, quam, ut solet tempus pro rerum conditione poni, in quae Latii tempora inciderit hic accessus. Quod RERUM adiectum, poetici sermonis est proprium,” Heyne. “ TEMPORA RERUM, zustände, wie χρόνοι, s. Heus. zu Cic. d. Off. 1, 9,” Thiel. “ QUAE RERUM condicio fuerit, ut saepe tempus usurpatur,” Gossrau. “ Heyne recte explicat : quo rerum statu ac conditione Aeneas advenerit,” Forbiger. “ Q. TEMP. quae rerum condicio,” Wagner (1861). “ Virg., by the help of the Muse, will describe the posture of affairs (TEMPORA RERUM) and the condition of Latium (QUIS LATIO ANTIQUO FUERIT STATUS) when Aeneas arrived,” Conington. Where shall I find a stone heavy enough to fling at, with the effect of dispersing, this serried phalanx of gratuitous opinion ? Such a stone there must be somewhere, though I may not be fortunate enough to find it, for not more assuredly was Virgil not the poet to blow hot and cold with the same breath, to soothe his Muse to sleep with magnetic passes of monotonously-like line endings at the very moment he called to her in his loudest voice to be up and stirring, than Virgil was not the poet to commence three successive sentences with QUI, QUAE, and QUIS, respectively, as if he were a schoolboy making

his first attempt to decline the interrogative pronoun. And here's the stone which will break and disperse the phalanx even if it were denser than it is. "Iam *Latio is status erat rerum*, ut neque bellum neque pacem pati possent," says Livy, 8. 13; the same "*rerum*" the same "*status*," the same "*Latio*," "*is*" corresponding to *QUIS*," and "*erat*" to *FUERIT*. *Victoria!* see how they fly! But who is this coming to the rescue? It is Ovid, with his auxiliaries, *Trist.* 1. 1. 37:

"iudicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum
quaerere."

Shadowy auxiliaries which fly away without even waiting for a stone to be thrown among them, "*tempora rerum*" which does not even mean *times*, but only *the times in which the previously mentioned "res" came to pass!* And here come my own more substantial allies, all too late for the honours of the fight: viz., (1), incisive, cynic Tacitus, with his (a) (*Hist.* 1. 11) "*Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Ser. Galba iterum, Titus Vinus consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, reipublicae prope supremum;*" and his (b) (*Hist.* 4. 11) "*Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in civitate essent, Mucianus urbem ingressus, cuncta simul in se traxit;*" and his (c) (*Annal.* 1. 16). "*Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit,*" so parallel almost word for word to *RERUM QUIS LATIO ANTIQUO FUERIT STATUS, ADVENA CLASSEM QUUM PRIMUM AUSONIIS EXERCITUS APPULIT ORIS*; and his (d) (*Annal.* 1. 2) "*Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio, ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum;*" (2) astrological Manilius, with his brave (3. 630):

"hic rerum status est, Cancris cum sidere Phoebus
solstitium facit, et summo versatur Olympo:"

and (3), honest Livy brings up his reserve (25. 11) "*Hunc statum rerum Hannibal Tarenti reliquit, regressus ipse in hiberna;*" and (4), yonder, with a laurel sprig stuck under the band of his neat Dutch hat, an inkhorn in his button-hole, and

a parchment scroll in his hand, comes my old friend Peerlkamp all the way from Helversum to congratulate me. He is welcome, perverse but well-meaning man! no mystifyer," and who as deftly wields the Latin pen as Heyne and Ribbeck awkwardly. What says the scroll? "Formula *rerum status* adeo communi usu veterum poetarum et historicorum recepta est, ut non credam Virgilium in simplici propositione ab ea discessisse. Quare distinguo: QUÆ TEMPORA, RERUM QUIS LATIO ANTIQUO FUERIT STATUS."

On, to another field. But I had almost forgotten my levies of "tempora" without "rerum." Here they are: Ovid, *Fasti*, 1. 657:

. . . "ter quater evolvi signantes *tempora* Fastos."

Id. *Met.* 15. 420:

. . . "sic *tempora* verti
cernimus, atque illas assumere robora gentes,
concidere has."

Ibid. 11. 757:

. . . "Priamusque novissima Troiae
tempora sortitus."

Hor. *Od.* 4. 12. 13:

"adduxere sitim *tempora* Virgili."

And as many more as you please of the same bone and sinew.

DICAM HORRIDA BELLA (vs. 41), theme; DICAM ACIES, first variation; ACTOSQUE ANIMIS IN FUNERA REGES, second variation.

44-63.

MAIOR—COLONIS

MAIOR RERUM MIHI NASCITUR ORDO (vs. 44), theme; MAIUS OPUS MOVEO, variation.

FILIUS HUIC FATO DIVUM, PROLESQUE VIRILIS NULLA FUIT,

PRIMAQUE ORIENS EREPTA IUVENTA EST (vv. 50-52).—Compare Hom. *Od.* 7. 64 (of Rhexenor and his only daughter Arete):

τον μεν ακουρον εοντα βαλ' αργυροτοξος Απολλων
 νυμφιον εν μεγαρω, μιαν οιην παιδα λιποντα
 Αρητην,

of which passage the SOLA of our text represents both the *μιαν* and the *οιην*, inasmuch as she who was the *sole* child was of necessity the *one sole* child. The text consists of theme and variation, the variation conveying so much more information than usual, as almost to have the effect of a theme, inasmuch as, without this addition, the theme would have led the reader to conclude that Latinus had never had male offspring.

The manifest *mal-à-propos*, *He had no male offspring, and it died in infancy*, has induced Peerlkamp, never not ready with his sentence of illegitimacy, to condemn and remove from the text the latter of the two clauses as ill consisting with the former: "Legendum vel UNA FUIT; vel, quod præstat, verba PRIMAQUE ORIENS EREPTA IUVENTA EST sunt delenda"—judgment of a man who unversed as any new-born babe in the lore of manuscripts, and of too impatient temper, even had he been versed in such lore, to go through the tedious process of applying it (see Prefatory Remarks to my "Twelve Years' Voyage," § 2), was accustomed to brand as forgery every passage in which his keen microscopic vision was able to detect imperfection, as if, forsooth, there had ever been perfection in the world, ever in the world, perfect poet, perfect author or perfect man; and he not the best poet, as he the best man, *qui minimis vitiiis urgetur*. Nor does Conington's amiable expedient, viz., of interpreting NULLA "no more," much more effectually relieve our poet, its operation being rather to emasculate, to deprive NULLA of at least one-half its strength and energy, than to reconcile it with ORIENS EREPTA, or make the absence of *iam* or some such defining explanatory particle less sensibly felt. NULLA, awkward and inconvenient as it is in this place, is as surely *none, none at all*, as it is surely Virgil's, and as "nullus," Liv. 36. 30: "Et facile apparebat, quam cum inerti hoste res esset, qui tam impeditum saltum

nullo praesidio, ut clauderet transitum, insedisset," awkward and inconvenient as it is, is surely *none, none at all*, and Livy's.

SOLO DOMUM ET TANTAS SERVABAT FILIA SEDES (vs. 52).—The gist of the words is not *he had no child except one daughter*, but *an only daughter was his sole heir*, DOMUM ET TANTAS SERVABAT SEDES (compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 704 :

του δ' Αἰακού παῖς τις κατέσχε δώματα ;).

The conclusion to be drawn from which is, that the husband of this rich heiress (θυγατηρ επικληρος or επικληριτις) would be his successor—a fine chance for the homeless adventurer Aeneas, who had so opportunely lost his wife, and whom nothing less than the direct interference of heaven could detach from the first rich heiress who had fallen in his way afterwards. Statius treads closely in our author's steps, *Theb.* 1. 571 :

. . . "huic [Adrasto] primis et pubem ineuntibus annis,
mira decore pio, *servabat* nata Penates,
intemerata toris."

IAM MATURA VIRO IAM PLENIS NUBILIS ANNIS (vs. 53).—Theme and variation, the variation conveying no additional information, and being added merely for the sake of richness and fullness, just as a painter adds an additional tint in order that the object may have a richer appearance than if represented by a single tint only.

MULTI ILLAM MAGNO E LATIO TOTAQUE PETEBANT AUSONIA (vv. 54-5), &c.—Compare Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 109 :

. . . οἱοι Λιβύσσης ἀμφὶ γυναῖκος ἔβαν
Ἰρᾶσα πρὸς πόλιν, Ἀνταίου μετὰ καλλικομόν μναστήρης ἀγακλεᾶ κούραν
τὰν μάλα πολλοὶ ἀρίστητες ἀνδρῶν αἰτεοῦν
συγγονοὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξεινῶν. ἐπεὶ θάητον εἶδος
ἐπλετο· χρυσοστεφανοῦ δὲ οἱ ἦβας
καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρεψαὶ
ἐθελον.

Albanian ballad of Garentina (Camarda, appendice al "Saggio di Grammatologia comparata sulla lingua Albanese," p. 102) :

Σζουμε ζοτρα, ε ορουμε δουλερε (-аре)
Τε κατουνδι σαιε βαε,
Βαν τε μιρρεjen ατε κοπιλε.

Πο κ̑ριου νηγκ' ια δαν̑.

Λουρτεμου εις (πραν) αρρου κα κ̑ε κατουνδε,

Κα κ̑ε δεε τς' ις λαργου σσουμ̑,

Κ̑ε καλ̑ωρ χαιδιαρ,

thus translated by Camarda :

“ molti signori, e molti patrizi
al paese di lei andarono,
andarono per prender quella giovane,
ma a nessuno la diedero,
alfine (all' ultimo) giunse da un paese,
da una terra che era lunge assai,
un cavaliere gentile.”

PROPERABAT (vs. 57).—Gr., εσπουδαζε, ορ εσπενδε. Compare Herod. 1. 38 : Προς ων την οψιν ταυτην, τον τε γαμον τοι τουτον εσπενσα, και επι τα παραλαμβανομενα ουκ αποπεμπω.

LAURUS . . . SACRA COMAM, MULTOSQUE METU SERVATA PER ANNOS (vv. 59, 60).—“ METU : religione, quae nata est per timorem,” Servius. How near the old grammarian, even in the depth of the dark ages, is to the truth will appear from a comparison of 2. 714 :

. . . “antiqua cupressus
religione patrum multos servata per annos.”

LAURENTISQUE AB EA NOMEN POSUISSE COLONIS (vs. 63).—So Herodian 1. 12 (of Laurentum sought as a refuge by Commodus, when the plague raged at Rome) : Ευψυχαστερον γαρ το χωριον, και μεγαστοις κατασκιον δαφνηφοροις αλσεσιν (οθεν και το ονομα τω χωριω) σωτηριον ειναι εδοκει.

64-94.

HUIUS—IACEBAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 72).

ET IUXTA ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*); Ribb.

UT IUXTA ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.).

O Rom.

HUIUS APES SUMMUM (vs. 64), &c.—In ancient times bees were a bad omen. Plutarch (in *Brut.*) relates that just before the battle of Philippi swarms of bees were seen within the camp of Brutus and Cassius: Μελισσων ωφθησαν εσμοι συνισταμενοι περι τοπον τινα του χαρακος εντος, ον εξεκλεισαν οι μαντις, αφοσιουμενοι την δεισιδαιμονιαν and again, *ibid.*: Μελισσων δε φησιν [Βολουμνιος] τον πρωτον αετον αναπλεων γενεσθαι. Bees were considered a bad omen because so often dispossessed by an enemy of their citadel, so often expelled from their quarters by smoke and noise. Ammian. 18. 3: “superque hoc [viz., a swarm of bees settling in a certain place] ei prodigiorum gnaros sollicite consulenti, discrimen magnum portendi responsum est, coniectura videlicet tali, quod hae volucres post compositas sedes opesque congestas, fumo pelluntur et turbulento sonitu cymbalorum.” Accordingly, the swarm of bees that settled on the laurel tree of Latinus typified not the strangers who were to come and dispossess Latinus, and take possession of Laurentum, but that Latinus and his Latins would be driven out of their settlement of Laurentum by strangers, as bees are driven out of their hive.

Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, book 3, chap. 7, says: “The European bee (*apis mellifica*), although not a native of the new world, is now established both in North and South

America. It was introduced into the United States by some of the early settlers and has since overspread the vast forests of the interior, building hives in the decayed trunks of trees. 'The Indians,' says Washington Irving (*Tour in the Prairies*, ch. 9), 'consider them as the harbinger of the white man, as the buffalo is of the red man, and say that in proportion as the bee advances the Indian and the buffalo retire. It is said,' continues the same writer, 'that the wild bee is seldom to be met with at any great distance from the frontier and that they have always been the heralds of civilization, preceding it as it advanced from the Atlantic borders. Some of the ancient settlers of the west even pretend to give the very year when the honey-bee first crossed the Mississippi.' "

LIQUIDUM TRANS AETHERA (vs. 65).—LIQUIDUM, *clear, cloudless, transparent*. See Rem. on "liquidis in nubibus," 5. 525. AETHERA is not *the aether* properly so called, but *the sky, the heaven*, called *aether* for the convenience of the verse. See Rem. just referred to.

PARTIBUS EX ISDEM (vs. 70).—The direction from which the bees came indicated the direction from which the stranger was to come, just as the direction in which the meteor shot, 2. 694, indicated the direction in which Aeneas and his family were to fly.

LONGIS, &c., . . . GEMMIS (vv. 73-76).—Two themes followed by their respective variations; LONGIS COMPRENDERE CRINIBUS IGNUM the first theme, having for its variation REGALES ACCENSA COMAS; and OMNEM ORNATUM FLAMMA CREPITANTE CREMARI the second theme, having for its variation ACCENSA CORONAM INSIGNEM GEMMIS. In other words: COMAS repeats CRINIBUS, CORONAM INSIGNEM GEMMIS repeats ORNATUM, the first ACCENSA repeats IGNUM, and the second ACCENSA repeats CREMARI. See Rem. on 4. 611.

AT REX, SOLLICITUS MONSTRIS, ORACULA FAUNI, FATIDICI GENITORIS ADIT (vv. 81, 82)—Ovid, always so much more precise than Virgil, gives the following more precise and particular account of the consultation *in dubiis* of the same Faunus by a king even more celebrated than Latinus, *Fasti*, 4. 649:

" silva vetus, nullaque diu violata securi,
 stabat, Maenalio sacra relicta deo.
 ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto
 noctibus. hic geminas rex Numa mactat oves.
 prima cadit *Fauno* ; leni cadit altera Somno.
 sternitur in duro vellus utrumque solo.
 bis caput intonsum fontana spargitur unda ;
 bis sua faginea tempora fronde premit.
 usus abest Veneris : nec fas animalia mensis
 ponere : nec digitis annulus ullus inest.
 veste rudi tectum supra nova vellera corpus
 ponit, adorato per sua verba deo.
 interea placidam redimita papavere frontem
 nox venit, et secum somnia nigra trahit.
Faunus adest ; oviumque premens pede vellera duro
 edidit a dextro talia dicta toro."

LUCOSQUE SUB ALTA CONSULIT ALBUNEA, NEMORUM QUAE
 MAXIMA SACRO FONTE SONAT (vv. 82-84).—"Alta Albunea,"
 fons in lacu inexploratae altitudinis ;" and again, "NEMORUM
 QUAE MAXIMA SACRO FONTE SONAT h. e. QUAE ALBUNEA MAXIMA,
 h. e. *admodum magna, manat, larga aquarum vena fluit* FONTE suo,"
 Heyne. No ; a fountain cannot sound with a fountain. It is
 the wood which sounds (resounds) with the fountain, *i. e.*, with
 the noise of the fountain, and the structure is : LUCOS SUB ALTA
 ALBUNEA (*silva*) QUAE (*silva*) MAXIMA NEMORUM (*i. e.*, *maxime*
nemorosa) (SONAT SACRO FONTE ; and so Wagner, rightly, in his
Praest.

MAXIMA NEMORUM.—Not with Heyne, "MAXIMA nemori-
 bus" (*a fountain*) *surrounded by great woods*, but simply *maximum*
nemus, a very great wood. To Forbiger's objection : "our *silva*,
 non fons, mephitim exhalare dicatur," the answer is, that it is
 only according to our author's habit thus to speak (as the gram-
 marians say) *improprie*, and that the mephitis only gains in im-
 portance by being represented to steam not merely from the
 fountain but from the whole wood.

ALBUNEA.—Near Laurentum, and not to be confounded
 with the Tiburtine Albunea of Horace and Tibullus, first, be-
 cause we have the express statement of Probus (ad *Georg.* 1. 10)
 that there was not only a wood Albunea near Laurentum, but

an oracle of Faunus in the wood ("Itaque etiam oraculum eius [Fauni] in Albunea, Laurentinorum silva, est"); secondly, because the locality, with its still existing sulphureous waters, "aqua solforata d' Altieri," has been identified near the site of Laurentum by Bonstetten; thirdly, because the oracle of Faunus consulted by Latinus, being the oracle of his own father, was much more probably a near and domestic oracle than a remote and foreign one.

CAESARUM OVIVM SUB NOCTE SILENTI PELLIBUS INCUBUIT STRATIS, SOMNOSQUE PETIVIT (vv. 87-88).—Compare Hom. *Od.* 20. 1:

αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐν προδομῷ εὐναζέτο διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς·
καμ' μὲν ἀδεψήτων βοῆην στορεσ', αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεῖν
κώεα πολλ' οἴων, τοὺς ἱρευσκόν Αἰχαιοί.

MULTA MODIS SIMULACRA, &c., . . . AVERNIS (vv. 89-91).—The privilege of communication with the nether world in dreams induced by sleeping on the skins of freshly slaughtered victims was not peculiar to the worshippers of Faunus. See Lycophron, *Cassand.* 1050:

δοραῖς δὲ μῆλων τυμβῶν ἐγκοιμώμενοις
χρησέει καθ' ὕπνον πασι νημερτὴ φάτιν·
νοσῶν δ' ἀκέστης Δαυνίοις κληθήσεται,
ὅταν κατικμαινόντες Αἰθαινοῦ ροαῖς,
ἀρωγὸν ἀυδήσωσιν Ἠπιοῦ γόνον,
ἀστοῖσι καὶ ποιμναῖσι πρηνεμένη μολεῖν,

with which compare Herod. 1. 31: μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς ἐθύσαν τε καὶ εὐωχῆθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι [sciz. Cleobis et Biton], οὐκετι ἀνεστήσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τελεῇ τούτῳ ἐσχοντο· also id. 4. 172; and Tertull. *de anima*, "Nasamenas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitundo usitare ut Heraclides scribit, vel Nymphodorus, vel Herodotus. Et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Lisander affirmat." What else are these terrific dreams, these midnight communications with the dead, than nightmare produced by the exhalations of the fresh skins? Hear a disinterested independent witness, from times in which oracles had begun to learn to be a little, only a very little, but still a little,

more reserved, Olaus Magnus, 18. 8 (of the skin of the glutton): "Dormientibus sub harum pellium tegumentis evenire solent somnia, quasi eius animalis vitae naturaeque conformia, in insatiabilitate devorandi, et bestiis insidiis faciendis, et praecavendis: quod forsán sub ratione sit, ut qui species calidas, zinziber, aut piper comedunt, comburi videantur: et saccharum manducantes, aquis soffocari credantur, prout Plutarchus habet in *Problematis* suis. Videtur et aliud subesse naturae secretum, ut iis pellibus induti, bibendo et comedendo nullum saturitatis vestigium relinquant."

FRUITURQUE DEORUM COLLOQUIO (vv. 90-91).—So Abramo in Metastasio's drama of *Isacco*, parte 2:

" tutto ardeva il cor mio,
e mi pareva di *ragionar con Dio*."

TERGO STRATISQUE VELLERIBUS (vv. 94, 95).—Hendiadys, *skins with the fleece on*; PELLIBUS, vs. 88.

99-100.

FERANT—EPULIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 99).

FERANT ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ §. ■■■ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Lød.; Haupt; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Ribb.

FERENT ■■■ Philippe.

OMNIA SUB PEDIBUS, QUA SOL UTRUMQUE RECURRENT ASPICIT OCEANUM, VERTIQUE REGIQUE VIDEBUNT (vv. 100-1).—Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 857:

" urbs oritur (quis tunc hoc ulli credere posset?)
victorem terris impositura pedem."

QUA SOL UTRUMQUE RECURRENS ASPICIT OCEANUM.—Compare Prudent. *Cathem.* 11. 1 (hymn. 8 Kalend. Jan.):

“quid est quod artum circulum
sol iam *recurrens* deserit?
Christusne terris nascitur,
qui lucis auget tramitem?”

where Cellarius “Artus brumae circulus est tropicus Capricorni, a quo sol *recurrat* et iter vertit;” but, on the contrary, the same Prudentius applies the term to the daily reappearance of the sun, *cont. Symm.* 1. 328:

“*solem* certa tenet regio, plaga certa coercet;
temporibus variis distinguitur: aut subit ortu,
aut ruit occasu, latet aut sub nocte *recurrens*.”

HAEC RESPONSA PATRIS FAUNI, MONITUSQUE SILENTI NOCTE DATOS, NON IPSE SUO PREMIT ORE LATINUS; SED CIRCUM LATE VOLITANS IAM FAMA PER URBES AUSONIAS TULERAT (vv. 102-5).—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 779:

“*ore premunt* voces, et corpora victa sopore
invadunt, portasque petunt;”

Stat. *Theb.* 10. 591 (of Tiresias declining to foretell the future): “tenet ille inclusa premitque fata deum” [keeps the fates shut up in himself]; and verse 624 (of Creon in vain dissuading Tiresias from proceeding after he has once begun):

“mox plenum Phoebæ vatem et celerare iubentem,
nunc humilis genua amplectens, nunc ora canentis,
nequicquam reticere rogat: iam fama sacratam
vocem amplexa *volat*, clamantque oracula Thebæ,”

where we have, in very slightly different terms, the entire substance of our text, the RESPONSA PATRIS FAUNI in “fata deum,” the PREMIT ORE in “inclusa tenet” and “premit,” and the IPSE LATINUS in “ille,” the VOLITANS FAMA in “fama volat,” and the URBES AUSONIAS in “Thebæ.” Compare also Horace, *Art. Poet.* 388: “nonum *prematur* in annum;” Stat. *Silv.* 1. 5. 4:

“tuque inimica* ferae, volucer Tegeæ sonoræ
terga *premas*”

* There is a variety of readings of this word, none of them satisfactory.

(where "premas" is *keep down* [*the lyre*], *dont let* [*the lyre*] *be heard*); and contrast *Aen. 11. 380*:

. . . "sed non replenda est curia verbis
quae tuto tibi magna volant."

But is this all the meaning of NON IPSE SUO PREMIT ORE, *does not confine within his mouth what he has heard from the oracle*? Yes, literally it is all the meaning, but the inference intended to be drawn is much more, viz., that he blabs, tells what he has heard himself (IPSE), sets the report going which is spoken of in the next verse.

NON PREMIT ORE.—*Does not confine with (or in) his mouth, within the* *ερκος οδοντων*,* *within the murus dentium, within the στοματος πυλαι*, the allusion being to the winged nature of words, *επτα πτεροεντα*, which once let out of the mouth fly away as if they were so many birds. The allusion is carried on in the LATE VOLITANS FAMA of the next line. Compare Apul. *Florida*, 2. 15 (of Pythagoras): "Primus philosophiae nuncupator et conditor, nihil prius discipulos suos docuit quam tacere, primaque apud eum meditatio sapienti futuro linguam omnem coercere; verbaque quae volandia poetae appellant, ea verba detractis pinnis *intra murum candentium dentium premere*" (a passage placing beyond doubt both the precise allusion made in our text and the precise sense in which both ORE and PREMIT are there used). Sil. 7. 309:

"ceu stimulante fame, rapuit cum Martius agnum
averso pastore lupo, foetumque trementem
ore tenet presso, tum si vestigia cursu
auditis celeret balatibus obvia pastor,
iam sibimet metuens, spirantem dentibus imis
reiecat praedam, et vacuo fugit aeger hiatu"

(where "ore tenet presso" is, exactly as possible, the PREMIT

* *Ερκος οδοντων*, not with Damm (*Lex. Hom.*) the vallum afforded to the teeth by the lips, but the vallum afforded to the mouth by the teeth, i. e., the teeth themselves, vallum e dentibus. See Apul. *de Dogm. Plat.*, 1. 14: "Lingua et dentium vallum et ipsius osculi venustas accessit;" and id. *Florida*, 2. 15, quoted above: "ea verba detractis pinnis *intra murum candentium dentium premere*."

ORE of our text). Apoll. Rhod. 3. 683 (of Medea ashamed to tell her love):

μυθος δ' αλλοτε μεν οι επ' ακροτατης ανετελλε
γλωσσης. αλλοτ' ενερθε κατα στηθος πεποιτητο.
πολλακι δ' ιμεροεν μεν ανα στομα θυεν ενισπειν
φθογγη δ' ου προυβαινε παροιτερω. Οψε δ' ειπε
τοια δολω

(where there is a similar allusion to the winged nature of words, and their confinement within the mouth). Eurip. *Hipp.* 882 (Theseus declaring that he will not conceal, but publish, the account he has received of Hippolytus's alleged violation of Phaedra):

τοδε μεν ουκ ετι στοματος εν πυλαις
καθεξω δυσεκπερατον, ολοον, ολοον
κακον· ω πολισ, πολισ,
ιππολυτος ευνης της εμης ετλη θιγειν
βια, το σεμνον Ζηνος ομμ' ατιμασας

(where ουκ καθεξω is exactly the NON PREMITS of our text, and στοματος εν πυλαις only a fuller expression of the ORE). Sen. *Agam.* 718:

. . . . "verba nunc cluso male
custodit ore, Maenas impatiens Dei"

(where "Maenas" is the LATINUS of our text, "verba" the RESPONSA, and "cluso male custodit ore" the NON PREMITS SUO ORE). It is in the strictest conformity with this as we have seen so general notion of an *ερκος οδοντων*, or *στοματος πυλαι* confining words, those creatures so essentially volatile and so imperatively requiring restraint, that Echo, who keeps no secrets but always blurts out her honest answer to every question which is put to her, no matter how idle or impertinent, is said by Sophocles, *Phil.* 188, to have no door on her tongue:

Rost, therefore, should have, but has not, corrected Damm, where that generally excellent lexicographer has not only explained *ερκος οδοντων* to be equivalent to *τα χειλη*, but citing, in proof that it is so, Hom. *Il.* 9. 409: *επει αρ κεν αμειψεται ερκος οδοντων*, has explained the meaning of the Homeric passage to be: "quando semel exierit ex labiis et ore."

α δ' αθυρογλωσσος *
 Αχω τηλεφανης πικρας
 οιμωγας υπ' οχειται †

[“cui fores oris non sunt clausae,” Hedericus].

SED CIRCUM LATE VOLITANS (vs. 104).—Notwithstanding Peerlkamp's objection: “*Latinus quidem non tacuit, sed Fama vulgavit*. Hoc non procedit. Quare malim: ET CIRCUM LATE VOLITANS.” SED seems to me to afford this excellent sense: *Latinus was not silent, and not only was not silent, but blabbed so much, that Fame, &c.* SED, indeed, may very easily have taken the place of ET, the S having been carried down from the end of the preceding verse, and T having been confounded with D, both being usual errors, and especially likely to occur in case the copyists wrote from dictation, *i.e.*, from the ear. See Rem. on 9. 210. Still I adhere to the vulgar reading, first as being the unanimous reading of the MSS., and secondly as affording not only a good sense but a better sense than that afforded by the conjecture of Peerlkamp.

AENEAS PRIMIQUE DUCES (vs. 107), &c.—Our Irish forefathers, then, so poor, according to English representations, as to eat off the bare ground, are not always and altogether without countenance; and Derrick's lines (*Image of Ireland*, in Somers' Tracts, by Sir W. Scott, l. 588):

“no table there is spread,
 they have no courtlike guise,
 the yearthe sometimes stands them in steede
 whereon their victual lyes”

compared with Virgil's bring as strange convives together as ever poverty brought bed-fellows.

* αθυροστομος, Brunck.

† υπακουει, Brunck.

110-119.

SIC IUPITER ILLE MONEBAT

ET CEREALE SOLUM POMIS AGRESTIBUS AUGENT
 CONSUMTIS HIC FORTE ALIIS UT VERTERE MORSUS
 EXIGUAM IN CEREREM PENURIA ADEGIT EDENDI
 ET VIOLARE MANU MALISQUE AUDACIBUS ORBEM
 FATALIS CRUSTI PATULIS NEC PARCERE QUADRI
 HEUS ETIAM MENSAS CONSUMIMUS INQUIT IULUS
 NEC PLURA ALLUDENS EA VOX AUDITA LABORUM
 PRIMA TULIT FINEM PRIMAMQUE LOQUENTIS AB ORE
 ERIPUIT PATER AC STUPEFACTUS NUMINE PRESSIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 110).

ILLE **II** $\frac{2}{6}$. **IIII** Serv. (et ad l. 621 [617]: “‘Ille’ autem honoris est, ut 7. 110: SIC IUPITER ILLE MONEBAT”); Prisc. (*Inst.* 12. 3; 17. 59, ed. Hertz.); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Gossrau; Lad.; Haupt; Conington.

LL
 IPSE **I** Rom., Pal., Med. (IPSE) **II** $\frac{1}{6}$. **IIII** Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; Junta; P. Manut.; La Cerda: D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Voss; Pott.; Jahn; Thiel; Dietsch (*Theol.*); Ribb.

SIC IUPITER ILLE MONEBAT.—“Hanc enim illis necessitatem imposuerat Iupiter, qui illis futuram famem per Arpyiam nunciaverat,” Donatus. “ILLE, qui per Harpyiam vaticinatus est,” Servius (ed. Lion). “ILLE, i. e., olim, tum; admonemur de vaticinio ab Harpyia, Iovis sciz. iussu edito,” Wagn. (*Quaest. Virg.*). “Hoc accidit ex Iovis illo vaticinio,” &c., Forbiger. “Illud unum quaero, num recte tum haec verba inter apparatus coenae interposita sint, num Iupiter illud praedixerit, fore ut ADOREA LIBA PER HERBAM subiicerent EPULIS. Ad haec donec responsum fuerit, IPSE verum iudicabo,” Dietsch, *Theol.* p. 25, n. That there is no such trifling, particular, and prosaic reference in the ILLE of our text is sufficiently shown by the frequent

occurrence elsewhere of the same or a similar expression where there can be no similar reference, **as** Plaut. *Mostell.* 2. 1. 51 : “ita *ille* faxit Iupiter.” Id., *Curc.* 1. 1. 27 : “nec me *ille* sinit Iupiter.” Id., *Amphit.* 1. 1. 205 : “quod *ille* faciat Iuppiter.” Sil. 3. 181 :

“respexisse veto : monet hoc pater *ille* deorum.”

Quintil. *Inst.* 2. 16. 12 : “et hercle deus *ille* princeps, parens rerum, fabricatorque mundi, nullo magis hominem separavit a ceteris, quæ quidem mortalia essent, animalibus, quam dicendi facultate.” Stat. *Theb.* 3. 555 :

“eruimus quæ prima dies, ubi terminus ævi,
quid bonus *ille* deum genitor, quid ferrea Clotho
cogitet.”

Coripp. *Johan.* 1. 451 :

. . . “*sic* Jupiter *ille*,
ut veteres aiunt gentili carmine vates,
sæva Giganteo cum stare Phlegra tumultu,
caelicolum turmas, quid vellent fata, *monēbat*,
sternere terrigenas posset quo fulminis ictu”

(where we have not only the IUPITER ILLE, but the very MONEBAT of our text, and where “Iupiter ille” can be only, *that great and powerful Jupiter so well known to us all*). *Aen.* 7. 558 :

“haud pater *ille* velit, summi regnator Olympi,”

Ibid. 2. 779 :

“fas, aut *ille* sinit superi regnator Olympi.”

Ibid. 10. 875 :

“*sic* pater *ille* deum, faciat, *sic* altus Apollo”

(with which compare *Aen.* 10. 707 :

“ac velut *ille* canum morsu de montibus altis
actus *aper*.”

Ibid. 12. 5 :

“saucius *ille* gravi venantum vulnere pectus
tum demum movet arma *leo*.”

Plaut. *Aul.* 696 (ed. Wagn.):

“ ego sum *ille rex* Philippus, o lepidum diem ! ”),

in all which passages, as in our text, the demonstrative pronoun is used less in the strictly demonstrative than in the merely definite sense; in other words, is used for the purpose of supplying the want, so keenly felt not only by every Latin scholar, but by every writer of Latin, of the definite article in the Latin language. Accordingly, SIC IUPITER ILLE MONEBAT is not, with Servius and those other critics whose opinions I have cited above, *this is what was meant by that Jupiter who spoke by the mouth of Celaeno*, but, with Heyne (“ animis, ut ita facerent, subiiciebat ”) and Conington (“ IUPITER ILLE is not to be taken as the Jupiter of 3. 251,” &c.), *this was put into our heads by the Jupiter who rules heaven*; exactly as Silius in his so similar (3. 181):

“ respexisse veto; *monet* hoc pater *ille* deorum.”

Had the Servian interpretation been correct, our author had been guilty of the great fault of forestalling the *denouement*, of informing his reader that Jupiter, when by the mouth of Celaeno he threatened him with so terrible famine, had meant not that they should suffer famine, but that they should eat cakes, whereas our author's meaning is that Jupiter (who had threatened them with real famine as a punishment for their sins) now put into their heads to use their cakes for trenchers, which cakes they eat without thinking at all of the doom with which Jupiter had threatened them, and simply for the satisfaction of their appetite, and only at last when Ascanius points it out to them (HEUS ETIAM MENSAS CONSUMIMUS) perceive that they have fulfilled their awful doom without being one hair the worse for it. Full of joy and gratitude, they libate, pray, drink, and enjoy themselves, and for reasons it would little become us to pry into, even if our author had not, most probably, carried them to the grave with him, leave to a later and still more pious generation the honour of bestowing on the no less ingenious than beneficent deity the more substantial reward of the title of Jupiter Pistor, and an altar (it should have been an oven) beside the altar of

Jupiter Tonans, Ovid, *Fasti*, 6. 377 :

“ ‘publica,’ respondit, ‘cura est pro moenibus istis’
 Iupiter, ‘et poenas Gallia victa dabit.
 tu modo, quae desunt fruges, superesse putentur,
 effice : nec sedes desere, Vesta, tuas.
 quodcunque est Cereris solidae, cava machina frangat ;
 mollitamque manu duret in igne focus.’

 ecce Ceres visa est : iaciunt Cerealia dona ;
 iacta super galeas sonitumque longa sonant.
 posse fame vinci spes excidit. hoste repulso
 candida Pistori ponitur ara Iovi.”

I need hardly remind the reader how common at all times, in all countries, and under all religious covenants, has been the ascription to the supreme or any other deity of suggestions (inspirations) more or less similar to that of our text [compare Hom. *Od.* 9. 262 (Ulysses speaking) : ὄντω που Ζεὺς ἠθέλει μῆτιασθαι. *Ibid.* 14. 273 (Ulysses speaking) :

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νοῆμα
 ποιεῖσ’],

or how good-humouredly Jupiter, not to speak of inferior deities, would sometimes take part in the play upon words, with which he not unfrequently allowed his oracular enunciations to be nullified (see Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 337 :

“ annuit oranti ; sed verum ambage remota
 abdidit, et dubio terruit ore virum.
 ‘caede caput,’ dixit. Cui rex, ‘parebimus,’ inquit ;
 ‘caedenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.’
 addidit hic, ‘hominis’ ; ‘summos,’ ait ille, ‘capillos.’
 postulat hic ‘animam’ ; cui Numa, ‘piscis,’ ait.
 risit : et, ‘his,’ inquit, ‘facito mea tela procures,
 o vir colloquio non abigende meo.’”

And why not ? If the terrible Jehovah of the Jews could content Himself with the blood of a ram caught in the thicket, in place of that of an only son, why might not the at bottom kind and good-natured, however blustering, Thunderer allow himself to be put off with the head of an onion instead of a man’s head ? Are not both of them heads ?

Partly on account of the little occasion there seems here for an adjunct so strongly emphatic as *IPSE*, partly on account of the remarkable analogy of 10. 875 and Sil. 3. 181, both quoted above, and partly because a substitution of *IPSE* for *ILLE* was a natural fruit of the false interpretation put, from the earliest times (as Donatus: "Iupiter qui illis futuram famem per Arpyiam nunciaverat"; Serv. *ad loc.* "qui per Harpyiam vaticinatus est"), on the reading *ILLE*, I have ventured to leave in this instance, as I have left in some few others, the path of the manuscripts, and, following in that of the elder grammarians, read not *IPSE*, but *ILLE*.

EXIGUAM CEREREM, ORBEM FATALIS CRUSTI, and PATULIS QUADRIS, are all only varieties of expression for one and the same thing, viz., the *ADOREA LIBA* of verse 109, already at verse 111 varied into *CEREALE SOLUM*; while again *NEC PARCERE* is a variety for *VIOLARE MANU MALISQUE AUDACIBUS*, which in its turn is a variety for *VERTERE MORSUS*, or using that illustration from the art of music, which I have so often found useful before, *VERTERE MORSUS EXIGUAM IN CEREREM* is the theme, and *VIOLARE MANU MALISQUE AUDACIBUS ORBEM FATALIS CRUSTI* is the first, and *PATULIS NEC PARCERE QUADRIS* the second, variation. Such richness of expression, very common in Virgil, is hardly, so far as I know, to be found in any other writer. See Remm. on 1. 23; 7. 15.

ORBEM, PATULIS, QUADRIS.—It would appear from hence that the Trojan loaves were broad, flat and round, like our own griddle bread, the Scotch oaten cake, or the modern Egyptian bread described by Whately, *Ragged Life in Egypt*, p. 202: "The native Egyptian bread is a sort of flap, pliant and moist, like a cold pancake; it is always round, and of a dusky colour, and, in fact, resembles the flat stones often found in the bed of rivers, or in the desert. At a distance, a pile of bread might be taken for a pile of such stones."

QUADRIS.—*Quadra* is one quadrant or quarter of a round flat cake cut into four by two diameters at right angles to each other. It is therefore precisely the Scottish *farle* (Teut. *vier-deel*, Angl.-Sax. *feorth dæl*, Swedish *en fjerde del*, mod.

Germ. *viertel*). Compare St. August., *Contra Epist. Manichaei*, 21: "Tanquam si unus *panis* in *quadras* *quatuor* decussatim formetur, in quibus tres sint candidae, una nigra: modo de tribus candidis tolle distinctionem, et fac illas et sursum versus et deorsum versus, et undique retro infinitas; sic ab eis esse creditur terra lucis." Mart. 6. 75:

"cum mittis turdumve mihi, *quadramve* *placentas*,
sive femur leporis, sive quid his simile,
buccellas misisse tuas te, Pontia, dicis."

The orbicular lump of dough having been first well kneaded was rolled out into a flat circular cake or placenta, *Moret. 47*:

. . . "iamque subactum
levat opus, palmisque suum dilatat in orbem."

The placenta was then scored, but not divided, by two diameters at right angles, so that its face represented four quarters still adhering together so as to form one placenta, the use of the scoring being to mark where the placenta was to be broken or out, when, after being baked, it came to be eaten, *Moret. 49*:

"et notat, impressis aequo discrimine *quadris*,"

where the "*quadrae*" have as yet no *separate* existence, but are only marked out on the face of the placenta. The placenta, so scored, is then laid on the hearth, covered with tiles and red-hot cinders (in later times is laid on the griddle, or put into the oven) and baked, *Moret. 50*:

"infert inde foco—Cybale mundaverat aptum
ante focum—testisque tegit, super aggerat ignes."

The baked placenta is then laid by for use, and only when it comes to be used is at last broken or out, according to its impressed scores, into its *quadrae* or *farles*.

The question now arises whether our author intends to represent the Trojans as using the whole *placentae*, or only their *farles* for *mensae*. In favour of the latter opinion is the express mention of the *farles* (*QUADRI*); in favour of the former, the much stronger argument, first, that only the whole unbroken undivided cakes would well answer the purpose of

mensae; and secondly, that the epithet *PATULIS* seems plainly to indicate that it was the unbroken undivided cakes which were actually so used. But why then *PATULIS QUADRI* and not *PATULIS placentis*? I answer, because although the *placentae* were whole and unbroken as long as they served the purpose of *mensae* for the food, yet the first thing the Trojans did when they began to eat them was to break or otherwise divide them, for the sake of convenience, into their *quadrae*; and if this explanation is not deemed sufficient, then the reader must only understand the *placentae* to be called “*quadrae*” because, although not actually divided into separate farles, they bore on their face the scores marking out the “*quadrae*” of which they consisted. Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 441, speaks of a species of bread which was at once τετραρυφος and οκταβλωμος

τοῖς δ' ἀμα τεσσαρακονταέτης αἵζῃος ἐποίτο
ἀρτον δειπνήσας τετραρυφον, οκταβλωμον·

and Philemon (ap. Athenaeum, 3. 81, ed. Schweigh.) informs us that βλωμῖλοι ἀρτοι [*aliter* βλωμῖται ἀρτοι] were τοὺς ἐχον-
τας ἐντομας, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδρατοὺς λεγούσι, from which two premisses put together it seems not wholly unreasonable to conclude, at least until some contradictory premiss presents itself, that the ἀρτος τετραρυφος was equivalent to the Roman *placenta*, divisible into its four *quadrae*, and that the ἀρτος βλωμῖλος or βλωμῖταιος was the same *placenta* denominated from its subdivision into eight pieces.

The word *quadra* continues in the Italian in the same sense, viz., of *quadrante* or fourth part of a circle, as Dante, *Par.* 26: “come ’l sol muta *quadra* all’ ora sesta.”

PATULIS indicates not the size of *quadrae* in general, but the unusually large size of these particular “*quadrae*.” Compare Strab. 13. 3: ἀρτου μεγάλου τεθέντος ἀντι τραπέζης κατὰ ἀπειρίαν.

HEUS! ETIAM MENSAS CONSUMIMUS, INQUIT IULUS.—Hannah More writes to her sister (Roberts’ *Memoirs of Hannah More*): “Hampton, Jan. 17, 1782. I have just made a very important discovery in poetical antiquities, which I hereby make a present

of to all the commentators upon Virgil, every one of whom it has escaped; it is this: that the dish the wandering Trojans eat first on the Latian shore was a flap-jack; it could be nothing else, and the pretty childish remark of that great hungry boy, Master Ascanius (that they had eaten their tables) means nothing more than that they devoured the bottom crust on which the apples were baked." Which piece of facetiousness, if good for nothing else, may serve as a flapper for those who are apt to forget that *poma* are not to be confounded with *mala*.

ALLUDENS.—“Aut vacat *AD*, et *ludentem* significat; aut certe ALLUDENS, *ad responsi fidem verba componens*,” Servius. Both interpretations are erroneous, the latter (*a*) because it is in the highest degree improbable, even if we had not been expressly informed to the contrary, that so young a boy as Ascanius would have perceived the relationship between their eating their trenchers, and the words of the oracle; and (*b*) because we are expressly informed in the subsequent lines that the application of the playful observation of the boy to the words of the prophecy was made by Aeneas himself; and the former because the literal interpretation of ALLUDENS affords the much better meaning that Ascanius said the words not *ludens*, *sporting by himself, amusing himself*, but ALLUDENS, *sportingly, jokingly, in a sly or playful manner, to his companions*; Gr. *σαίρων*. Compare Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 22 (of Julius Caesar): “Ac negante quodam per contumeliam, ‘Facile hoc ulli feminae fore,’ responderit, quasi *alludens*, “in Assyria quoque regnasse Semiramin, magnamque Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.” Claud. 6 *Cons. Honor.* 82:

“et quoties optare tibi, quae moenia malle,
alludens genitor regni pro parte dedisset,
 divitis Aurorae solium sortemque paratam
 sponte remittebas fratri”

[joking with you, making play to you, or with you]. Phaed. 3. 19. 12: “intempestive qui occupato *alluserit*.” Calpurn. *Ecl.* 4. 66:

. . . . “blandae cui saepe canenti
allusere feræ”

[the wild beasts fawned on him]. Plin. *H. N.* 9. 8 : “Delphinus praebens se tractandum, et *alludens* natantibus.” Whenever an accusative is added to *alludere*, it is the accusative of the person or thing played with, *i. e.*, with whom the play is made, not the accusative of the thing played, the game itself, as Catull. 63. 67 (of Ariadne’s ornaments) :

“omnia *quae* toto delapsa e corpore passim
ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis *alludebant*”

[the waves playfully washed them, played with them].

NEC PLURA ALLUDENS.—Not, NEC ALLUDENS PLURA ; but NEC PLURA (*dixit*), ALLUDENS. Compare 6. 408 : “nec plura his ;” Sil. 15. 363 :

. . . “*nec plura*, sereno
sanguineos fudit quum Iupiter aethera rores ;”

Stat. *Theb.* 12. 203 :

“ne tantum revocate gradus ; illo impetus ingens
auguriumque animi.” *Nec plura*. Unumque Menoeten
eligit ;”

ibid. 9. 101 :

. . . “dimittite curam.
nullae illum volucres, nulla impia monstra, nec ipse
si demus, pius ignis edat.” *Nec plura* ; sed ingens
intorquet iaculum ;”

in all which places the structure is “*nec plura (dixit)*.” Compare *Ecl.* 5. 19 : “sed tu *desine plura*, puer,” *i. e.*, *desine loqui plura*. The NEC PLURA of our text is thus the precise equivalent of “hoc tantum” said of the same Ascanius, 9. 636, and should be separated from ALLUDENS by a comma. Are we to conclude from these two so explicit mentions of the paucity of the words indulged in by Ascanius, that young men were in those days a little less self-confident, put themselves forward a little less in the presence of their seniors, than in these days of liberty, equality, and fraternity, when every boy of fifteen is, “Hail Jack fellow well met,” with men old enough to be his grandfathers and great-grandfathers ?

PRESSIT (vs. 119).—“Paulum haesit, secum reputans haec

verba—*animo PRESSIT*—atque ut omnia congruere videt veteri illi oraculo, continuo salvere iubet terram sibi debitam," Wagner (ed. Heyn.). This explanation, which is as old as Paulinus, *Vita S. Martin.* 5, of the dumb girl restored to her speech by St. Martin :

"ac primum trepidam proprie signare loquelam
incertosque sonos, genitoris nomine [*Qy ? nomina*], sumpsit.
hæc vox prima fuit, primoque loquentis ab ore
eripuit pater, atque auditam in viscera mersit"),

is to me as unsatisfactory as the most of those, all of them very unsatisfactory, explanations which have appeared of the passage from the time of Paulinus down to the present. *PRESSIT* does not mean "*animo PRESSIT*," *i. e.*, as expressed in another place (ed. 1861) by the same commentator, "*celeriter excepit et ad animum admissam paulisper tacitus mente volutavit*," because the words *ERIPUIT* and *CONTINUO* plainly indicate that the act of Aeneas was sudden, and without the smallest delay, or time taken for reflection. *ERIPUIT* and *PRESSIT* are closely connected. Aeneas *ERIPUIT*, *caught, snatched* the word as it issued from the mouth of the speaker, and *PRESSIT* *held it fast*, *viz.*, by impressing it on his own mind; *i. e.*, the allusion being to the quick, fleeting, winged nature of words (*επεα πτεροεντα*). Aeneas by impressing the word on his own mind kept it from flying away and being lost: as if Virgil had said, *eripuit tenuitque*. Compare Hom. *Od.* 17. 57 and 19. 29 (of Telemachus and Penelope):

ὡς ἀρ' ἐφώνησεν· τῇ δ' ἀπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος,

where Scholiast: *Ἦτοι ἰσοπτερος, ταχὺς· ἡ οὐκ ἀπεπτη ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὑπεμεινεν, μὴ ἐχὼν πτερον* [which Barnes translates "*Sic loquutus est; huic vero firmum fuit verbum:*" consult *Etym. M.*, referred to by Barnes, for further light on the word *ἀπτερον*], and contrast Aesch. *Agam.* 268:

πῶς φης; πεφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας,

where the Chorus begs Clytemnestra to repeat the news of the taking of Troy which, so incredible was it, had made no impression on him—the news which he had not (as Aeneas in our text

the words of Ascanius) snatched from her mouth as she spoke, and kept from flying away. Without the allusion to the volatile word flying from the mouth of the speaker ("semel emissum volat verbum"), the meaning would be thus expressed in plain prose: "The word was not lost on Aeneas, for the moment he heard it he cried out," &c. Compare vs. 103, above: HAEC RESPONSNA . . . NON IPSE SUO PREMIT ORE LATINUS [Latinus does not *keep* these responses to himself, but lets them spread through the country].

LOQUENTIS AB ORE ERIPUIT.—*Snatched up as it issued from the mouth of the speaker*, Gr. *συνήρπασε*, as Soph. *Ajax*, 14 :

ω φθεγμ' Αθανας φιλτατης εμοι θεων,
 ως ευμαθες σου, καν αποκτος ης, ομως
 φωνημ' ακουω, και ξυναρπαζω φρενι,
 χαλκοστομου κωδωνος ως Τυρσηνικης.

Compare Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 2: "non inter pocula sermo *captatur*" [*words issued at a banquet are not "caught up,"* or, as we say now, "*taken hold of*"].

125-174

ACCISIS—ERAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 129).

EXILIIS (or EXILIIS) ■■■ Wakef. ; Ribb.

EXITIS ■■■ P. Manut. ; Jahn (who disapproves EXILIIS).

EXITUS (u, not ii) ■■■ Ven. 1470.

ACCISIS (vs. 125).—"Undique concisis vel consumptis," Servius. "Exquisite pro *consumptis*," Heyne. Accisus is never "consumptus." It is *cut down, cut all round, clipped, cropped* (as we say of the hair). This is its invariable meaning when taken in its literal sense, and as a participle, as 2. 626: "ornum . . . ferro

accisam" [not consumed, but cut all round]; Tacit. *de Mor. Germ.*: "Accisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus." But in our text it is not so taken (viz., participially and literally), but figuratively and as an adjective," equivalent to our *stinted, scanty, confined*, and exactly as it is used by Horace, *Sat. 2. 2. 112*:

. . . "Ofellum
integris opibus novi non latius usum
quam nunc accisis,"

narrow, crippled circumstances; and so in our text Aeneas and his companions are not represented as consuming their food and then consuming their plates, but as consuming their plates on an occasion on which their commons were short or insufficient. There is thus a reason assigned for the hunger which compelled them to consume their plates, and that reason is the shortness of their commons, ACCISIS DAPIBUS. It was unnecessary expressly to state that the "dapes" were consumed, their consumption being implied in the word FAMES. So badly is Servius's gloss composed, that it is impossible to say with certainty whether he intends his "consumptis" to be understood as an *aliter* of "undique concisis," or of "concisis" alone. If of "concisis" alone, then he has correctly explained the literal meaning of accisus, not however the figurative—the only meaning which the word has in our text.

RADIUS LUCIS ET AURO (vs. 142).—*Golden rays of light.*

HUMILI (vs. 157), *shallow*; humilis and altus being applied no less to depth, or distance downwards, than to height, or distance upwards. See Plin. *Ep. 8. 20*: "Par omnibus *altitudo*" of floating islands in a lake near Ameria. The German *niedrig* has the same double relation, and accurately translates the "humilis" of our text.

PRIMAS SEDES (vs. 158).—"In prima littoris parte," Heyne. No; Servius is right: "Quia imperium Lavinium translaturus est." Nova Troja was not, strictly and properly speaking, a city, still less the city, the fated city, which Aeneas came into Italy to build. It was only a fort—

CASTRORUM IN MOREM, PINNIS ATQUE AGGERE CINGIT—

to serve as a temporary residence (PRIMAS SEDES) until he should build the city, Lavinium, 12. 193 (where see Rem.):

. . . "mihi moenia Teucri
constituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen."

PINNIS (vs. 159).—Palisade or vallum; so called from its resemblance to the rows of quills (pinnae) in a bird's wing. In like manner, and from the same resemblance, the quills or feathers of an arrow, Claud. *Hystrix*, 39:

"instruitur pinnis, ferroque armatur arundo;"

and of a porcupine, *ibid.* 14: "exit in solidae speciem pinnae."

EXERCENTUR EQUIS, DOMITANTQUE IN PULVERE CURRUS (vs. 163).—CURRUS, *team*, i. e., *horses and chariot considered as one object*. The EQUIS of the commencement of the line is repeated in the CURRUS of the conclusion, with the addition of the notion of the chariot which the horses draw; in other words: CURRUS explains that EQUIS means *horses yoked to a chariot*; and the sense of the whole line is *are busy training horses to draw chariots*.

PRAEVECTUS EQUO (vs. 166).—*Riding on before the rest, as* Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2 122 (of Lucifer riding on before the sun): "roranti praevectus equo."

ILLE INTRA TECTA VOCARI IMPERAT, ET SOLIO MEDIUS CON-
SEdit AVITO (vv. 168-9).—The direct narrative, dropped at AVITO, in order to introduce the description of the temple, with its statues, and especially the statue of Picus, is resumed at verse 192, in almost the identical words in which it is here left off. See Rem. on 1. 150.

HIC SCEPTRA ACCIPERE ET PRIMOS ATTOLLERE FASCES REGI-
BUS OMEN ERAT (vv. 173-4).—Compare Lucan. 7. 340:

. . . "tantoque duci sic arma timere
omen erat."

176-180.

PERPETUIS SOLITI PATRES CONSIDERE MENSIS
 QUIN ETIAM VETERUM EFFIGIES EX ORDINE AVORUM
 ANTICUA E CEDRO ITALUSQUE PATERQUE SABINUS
 VITISATOR CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM
 SATURNUSQUE SENEX

PERPETUIS MENSIS.—*At one long unbroken table*, such as is used at present for a large party of persons dining together. Compare Caes. *Bell. Civ. 1*: “Ipse iis operibus, quae facere instituerat, milites disponit; *non certis spatiis intermissis*, ut erat superiorum dierum consuetudo, *sed perpetuis vigiliis stationibusque*, ut contingant inter se, atque omnem munitionem expleant.” See Rem. on 8. 183.

This is the meaning of the word. But why are the “mensae,” “perpetuae”? why are we informed that at the sacred festival they feasted sitting at one long table, not at several smaller? I reply, in order to indicate the simplicity of the ancient times (PATRES) when the distinction of rank was less observed than in the times in which Virgil wrote; and instead of the superiors dining apart, and even the inferiors being divided into several messes, as in a modern university commons, all, high and low, young and old, men, women, and children, dined at the one long table, PERPETUIS mensis; as Stat. *Silv. 1. 5. 732*:

“una vescitur omnis ordo mensa,
 parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus.”

The same custom as prevailed in our forefathers' times in England, and even in the noblest houses, the domestics sat at the same table with the lord and the lady, only below the salt; and I have myself seen in Germany the master and mistress, the sons and the daughters, the labourers of the farm and the domestics, all dining and supping at the same table.

VITISATOR, CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM.—“Haud dubie ad Sabinum spectant hæc,” Heyne; and so Voss and Thiel. I refer the words to Saturn, and quote as authority Arnobius, 3: “Iste quem caelo editum patre, magnorum et esse procreatorem deorum, *vitisatorem falciferum*, vetustas edidit prisca.” Construe either PATER SABINUS SATURNUSQUE SENEX, VITISATOR CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM, OR SATURNUS *et* SENEX *et* VITISATOR, CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM. The falx was the emblem of Saturn not in his character of king of Crete, but in his character of *vitisator*, a character which he assumed first in Italy on his arrival there as a fugitive. See Juvenal, 13. 38:

“quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more priusquam
sumeret *agrestem* posito diademate *falcem*
Saturnus fugiens.”

Ovid, *Fasti*, 5. 627:

“*falcifero* libata seni duo corpora, gentes,
mittite.”

Prudent. *cont. Symm.* 1. 49 (Saturn speaking):

“*vitibus incurvum*, si qua est ea cura, putandis
procudam chalybem.”

Festi Schedae ap. Laet. (Mueller's Festus, p. 186): “Ipse [Saturnus] *agrorum cultor* habetur, nominatus a satu, tenensque *falcem* effingitur, quae est insigne agricolae.” Who, having read these passages, can doubt that the VITISATOR, the FALCEM, and the SENEX of our text, are but so many harmonious characteristics of Saturnus?

SUB IMAGINE.—“SUB IMAGINE sic accipiendum quod sic eam teneret ut eius visu semper delectaretur . . . sic enim sub imaginis oculis fuit, ut ferentis aspectibus semper esset obiecta,” Donatus, Servius; the latter of whom gives us this *aliter*: “Aut *sub theca* dicit, quae similis falcis est.” Heyne, Wagner (1861), Forbiger, Voss, and Thiel understand the words more simply, but still as indicating the position of the pruning-hook with respect to the statue: “cum falce vinitoria in basi eius

simulacri." All three interpretations are assuredly wrong; first, because I find no instance of *sub imagine* meaning position with respect to a statue, while I find the expression used nine times by Ovid and once by Virgil himself (6. 293: "*cava sub imagine formae*") in the sense of *appearance, similitude, or pretext*; and secondly, because there is no good reason why the pruning-hook should be either at the base of the statue or held in the hand for the purpose of the bearer's admiring it, or why it should be anywhere except where it was always carried by the vine-dresser, and where it is carried by the Italian vine-dresser of the present day, viz., in the belt, behind and rather to one side, just over the hip. *SUB IMAGINE*, therefore, indicates not the position of the pruning-hook, but the character in which it is carried, the character of the person carrying it, the character, office, or *role*, of which it was the emblem; *VITISATOR, SERVANS SUB specie vitisatoris, CURVAM FALCEM, OR VITISATOR, SERVANS SUB illa specie* (viz., *vitisatoris*) *CURVAM FALCEM*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 13. 273 (of Patroclus): "*sub imagine tutus Achilles*" [in the character of Achilles, under the show of Achilles]. *Ibid.* 15. 259:

"nil equidem durare diu *sub imagine* eadem
crediderim"

[in the same form, shape, character, appearance]. *Ibid.* 15. 80 (of Dido):

. . . "*inque pyra, sacri sub imagine facta,*
incubuit ferro"

[a pyre made under the pretext of a religious ceremony]. *Ibid.* 13. 714:

. . . "*versique vident sub imagine saxum*
iudicis"

[the stone bearing the likeness of the metamorphosed judge]. *Ibid.* 14. 759:

. . . "*dominae sub imagine signum*
servat adhuc Salamis"

[a statue in the form of the lady, representing the lady]. *Id.* *Fasti*, 6. 613:

"signum erat in solio residens *sub imagine Tulli*"

[a statue in the character, or bearing the appearance of Tullius].
Sil. 2. 432 :

“ nec non et laevum clipei latus aspera signis
implebat Spartana cohors ; hanc ducit ovantem
Ledaëis veniens victor Xanthippus Amyclis.
iuxta triste decus pendet *sub imagine poenae*
Regulus, et fidei dat magna exempla Sagunto ”

[represented as undergoing his punishment (viz., crucifixion—
“ pendet ”), as in our text represented as carrying the “ falx ”].
Sil. 7. 143 :

“ sicut aquae splendor, radiatus lampade solis,
dissultat per tecta, *vaga sub imagine vibrans*
luminis, et tremula laquearia verberat umbra. ”

Manil. 1. 839 :

“ et globus ardentis sequitur *sub imagine barbae* ”

[a globe of flame presenting the appearance of a burning beard].
In all these passages (and many more which might be quoted),
“ sub imagine ” means not *under the statue*, but *in the likeness of*,
in the character of, and in the last two of which the likeness or
character spoken of is precisely as in our text, the likeness or
character borne or presented by a statue.

The passage is quoted by Arusianus as affording an instance
of the use of *sub* in the sense of *in*. His words are “ *Sub hac re*
pro in hac re ; Virg. *Aen.* 7 : CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE
FALCEM SATURNUSQUE SENEX ” (where Lindem. in his note
observes : “ Haec elocutio cum exemplo suo deest in cod. A. M.,
i. e., in Angelo Mai’s Corn. Front. *Exempla Locutionum*, whence
the two conclusions are to be drawn, first that Arusianus under-
stood SUB IMAGINE to mean not *under the image*, but exactly as I
have explained the expression, viz., as meaning *in the character*,
in that character ; and secondly, that he connected CURVAM
SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM not with SABINUS, but with
SATURNUS SENEX. It is necessary to mention that Prudentius
in his imitation, almost verbal quotation, of this passage,
although omitting neither ITALUS, nor PATER SABINUS, nor SA-
BINUS SENEX, nor “ Ianus bifrons,” nor PICUS, wholly omits the

VITISATOR CURVAM SERVANS SUB IMAGINE FALCEM, an argument either that the line was absent from the copies of Virgil known to Prudentius, or that Prudentius understood the line not (as I have above suggested) as introducing a new character, viz., SATURNUS VITISATOR, but as merely descriptive whether of SABINUS OR SATURNUS SENEX, *Orat. c. Symm. 1. 232*:

“adsistunt etiam priscorum insignia regum,
dux Italus, Ianusque bifrons, genitorque Sabinus,
Saturnusque senex, maculoso et corpore Picus,
coniugis epotum sparsus per membra venenum.”

CURVAM FALCEM.—Saturn not merely introduced the culture of the vine into Italy, but invented the vinedresser's knife. See Prudent. *cont. Symm. 1. 49* (Saturn speaking):

“vitibus incurvum, si qua est ea cura, putandis
procudam chalybem.”

SATURNUSQUE SENEX.—Compare Prudent. *cont. Symm. 1. 45* (Saturn speaking):

“sum deus; advenio fugiens; praebe te latebras;
occultate senem nati feritate tyranni
deiectum solio;”

also, quoted in preceding Rem., Prudent. *cont. Symm. 1. 234*, and Ovid, *Fasti*, 5. 627.

192-224.

TALI—ORBIS

TALI INTUS TEMPLO, &c. (vs. 192).—Resumption (in almost the identical words) of the direct narrative, dropped at verse 168, where see Rem.

SATURNI GENTEM, HAUD VINCLO NEC LEGIBUS, AEQUAM

SPONTE SUA VETERISQUE DEI SE MORE TENENTEM (vv. 203-4).—SPONTE SUA belongs not to TENENTEM, but to AEQUAM, which is to be separated from LEGIBUS by a comma. The sentence will then run thus: “a people righteous, not by the obligation of laws, but of its own accord and conducting itself according to the manner,” &c. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 90 (of the golden age):

“sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat,”

where “sine lege” is the HAUD VINCLO NEC LEGIBUS of our text, and “sponte sua fidem rectumque colebat” is the AEQUAM SPONTE SUA.

SPONTE SUA.—*Of its own accord, proprio motu.* See Rem. on 11. 827, and 4. 361.

HAUD VINCLO NEC LEGIBUS.—Compare 1. 58: “vinclis et carcere,” where see Rem. And for the sentiment HAUD VINCLO NEC LEGIBUS AEQUAM, compare Justinus, 2. 2 (of the Scythians): “*Iustitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.*”

OBSCURIOR (vs. 205).—*Rather obscure, slightly obscure.* See Rem. on “tristior,” 1. 232.

QUAE MAXIMA QUONDAM EXTREMO VENIENS SOL ASPICIEBAT OLYMPO (vv. 217-218).—“EXTREMO VENIENS, i.e., *primo*. Nam alias *rediens* diceret, non VENIENS,” Servius—an example of Servius’s usual obscure brevity. His meaning probably is: “*from the east*, for if Virgil had meant from the west, he would have said *rediens*, not VENIENS.” But whether this be or be not the meaning of Servius, our author certainly means by EXTREMO OLYMPO *the extreme, or uttermost part of heaven, the east* (“ab orientali caeli parte,” Forbiger, Wagner), and the whole thought is: *the greatest kingdom the sun saw on his long journey from east to west*, the very sentiment which, *mutatis mutandis*, may be seen at this moment blazoned in gilt capitals and a golden head of Apollo over the door of many alehouses in England. So wholly is man, everywhere and in all ages, the same.

VENIENS.—The term usually employed to express the approach or hitherward motion of the sun, day, night, Aurora or planet from the east, as *decedens* to express the departure

from us toward the west. Compare *Georg.* 4. 466 :

“*te veniente die, te decedente, canebat.*”

Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 877 :

“*tres ubi Luciferos veniens praemisit Eos.*”

Id. *Met.* 5. 440 :

“*illam non rutulis veniens Aurora capillis
cessantem vidit, non Hesperus.*”

Id. *Amor.* 1. 13. 1 :

“*iam super oceanum venit a seniore marito,
flava pruinoso quas vehit axe diem.*”

OLYMPO.—*The sky, the heavens ; caelum*, as 1. 378 :

“*ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo ;*”

6. 579 :

“*quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.*”

EXTREMO OLYMPO.—*The extreme, most distant, or uttermost part of the sky or heavens*, as vs. 225, TELLUS EXTREMA, *the extreme, most distant, or uttermost part of the earth.*

AB IOVE PRINCIPIUM GENERIS (vs. 219), theme ; IOVE DARDANA PUBES GAUDET AVO, variation.

QUANTA PER IDAEOS SAEVIS EFFUSA MYCENIS TEMPESTAS IERIT CAMPOS (vv. 222-3), theme ; QUIBUS ACTUS UTERQUE EUROPAE ATQUE ASIAE FATIS CONCURRERIT ORBIS, variation.

225-227.

AUDIIT ET SI QUEM TELLUS EXTREMA REFUSO
 SUBMOVET OCEANO ET SI QUEM EXTENTA PLAGARUM
 QUATUOR IN MEDIO DIRIMIT PLAGA SOLIS INIQUI

AUDIIT ET SI QUEM TELLUS EXTREMA REFUSO SUBMOVET OCEANO.—“*Ut est Britanniae et omnium insularum oceani,*” Serv. (ed. Lion). “*Excidium Troianum adeo notum est quod venit usque in Britanniam quae est seiuncta oceano,*” Cynth. Cenet. “*Britanniam dicit easque insulas oceani, ubi septenis horis reciproco cursu fluit refluitque mare ac refunditur,*” Hortensius. “*Virgil had in his mind Britain or Thule, though, of course, he could not put those names into the mouth of Ilioneus,*” Conington. Leaving it to the elder commentators to apply the words of Ilioneus to Britain or Thule, or whatever other island in the ocean it likes them best, and to their modern representatives to determine how much more Virgil had in his mind when writing the words than he thought proper either to put into the mouth of Ilioneus, or even so much as to whisper into the reader’s most confidential ear, I shall content myself with the humbler part of understanding the words in their literal and, as I hope the reader will think with me, their simple, easy, almost unmistakable sense, viz., *the inhabitant (if any) of the farthest land in the ocean has heard, i. e., the most distant inhabited land in the ocean has heard; in other words, in the direction of the ocean, the fame of the war of Troy has spread as far as it was possible for it to spread, namely, to the most distant inhabited land in it:* AUDIIT EXTREMA TELLUS OCEANO, SI QUEM SUBMOVET.

REFUSO.—Having disposed of the general difficulty of the first clause of our text, let us now take the adjunct with which it has pleased our author to characterize the ocean, and see if the particular difficulty hitherto found involved in it does not as easily and wholly disappear on an equally unprejudiced exami-

nation. "Refusus oceanus," what is it? "Oceanus refluus," replies Servius: "REFUSO autem *refluo*, ut Lucanus indicat (1. 409):

" quaque pacet littus dubium, quod terra fretumque
vindicat alternis vicibus, cum *funditur* ingens
oceanus, vel cum *refugis* se fluctibus aufert "

(ed. Lion); and the answer of Servius is echoed by Hortensius as above: "Britanniam dicit easque insulas oceani ubi septenis horis reciproco cursu fluit refluitque mare ac refunditur." But if "refusus oceanus" be *ebbing ocean*, "refusus pontus" spoken of the Lucrine lake, *Georg.* 2. 163, must be *ebbing Lucrine*, quod absurdum; and "refusus Acheron," 6. 107, must be *ebbing Acheron*, quod absurdius. What else, then, is "refusus oceanus"? with Heyne and Wagner: ἀπορροος ὠκεανος (Hom. *Il.* 18. 399) quatenus amnis instar terrarum orbem includit"? Not unless "refusus pontus," spoken of the Lucrine lake is, ἀπορροος Λουκρινος, and "refusus Acheron" ἀπορροος Ἀχέρων. What else, then? Has Peerlkamp hit it? "Ultra oceanum fortasse est TELLUS. Ea TELLUS oceanum arcet, SUBMOVET, inde oceanus reiicitur, refunditur"—the most unlucky shaft of all! as if there were anything beyond the ocean, anything in *rerum natura* to roll the ocean back, and his own quotation from Avitus ("Ita est rerum natura: post omnia oceanus, post oceanum nihil") of as little weight or moment as any other quotation equally irreconcilable with the rolling back of the ocean by a land beyond!—a rolling-back "*proved*" by Lucan, 8. 797: "probat hanc explicationem Lucanus, 8. 797: 'situs est qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano.'" To enable the reader to estimate for himself the *vis consequentiae* of this proof, this "probat Lucanus," I shall quote at full a passage not less misunderstood by commentators and lexicographers generally than by Peerlkamp himself, Lucan, 8. 785 (Weber):

. . . "cogit pietas imponere finem
officio. semiusta rapit, resolutaque nondum
ossa satis, nervis et inustis plena medullis,
aequorea restinguit aqua, congestaque in unum
parva clausit humo. tum ne levis aura relectos
aufervet cineres, saxo compressit arenam;

nautaque ne bustum religato fune moveret,
 inscripsit sacrum semiusto stipite nomen :
 ' Hic situs est Magnus.' placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulcrum
 dicere Pompeii, quo condi maluit illum,
 quam terra caruisse socer ? temeraria dextra
 cur obicis Magno tumulum, manesque vagantes
 includis ? situs est qua *terra extrema refuso*
pendet in oceano. Romanum nomen et omne
 imperium Magno est tumuli modus. obrue saxa
 crimine plena deum. si tota est Herculis Oete,
 et iuga tota vacant Bromio Nyseia, quare
 unus in Aegypto Magno lapis ? omnia Lagi
 rura tenere potest. si nullo cespite, nomen,
 haeserit, erremus populi, cinerumque tuorum,
 Magne, metu, nullas Nili calcemus arenas."

Now **if** the reader, on a careful examination of this passage, arrive at the conclusion arrived at by Gossrau, ad 6. 107 ("ita Lucan, 8. 797 : 'qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano'; haec verba signant sinum Pelusiacum, in quo refringitur mare et repellitur"), by Wagner, ad *Georg.* 2. 163 ("Sic Lucan, 8. 797 : 'qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano'; quod capiendum de sinu maris, qui est ad Pelusium"), and by Facciolati in *roc.* *refusus* ("Luc. 8. 797, de Pompeio : 'situs est qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano;' h. e. in extremo littore, quod mari inundante superfunditur"), viz., that Lucan's "oceanus refusus" is neither more nor less than the Sinus Pelusiacus, on the shore of which, at the very edge where it drives back the water, the remains of Pompey were interred, **then** I can find no fault with him for being satisfied with Peerlkamp's proof, that the "oceanus refusus" of Virgil is *ocean driven-back by land beyond*. On the contrary, I rather praise his moderation as well as Peerlkamp's in not going the whole hog, and understanding Virgil's "oceanus refusus" to be the very Sinus Pelusiacus itself where it was rolled back by the shore on which Pompey's remains were buried. But **if** the reader is as wholly unable as I am to arrive at any such conclusion, **and if** the plain meaning of Lucan is to the reader as it is to me: not, *Pompey is buried where the waters of the Pelusian sinus are thrown back by the shore*, but *Pompey is not buried there, Pompey's burial place is co-exten-*

sive with the world, reaches even to the last land ("terra extrema") *in the "refusus oceanus"* [compare Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1826 (Alcmena apostrophizing dead Hercules):

"quae tibi sepulcra, gnate, quis tumulus sat est?
hic totus orbis fama erit tumulus tibi."

Anthol. Graec. 7. 137 (Jacobs):

μη με ταφῶ συγκρινε τον Εκτορα, μηδ' επι τυμβῶ
μετρει τον πασης Ελλαδος αντιπαλον·
Ιλιας, αυτος Ομηρος εμοι ταφος, Ελλας, Αχαιοι
φευγοντες, τουτοις πασιν εχωννυμεθα],

then the very obscurity which hangs over the "refusus oceanus" of Virgil hangs over the "refusus oceanus" of Lucan also, Peerlkamp's quotation of the latter proves nothing, and the meaning of "refusus," as applied to "oceanus," is to be sought extraneously to both passages.

Let us seek it extraneously to both. Now, water is commonly said to be *refusus* under either of these two circumstances, **first**, when, flowing in a certain direction, it is stopped in its course by an impediment, and flows back or in the contrary direction to that in which it came (*re-fusus*); (compare Ovid, *Met.* 11. 487:

"pars munire latus, pars ventis vela negare;
egerit hic fluctus, aequorque *refundit* in aequor;"

and such is the sense in which the word has been understood by Peerlkamp both in our text and the Lucanian parallel—incorrectly, there can be no doubt, if it were only because the notion of any land or anything beyond the ocean capable of turning its water back is point-blank opposed to all ancient cosmogony (see Avitus, as quoted by Peerlkamp himself: "Ita est rerum natura: post omnia oceanus, post oceanum nihil." Cic. *Orat. de Prov. Cons.* (ed. Lamb. p. 511): "Quid oceano longius inveniri potest?" Sil. 7. 107:

. . . "pulsi Ausonia non ante paventes
dimisere fugam quam terror ad ultima mundi
oceanumque tulit profugos."

Tibull. 4. 1. 147:

“quid moror? oceanus ponto qua continet orbem
nulla tibi adversis regio sese offeret armis.”

Catull. 62. 30:

“oceanusque mari qui totum amplectitur orbem.”

Plut.: ο περιρρεων την οικουμενην ωκεανος. Arist. de *Mundo*, c. 3: πελαγος δε το μεν εξω της οικουμενης Ατλαντικον καλειται και ωκεανος, περιρρεον ημας); **and secondly**, and less literally, when water collected into one place overflows its boundary and spreads, such water being regarded as poured back or again (*re-fusus*) out of the place into which it had been collected. This is the sense in which the term is applied (**a**) by Statius to the Vulturnus, *Silv.* 4. 3. 73 (Vulturnus speaking):

“qui me vallibus aviis *refusum*
et ripas habitare nescientem
recti legibus alvei ligasti”

[*confinedst me, Vulturnus, with a channel when I had overflowed my banks and spread wide over the low country*]; (**b**) by Silius, 11. 507, to the waters of the Aufidus:

“humentes rapido circumdat gurgite campos
Aufidus, et *stagnis* interceptis arva *refusis*,
mox fluctus ferit Adriacos, magnoque fragore
cedentem retrorsum impellit in aequora pontum”

[*Aufidus (overflowing the reservoir of its banks) floods the fields with rapid waters* (see Rem. on “gurgite” 1. 122), and cuts off communication]; (**c**) by Silius, 3. 463 (ed. Rup.) to the “stagna” or body of waters of the Rhone:

“at gregis inlapsu fremebundo territus acris
expavit moles Rhodanus, *stagnisque refusis*
torsit arenoso minitantia murmura fundo”

[*the Rhone, terrified at the sight of elephants embarked on it by Hannibal, overflows its banks with its body of waters*]; **and** (**d**) by Ovid, to tears, *Met.* 11. 657 (of Ceyx):

“tum lecto incumbens, *setu* super ora *refuso*,
haec ait”

[a flood of tears spread over his face, viz., from the fountain or reservoir of his eyes; in other words, *his face deluged with tears*]. Here then are four instances in which *refusus*, applied to water, signifies *breaking bounds, overflowing the reservoir, fountain bed, or channel*. Let us understand the "*refusus*" of our text to be used in the same manner, and we have the sense *overflowing, far-and-wide-spreading ocean*, the ocean being so described **either** because regarded as the *river* Oceanus, so called (as Hom. *Od.* 11 (vers. penult.):

την δε κατ' Ωκεανον ποταμον φερε κυμα ροοιο.

Ibid. 12. 1 :

αυταρ επει ποταμοιο λιπεν ροον Ωκεανοιο
νηυς, απο δ' ικετο κυμα θαλάσσης ευρυποροιο
νησον es Αιαιην.

Id. II. 18. 606 :

εν δ' ετιθει ποταμοιο μεγα σθενος Ωκεανοιο,
αντυγα παρ πυματην σακεος πυκα ποιητοιο.

Ibid. 20. 7 :

ουτε τις ουν Ποταμων απην, νοσφ' Ωκεανοιο,
ουτ' αρα Νυμφων, ται τ' αλsea καλα νεμονται,
και πηγας ποταμων, και πισεα ποιηεντα.

Tibull. 2. 5. 61 :

" quaque patent ortus, et qua fluitantibus undis
solis anhelantes abluit *amnis* equos."

Id. 3. 4. 17 :

" iam nox aetherium nigris emensa quadrigis
mundum, caeruleas laverat *amne* rotas"),

which has actually overflowed its banks so as to form the vast sea called Oceanus from the parent river, **or** because regarded as a vast sea rolling and flowing forward in the manner of an inundation, that is to say, so as to convey the notion of water which had broken bounds and overflowed its reservoir.

Refusus applied to the ocean in this sense, viz., that of *overflowing, inundating, far-and-wide-spreading*, differs little either

from the “late effusus” applied by Horace, *Epist.* 1. 11. 25, to the sea :

. . . “nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
non locus *effusi late maris* arbiter, aufert,
caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt;”

or from the “effusus” applied by Silius, 14. 346, to the ocean tide itself :

. . . “cur foedere certo
hunc affusa globum Tethys circumliget undis,
noverat, atque una pelagi lunaeque labores,
et pater *Oceanus* qua lege *effunderet aestus* ;”

and runs easily and naturally **into** the “refusus” applied by Silius, 13. 320 (ed. Rup.) to the plains about Capua :

. . . “ille superbae
fundamenta Capyn posuisse antiquitus urbi,
non cuiquam visus, passim monet; ille *refusis*
in spatium immensum *campis* habitanda relinqui
utile tecta docet. paulatim atrocibus irae
languescunt animis, et vis mollita senescit;”

by the same, 17. 63 (ed. Rup.) to valleys :

. . . “campos pariter *vallesque refusas*
littoraque implerat [viz., militibus]” ;

both by Claudian and Valerius Flaccus to the unfolded coils of a serpent, Claud. *Bell. Get.* 20 :

“plurima sed quamvis variis miracula monstria
ingeminant teneras vincturo carmine mentes
Harpyiasque truces, insopitisque *refusum*
tractibus aurati custodem velleris *anguem* ;”

Val. Flacc. 5. 254 :

“vix ea, Caucaseis cum lapsus montibus *anguis*,
haud sine mente dei, *spiris* nemus omne *refusis*
implicuit, Graiumque procul respexit ad orbem ;”

and even to the *refusus* not infrequently used to signify stretched at ease, laid at ease, French *abandonné*, as Claud. *de Nupt. Honor. et Mar. praef.* 5 :

“praeberetque Iovi communia pocula Chiron,
molliter obliqua parte *refusum* equi ;”

Lucan. 8. 105 :

. . . "sic fata [Cornelia] iterumque *refusa*
coniugis in gremium, cunctorum lumina solvit
in lacrymas."

The "*refusus oceanus*" of Lucan, therefore, no less than the "*refusus oceanus*" of Virgil, is neither "*oceanus refluus*" (*ebb-ing ocean*), nor "*oceanus repulsus*" (*ocean repelled by the land*), but it is *overflowing, inundating, far-and-wide-spreading ocean* ; and *pari ratione* "*refusus Acheron*," 6. 107, is *overflowing, inundating, wide-spreading Acheron* ; and "*pontus refusus*" (*Georg.* 2. 163, is the *overflowing, inundating, wide-spreading sea* ("indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor") into which, by means of a mole or breakwater ("claustra," *ibid.* 2. 161 ; so "*Mare Tyrrhenum a Lucrino molibus seclusum*," Plin. 36. 15) Augustus had turned the previously shallow and useless *Laus Lucrinus*, Suet. *Octav.* 16 : "*Portum Iulium apud Baias, immisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit.*" Hor. *Art. Poet.* 63 :

. . . "receptus
terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arceat."

If I am asked why may not *EXTREMA TELLUS REFUSO OCEANO* as well be *the last land next the ocean, bordering on the ocean, at this side the ocean* ("signate extremas terrarum oras ad oceanum et ultra Libyæ deserta nominat," Heyne. "*Si quem littora oceani habitantem*," Wagner (1861). "*The furthest land against which ocean beats, or from which ocean is beaten back*, *REFUSO OCEANO* being taken as an ablative of quality or attributive ablative with *TELLUS*. The ocean, as in Homer, is supposed to encircle the earth, the extremity of which accordingly repels it," Conington), as *the last land in the ocean*, I reply : for several reasons it may not. First, because the land bordering on the ocean is always spoken of as inhabited [compare 4. 480 :

"*oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem*
ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum :"

Eleg. ad Messalam, 53 :

"*nunc aliam ex alia bellando quaerere gentem,*
vincere et oceani finibus ulterius ?"],

whereas the land in question is distinctly and expressly spoken of as no more than possibly inhabited: *SI QUEM TELLUS EXTREMA SUBMOVET*; secondly, because Lucan's "*terra extrema*," plainly identical with Virgil's *TELLUS EXTREMA*, is not on or next the ocean, but in the ocean:

. . . "situs est qua terra extrema refuso
pendet in oceano ;"

and thirdly, because Seneca's "*terra ultimo sumnota mundo*," no less manifestly identical with Virgil's *TELLUS EXTREMA*, *Hipp.* 930 :

. . . "te licet *terra ultimo*
summoto mundo dirimat oceani plagis,
orbemque nostris pedibus obversum colas,"

is also not on or next the ocean, nor even beyond the ocean, but in the ocean, separated by an extent of ocean "*plagis oceani*."

232-253.

ABOlescet—MORATUR

ABOlescet (vs. 232).—Anglicè, *wane*; exactly the opposite of *adolescere*, *wax* (Germ. *wachsen*).

NEC TROIAM AUSONIOS GREMIO EXCEPISSE PIGEBIT (vs. 233).—Compare l. 552: "*officio nec te certasse priorem poeniteat*," where see Rem.

SIVE FIDE, SEU QUIS BELLO EST EXPERTUS ET ARMIS (vs. 235).—*A faithful friend, and a dangerous foe*. Compare Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1, ed. Hutch., p. 27 (of Cyrus son of Cambyzes): *ανδρα εσεσθαι ικανον και φιλους ωφελειν, και εχθρους ανιαν* and again, id. *Anab.* 1, ed. Hutch., p. 23 (of Cyrus son of Darius): *ο δε ανηρ πολλου μεν αξιος φιλος, ω αν φιλος η' χαλειπωτατος ε'*

εχθρος, ω αν πολεμιος η. Eurip. *Med.* 805 (ed. Porson) (*Medea* of herself):

βαρειαν εχθροισ, και φιλοισιν ευμενη
των γαρ τοιουτων ευκλεεστατος βιος.

Tacit. *Ann.* 13. 54: “Nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse’ exclamant.” Casti, *La Gatta e il Topo*:

“se nemica son io, son formidabile:
se amica, son fedel, costante, e amabile.”

FIDE, *in alliance*. So 10. 71, “Tyrthenam fidem,” *Tyrrhene alliance*; Georg. 4. 213, “rupere fidem,” *broke the alliance*.

MULTI NOS POPULI, MULTAE . . . ET PETIERE SIBI ET VOLUERE ADIUNGERE GENTES (vv. 236-8).—Referring plainly to the invitation of Aëstes that they should settle in Sicily (see 1. 553-562, and Rem. on “arva,” 1. 554), and that of Dido (1. 576) that they should settle at Carthage.

DAT TIBI PRAETEREA FORTUNAE PARVA PRIORIS MUNERA, RELIQUIAS TROIA EX ARDENTE RECEPTAS (vv. 243-4).—DAT, “sciz. Aeneas, REX IPSE, qui TUA NOS AD LIMINA MISIT (vs. 220). Quum enim nemo dubitare possit, quis sit ille, qui haec MUNERA mittat, subiectum sententiae facile omitti poterat, quanquam in antecedentibus de Apolline agebatur,” Forbiger. True, but not the whole truth. The entire intervening passage QUANTA—NUMICI depends, in the sense, upon MISIT, as if Ilioneus had said: *sent us with this message to you, viz., QUANTA—NUMICI (It cannot be unknown to you how great a tempest, &c.), and along with this message (PRAETEREA, vs. 243) DAT, sends you these presents*. This is entirely according to our author’s usual manner of referring back past an intercalatory passage, to what went before, almost without taking notice of the intercalation, and as if the words referred to had immediately preceded the reference. See 1. 151 and Rem., where, however, in taking up the dropped thread of the direct narrative, he almost repeats the words at which he had broken it off. In the present instance, in place of such repetition of the words, the connecting link is supplied by PRAETEREA. To have furnished DAT with its own special nominative would only have had the effect of disjointing the address of Ilioneus,

and breaking it up into fragments. The passage QUANTA—NUMICI being regarded as the message of Aeneas delivered in the words of Ilioneus, the transition DAT TIBI . . . is neither, with Heyne, harsh (“satis durum esse quis non videt?”), nor, with Wagner, a trifling and pardonable negligence (“levem et facile ignoscendam negligentiam”), but is precisely what gives unity to the oration of Ilioneus and renders it simple, easy, and natural.

DAT . . . VESTES (vv. 243-8).—In these six verses, our author portrays the ancient Roman custom more particularly described by Tacit. *Ann.* 4. 26: “Cognitis dehinc Ptolomaei per id bellum studiis, *repetitus ex vetusto mos*, missusque e senatoribus, qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, *antiqua patrum munera* daret, regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.”

GESTAMEN (vs. 246).—“Diadema dicit, nam SCEPTRUM dicitur est,” Servius. “GESTAMEN quod fuerit, ipse poeta dicit subiecta interpretatione SCEPTRUM,” Wagner. I disagree both with Servius and Wagner, and agree with Forbiger in referring GESTAMEN to the whole three objects, sceptre, tiara, and vest. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 13. 115:

“et fuga (qua sola cunctos, timidissime, vincis)
tarda futura tibi est, *gestamina* tanta trahenti,”

where “gestamina” is the whole armour of Achilles, sword, spear, helmet, corslet, greaves, and shield. The passage is one of those in which our author follows out a particular thought parenthetically, and only returns to his main subject after an interval. The main subject here is GESTAMEN, which he leaves in order to explain more particularly about Priam; and only when he has made that explanation, viz., in the words CUM IURA VOCATIS MORE DARET POPULIS, returns to take up the subject which he had left.

CUM IURA VOCATIS MORE DARET POPULIS (vv. 246-7).—Not MORE DARET, but MORE VOCATIS. Compare Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 4. 4. 35:

“curia te excipiet, Patresque *e more vocati*
intendent aures ad tua verba suas.”

Virg. *Aen.* 5. 224 :

“ tum satus Anchisa, cunctis *ex more vocatis*,
victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
declarat.”

DEFIXA LATINUS OBTUTU TENET ORA (vv. 249-50).—*Keeps his mouth quiet and fixed in a gaze*; firstly, because such is the meaning of “tenere ora,” 2. 1, where see Rem.; and of the same expression, 8. 520, where see Rem. Secondly, because, in point of fact, Latinus not merely looked fixedly, and rolled his eyes, but, as plainly shown by TANDEM LAETUS AIT, verse 259, was silent all the while he was so looking fixedly with rolling eyes—a silence which is nowhere in the whole passage expressed unless in TENET ORA. Thirdly, because in the so similar passage, 6. 469 :

“ illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
tandem,” &c.

The immobility of Dido's countenance expressed by “nec vultum movetur” includes the immobility of Dido's mouth, *i. e.*, Dido's silence.

QUANTUM IN CONNUBIO NATAE THALAMOQUE MORATUR (vs. 253).—That is, it is not about the gifts he is thinking while he thus DEFIXA OBTUTU TENET ORA, SOLOQUE IMMOBILIS HAERET, INTENTOS VOLVENS OCULOS, but about his daughter; viz., whether this might not be the bridegroom foretold by the oracle.

MORATUR.—The meaning is, not that on account of his daughter he hesitates to receive the Trojans as friends, but the very contrary, that he hesitates to reject the proposal of the Trojans, deliberating within himself whether this might not be the bridegroom foretold by the oracle—IN CONNUBIO NATAE MORATUR: *his thoughts are about the marriage of his daughter, he minds nothing in comparison of the marriage of his daughter*, as 9. 439: “in solo Volscente moratur,” *minds no one but Volscentis*; and, if I may be allowed to jump across so great a chasm, *Don Quix.* 1. 7: “En lo del asno reparó un poco Don Quixote,” &c.; *i. e.*, *scrupled a little, thought a while over the matter of the ass*, &c.

255-294.

HUNC—PHRYGUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 275).

TER CENTUM **III** D. Heins. ; H. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribb.

TRICENTUM **III** Ven. 1470.

TERCENTUM **I** *Pal., Med.* (but there being no interspaces between the words in these MSS. it is impossible to know whether *TERCENTUM* was intended for one or for two words). **III** Serv. (cod. Dresd.) does not quote the words at all, but explains : “tercentos,” and adds “nam in legione non nisi tercenti erant equites,” and at 9. 370, has “turmae vero equitum tercentum quia Romani equites primo tercentum fuerunt” ; P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; Phil.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 287).

INVECTA **I** *Vat., Rom., Med.* **II** ²/₉. **III** Serv. (cod. Dresd.) ; Ven. 1470 : Rom. 1473 ; P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Phil. ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Pott. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., and ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribb.

[A reading “*INVICTA*, Mentel. *pr.*,” is recorded by Heyne, not by Ribbeck. —J. F. D.]

HUNC ILLUM FATIS EXTERNA AB SEDE PROPECTUM PORTENDI
GENERUM, PARIBUSQUE IN REGNA VOCARI AUSPICIIIS (vv. 255-6).

—HUNC ILLUM exactly corresponds to the English *this very*. The whole sense is, that *this very* person, thus arrived from abroad, was portended by the fates to be his son-in-law, or that *this very* person was the son-in-law from abroad portended by the fates. The sense is the former or the latter, according as we join PROPECTUM with HUNC ILLUM, or with GENERUM.

PORTENDI FATIS, not PROPECTUM FATIS, first, because FATIS is required by VOCARI ; secondly, because FATIS is not required by EXTERNA AB SEDE PROPECTUM, inasmuch as it was not required by “externum adventare virum,” vs. 69, of which phrase

EXTERNA AB SEDE PROPECTUM is the counterpart; and thirdly, because we have, vs. 272, HUNC ILLUM POSCERE FATA exactly corresponding to HUNC ILLUM PORTENDI FATIS; and fourthly, because the progeny, vs. 257, of this son-in-law is expressly described, l. 26, as a fated progeny.

HUIC PROGENIEM VIRTUTE FUTURAM EGREGIAM, ET TOTUM QUAE VIRIBUS OCCUPET ORBEM (vv. 257-8).—Exactly parallel to l. 23 (where see Rem.):

“progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat, Tyrios olim quae verteret arces:
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
venturum excidio Libyæ,”

the “progenies” in both places being the Roman nation.

MUNERA NEC SPERNO (vs. 261).—“Per litotem pro *lubens accipio* etiam Burmannus explicavit. Non intercedo, si modo teneas, Virgilium dixisse *non sperno*, quia Latinus vultu satis ostenderat se omnibus donis istis nihil moveri, idque Troianos non latuerat,” Peerlkamp. The explanation of Peerlkamp is inadmissible. Latinus’s MUNERA NEC SPERNO is no apology for grave looks; it is, as Burmann says, a mere equivalent for *lubens accipio*; or rather, for: *I highly esteem, magni facio*—the reverse of “nec dona moror,” 5. 400. Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 716 (of Achilles):

ΑΓ. τοιῶσδε παῖδος σὴς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ ποῖς.
ΚΛ. οὐ μὲμπτος.

HUNC ILLUM (vs. 272).—*This very man.* See Rem. on vs. 255.

ET REOR, ET, SI QUID VERI MENS AUGURAT, OPTO (vs. 273).—“ET REOR, ET SI vere reor, atque adeo Aeneas gener fato designatus est, non alium generum opto,” Heyne. This is not the meaning. Latinus does not wish Aeneas to be his son-in-law because the fates have decreed him so to be, but he wishes this decree of the fates to be effectual, because he augurs good from it. Latinus thinks that Aeneas is the son-in-law appointed for him by the fates, and he hopes and wishes that he may be that son-in-law, because he augurs or judges from what he has heard

of Aeneas, that Aeneas would be a good son-in-law. The doubt expressed by *si* is the doubt whether his augury (*viz.*, that Aeneas would make a fit husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law for himself) is a true augury, not a mistake.

SUBLIMES (vs. 285).—The Italians apply the same expression to driving in a chariot, as *Metast. Giusep. Ricon. parte 1* :

“ nel real *carro* assiso
già *sublime* passeggi
l' istesse vie che prigionier calcasti.”

AURASQUE INVECTA TENEBAT (vs. 287).—“ Per elementum suum ibat,” Servius. “ In aeris regione INVECTA, non monti insistens,” Heyne. Neither explains the only word in the sentence which needs explanation, INVECTA. INVECTA is *εποχος* in her chariot, drawn in her chariot, driving in her chariot, or, as we say ourselves, with a similar omission of the vehicle, driving, or mounted; and so Voss, correctly: “ Wehende lüfte durchfuhr sie.” At 12. 77 we have the full expression: “ invecta rotis.” Compare also Claud. *Phoen. 89* :

“ clara per Aegyptum placidis notissima sacris
urbs Titana colit, centumque accline columnis
invehitur templum Thebaeo monte revulsis.”

[Qu. ? mounted on a hundred columns.]

STETIT ACRI FIXA DOLORE (vs. 291).—STETIT, “ quod solet esse cogitantum,” Servius, Wagn. (*Praest.*). I think the expression is not to be taken literally, but merely as equivalent to *fuit* with the notion of continuance, or persistence for some length of time, superadded, as Cic. *pro L. Flacco*, 6: “ Qui domi stare non poterant, largo et liberali viatico commoveret.” Compare *Aen. 1. 650* :

“ omnis in Ascanio cari *stat* cura parentis ;”

ibid. 4. 539 :

“ aut bene apud memores veteris *stat* gratia facti ;”

ibid. 10. 494 :

. . . “ haud illi *stabunt* Aeneia parvo
hospitia.”

There is a similar use of the corresponding word in other lan-

guages, *ex. gr.*, “the Parliament stands prorogued,” “questi sta facendo la sua relazione” [*i. e.*, is occupied in making, &c.]. Cf. *estar* = *ser* in Span. See Rem. on 5. 268.

HEU STIRPEM INVISAM, ET FATIS CONTRARIA NOSTRIS FATA PHRYGUM! (vv. 293-4).—Not a double exclamation, *Alas, the hated race! and the fates of the Phrygians contrary to our fates!* but (STIRPEM and PHRYGUM being only different expressions for the one object) a single exclamation, *Alas, the fates of the hated Phrygian race contrary to ours!* The contrariety of the Phrygian fates is the more bitter to Juno inasmuch as the Phrygians are a race which she hates. Compare 1. 32:

“*et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores,*”

where see Rem. See also Rem. on 1. 23.

315-322.

AT TRAHERE ATQUE MORAS TANTIS LICET ADDERE REBUS
AT LICET AMBORUM POPULOS EXSCINDERE REGUM
HAC GENER ATQUE SOCER COEANT MERCEDE SUORUM
SANGUINE TROIANO ET RUTULO DOTABERE VIRGO
ET BELLONA MANET TE PRONUBA NEC FACE TANTUM
CISSEIS PRAEGRANS IGNES ENIXA IUGALES
QUIN IDEM VENERI PARTUS SUUS ET PARIS ALTER
FUNESTAEQUE ITERUM RECIDIVA IN PERGAMA TÆDÆ

AT TRAHERE, ATQUE MORAS TANTIS LICET ADDERE REBUS.—The utmost which, according to ancient orthodoxy, Juno or any other deity could do. Neither Juno could interfere, nor Jove himself allow of Juno's interference, further than was permitted by that power which was supreme over all, gods and men alike; viz., the Fates. See 10. 625, and Rem. on 1. 33.

TRAHERE, theme; MORAS TANTIS ADDERE REBUS, variation.
NEC FACE TANTUM CISSEIS PRAEGRANS IGNES ENIXA IUGALES.

Nor is it Hecuba alone who is brought to bed of a torch; Venus, too, shall have been brought to bed of one—QUIN IDEM VENERI PARTUS SUUS. These words, I know not with how much reason, raise in my mind the notion that perhaps there is a reference in them not merely to the dream of Hecuba, viz., that she was brought to bed of a torch, but to the name Paris, signifying a torch. Therefore the repetition not only in IGNES, but in TAEDAE, of the idea already expressed in FACE, viz., that of a torch, i. e., of Paris. Πυρ is *fire*, πυρσορ is *a torch*, and Paris is exactly πυρσορ, the vowels being omitted from each word. In like manner, πυρσορ is *rufus*, and Παρσαι and Περσαι are *the fire-worshippers*. Adopting this suggestion, viz., that Παρις is *fax*, we have either on the one hand an explanation why Ἀλεξανδρος was so called, viz., from his mother's dream of her being pregnant of a torch, or, on the other hand, an explanation why Hecuba was said to have dreamed that she was pregnant of a torch, viz., because the name of the son whom she brought into the world was Paris, i. e., *torch*. We have also an explanation of the fact of the possession by Hecuba's son Alexander of a second proper name, not a patronymic, a fact of itself sufficiently remarkable to set one in search of a reason for its existence.

[*Aliter*]. Hecuba is here represented not simply as she is represented 10. 704, "et face praegnans Cisseis regina Parin," as having brought forth Paris, but by a very bold figure she is represented as having brought forth that which was the consequence of the birth of Paris, viz., his IGNES IUGALES, or marriage with Helen. The expression IGNES IUGALES is used instead of the more usual term taedae (employed in precisely the same sense in the next verse but one) because *taedae* used here, so close upon the literal "fax" of Hecuba's dream, might have led the reader into the error that the taedae of which Hecuba was confined was the literal "fax" of her dream, not the figurative *faces* of Paris's marriage.

TAEDAE.—The marriage torches, i. e., marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia, as IGNES IUGALES are the marriage torches, i. e., marriage of Paris with Helen. IUGALES is added to IGNES, because IGNES without IUGALES would not express marriage;

TAEDAE has no descriptive predicate, inasmuch as by itself expressing the full idea contained in the two words IGNES IUGALES. There is, no doubt, in both expressions a tacit reference to the “fax” of Hecuba’s dream; in other words, a *double entendre* runs through the whole passage, to this effect, that the nuptial torches of Aeneas would light up a conflagration as disastrous to the Trojans in Italy as the conflagration lighted up by the nuptial torches of Paris had been disastrous to them at Troy. This meaning, so plainly indicated by the words IGNES IUGALES and TAEDAE, has been entirely overlooked both by commentators and translators. “IGNES IUGALES, *coniugales, matrimonio conceptos*,” Servius. “Vocat Parin IGNES IUGALES, id est, *coniugales*, conceptos utique matrimonii iugo, et ex coniugio,” La Cerda. “IGNES IUGALES, *coniugales*; peperit matrimonio filium, qui Asiae incendium erat futurus,” Heyne, Wagn. (*Praest.*) “ITERUM FUNESTAE TAEDAE IN PERGAMA RECIDIVA, h. e. nova haec Troia, seu restituta Troianorum fortuna, iterum experietur tanquam alterum Iliacum excidium,” Heyne. “Sed etiam Veneri filius suus similis (IDEM) erit ignis, alterque Paris, fax funesta renascenti patriae,” Wagn. (*Praest.*):

. . . “nicht mit der fackel
war nur Hecuba schwanger, und rang di feuergeburt aus;
gleich so wird auch der Venus ihr spross, und ein anderer Paris;
und zum zweitenmal stürzt in Pergamus brand der verwesung!” (Voss.)

“cotal non partori di face preña
Ecuba a Troia incendio; qual Ciprigna
avrà con questo suo novello Pari
partorito altro foco, altra ruina
a quest’ altr’ Ilio:” (Caro.)

every one of them understanding IGNES IUGALES to be the torch (“fax”) which Hecuba dreamed she brought forth, not the IGNES IUGALES of Paris’s marriage, and every one of them understanding TAEDAE to be Aeneas himself, a torch or fire-brand similar to Paris, not the TAEDAE of Aeneas’s marriage with Lavinia, and so, as I think, missing not the poetry alone, but the entire gist of the passage; which is not merely that Aeneas himself should be a second Paris (PARIS ALTER), but

that his marriage with Lavinia (TAEDAE) should be a repetition of Paris's marriage with Helen (IGNES IUGALES), and no less unfortunate for Troy. This is the gist of the passage, almost every second word of which, by the way, refers directly to marriage (GENER, SOGER, HAC COEANT MERCEDE, DOTABERE, PRONUBA, IGNES IUGALES, FUNESTAE ITERUM TAEDAE), and thus only is the passage brought into harmony with the prediction of the Sibyl, 6. 93 :

“ causa mali tanti coniux iterum hospita Teucris,
externique iterum thalami,”

and with the invariable reference elsewhere of all the misfortunes of Troy to the taedae, marriage torch, or marriage of Paris, as Eurip. *Troad.* 596 (ed. Musgr., Chor. to Hecuba) :

. . . οτε σος γονος εκφυγεν Αιδαν,
ος λεχων στυγερων χαριν ωλεσε περγαμα Τροιας.

Ibid. 781 (ed. Musgr.):

ταλαινα Τροια, μυριους απωλεσας
μιας γυναικος, και λεχους στυγνου χαριν.

Id. Hec. 933 (ed. Porson): . . .

. . . επει με
γας εκ πατρωας απωλεσεν
εξωκισεν τ' οικων γαμος, ου γαμος, αλλ'
αλαστορος τις οϊζυς.

Had the meaning of IUGALES been that assigned to it by the commentators the word had been better wholly omitted, inasmuch as IGNES ENIXA fully expresses all the meaning required, and the additional sense conveyed by IUGALES, viz., that the IGNES were born in lawful wedlock, is not irrelevant only, but damaging to the passage.

IGNES IUGALES, FUNESTAE TAEDAE.—With these IGNES IUGALES of Paris so unlucky for the first Troy, and these TAEDAE of Aeneas and Lavinia so unlucky for the second, compare the nuptial torches of Cassandra and Agamemnon, which are to be so fatal to both parties concerned. Eurip. *Troad.* 347, ed. Musgr.

(Hecuba, of the nuptial torch of Cassandra and Agamemnon) :

Ἡφαιστε, δαδουχεις μεν εν γαμοις βροτων,
αταρ λυγραν γε τηνδ' αναθυσσεις φλογα,
εξω τε μεγαλων ελπιδων,

to which Cassandra replies, vs. 407 :

ων ουνεκ' ου χρη, μητερ, οικτειρειν σε γην,
ου ταμα λεκτρα' τους γαρ εχθιστους εμοι
και σοι, γαμοισι τοις εμοις διαφθερω.

FACE.—The torch of which Hecuba dreamed she was pregnant ; a dream which was fulfilled by her bringing forth Paris, whose *IGNES IUGALES* (*marriage torches*) kindled the war of Troy. Compare Ovid, *Ep.* 16. 50 (Paris to Helen) :

“ pectoris, ut nunc est, fax fuit illa mei,”

where “fax illa” is the torch of which Hecuba dreamed she was pregnant, explained in the words “pectoris mei,” to be the flame of Paris for Helen ; Virgil’s marriage torch of Paris.

It is not to be wondered at that the *IGNES IUGALES* and *TAEÐAE* of this passage should have proved almost as fatal to commentators and translators as the objects represented by those terms had proved to first and second Troy ; and not only translators and commentators, but Virgil’s readers may not without reason complain that their author should have thought it right in one line to use the word “fax” in its literal sense, viz., of a simple torch or firebrand, and in the next line to use the words *IGNES IUGALES*, and in the next line but one the word *TAEÐAE* in the double sense of *marriage torches* and *marriage*. They are not without reason of complaint, I say ; but then their complaint must be that their author should write so good poetry, the very essence of poetry, poetry’s greatest charm, consisting in such sweet *double entendre*, such graceful playing at jackstones with thoughts, and of course with words. Some of the best and most delightful of the songs of our delicious Shakespeare abound with similar quicksands, death to the grammatical navigator. Thus, in Dumain’s sonnet in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, *Love* is represented as spying a blossom, playing in

the wanton air in the month of May. Through the velvet leaves surrounding the blossom the wind finds passage to it, the consequence of which is, that the *lover* wishes himself to be the air, that he might blow on the *cheeks* of the blossom; but alas! his *hand* had *sworn* never to pluck the *blossom* from its *thorn*, which vow, if he breaks, he hopes the blossom won't consider him forsworn, inasmuch as *Jove* himself for the sake of it would swear that *Juno* was no more than an *Ethiope*, and, renouncing his *Jovedom*, turn mortal to obtain its love. Such, critically analysed, is one of the sweetest of sonnets. Still, however much we may esteem and respect our author, and much as we may admire and praise his poetry, he has not the *carte blanche* either of royalty or divinity, and what he writes may be criticised without fear either of a *praemunire* or of a prosecution for blasphemy. I shall therefore, without such fear before my eyes, venture to explain to those who with me would rather have had the passage more clear and logical, even at the risk of its being less poetical, what it was which made it impossible for our author to make this passage at one and the same time poetical and logical. To be logical the parallel should be instituted either between Paris regarded as a torch which set his country in flames, and Aeneas similarly regarded as a torch which should set Latium in flames, or between Paris, the torch of whose marriage with Helen set his country in flames, and Aeneas, the torch of whose marriage with Lavinia should set Latium in flames. If the parallel had been drawn in the former of these fashions, it would have been poetical, because Hecuba's famous dream, and the no less famous interpretation of it by the sooth-sayers :

. . . " puerum primus Priamo qui foret
post illa natus tempora, hunc si tolleret,
eum esse exitium Troiae, postem Pergamo ; "

and again :

" adest, adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio :
multos annos latuit. Cives, ferte opem et restinguite, "

had afforded poetical grounds for Paris's being regarded as a torch (and accordingly, Seneca, *Troad.* 38 :

“ *non cautus ignes Ithacous, aut Ithaci comes
 nocturnus in vos sparsit, aut fallax Sinon ;
 meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis* ”),

but there being no such grounds for Aeneas's being so regarded, the parallel would have been poetical indeed, but not logical. On the other hand, if the parallel had been instituted in the second of the above fashions, it would have been perfectly logical, because there was an absolute logical parallelism between the two marriages and other respective *taedae*, which might very well be represented as setting the respective countries on fire, but such parallel being only between the marriages (emblemized by their torches), not between the men themselves, not between the offspring of Hecuba and the offspring of Venus (*VENERI PARTUS SUUS ET PARIS ALTER*), and all reference to the famous dream and famous prophecy being irrelevant, such parallel, I say, would not have been poetical. Our author was therefore under the necessity of omitting either the torch of Hecuba in order to be logical, or the torches of the two marriages in order to be poetical ; or, in case he retained both, of using the word *torch* in two different senses ; and this is what, in point of fact, he has done, whether advertently or inadvertently I shall not pretend to say. But plain it is to me, and will I think on consideration be to the reader, that *IGNES*, in relation to *ENIXA*, means the torch of which Hecuba dreamt she was pregnant ; and, in relation to *IUGALES*, means the marriage torches of Paris and Helen. Logically regarded, such an equivocal is a defect ; poetically regarded, it is a beauty, and I have praised it as such in the earlier part of this comment, where I have placed it in comparison with the similar equivocal which impart so delightful an air of light, easy, carelessness to Shakespeare's most exquisite sonnet. See Rem. on “*spissis noctis se condidit umbris*,” 2. 621.

ITERUM (vs. 322).—Incorrect, inasmuch as the *TAEDAE* were only now for the first time fatal to revived Pergamus. It was not to ‘revived’ but to old Pergamus they were fatal on the former occasion. See Rem. on “*muris iterum imminet hostis nascentis Troiae*,” 10. 26. I am afraid the excuse which I have

above put forward in favour of *IGNES IUGALES* and *TAEDAE* is not available in defence of *ITERUM* in either of these two places, as it is also not available in defence of “*rursus*,” 4. 534 (where see *Rem.*), and that in these and similar cases our author has exposed himself to the charge of hasty, insufficiently-considered composition.

326-333.

CRIMINA—LOCO

CRIMINA NOXIA CORDI (vs. 326).—Wagner asks: “*nostine etiam innoxia crimina?*” I reply: certainly, if, as I understand *NOXIA*, it means not merely *hurtful*, but *amounting to a certain degree of hurtfulness*, perhaps such a degree as is punishable by the laws, or perhaps punishable in a particular manner by the laws, and so corresponds more or less nearly to our word *felonious*. Compare Liv. 2. 59: “*Quandoquidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur*,” where Walker: “*Ego . . . per ‘tempus noxae’ intelligendum puto dilationem poenae. Noxa pro poena delicti saepe usurpatur. Sic dedere aliquem noxae est permittere puniendum, ut apud nostrum, 26. 29: ‘obruī Aetnae ignibus, aut mergi freto, satius illi insulae esse, quam velut dedi noxae inimico.’*” So our *obnoxious* is not only *offensive* or *disagreeable*, but *liable to punishment*, as South, *Sermons*, vol. 11, p. 144: “*Our obnoxiousness to the curse of the law for sin.*”

PULLULAT ATRA COLUBRIS (vs. 329), as l. 300: “*fremet horridus ore cruento.*”

HUNC MIHI DA PROPRIUM, VIRGO SATA NOCTE, LABOREM HANC OPERAM (vv. 331-2).—“*PROPRIUM*; aut *tibi aptum*; aut certe *perpetuum, indefessum, usque ad finem perducendum*,” Servius. “*HUNC MIHI DA PROPRIUM*; pro vulgari: *singulare hoc*

mihi praesta, mea gratia suscipe. Male Serv. aliter," Heyne. "PROPRIUM, cuius fructu ipsa sola gaudeam. Non petit Iuno aliis, sed sibi soli; quod autem ita petimus, id et instantius petimus, et, si datur, gratissimum esse solet," Wagner (1861). These discussions concerning the separate, independent meaning of the word *proprium* had been very proper if their authors had perceived, or the reader been informed, that it was impossible for the word to have any one of these meanings or any separate independent meaning at all in our text, it being there an integrant inseparable part of the phrase *DA PROPRIUM*, equivalent to the English word *bestow*, and the German *schenke*; and Juno's meaning being neither *give me this labour, which it is so fitting for you to give*, nor *this labour to abide with me for ever*, nor *this particular special labour*, nor *this labour to be my own private property, shared by no one else*, but simply *bestow on me this labour*, or, as we say in English, *take this trouble for my sake, or in my behalf* (*Ecl. 10. 1*: "hunc mihi concede laborem"). That the words *da* and *proprium* are really thus united into a phrase, and with this meaning, appears at once from a comparison of them with the well-known phrase *dare mutuum*, meaning, *to lend*. As in the phrase *dare mutuum* the word *mutuum* is added to *dare*, to signify that the thing given is to be given back, so in the phrase *dare proprium* the word *proprium* is added to *dare* to signify that the thing given is not to be given back, is to become *proprium*; i. e., property, *ιδιον*, as the Greeks said, *Tab. Ceb. 38* (of the gifts of Fortune): *Αυτη κειλευει, εφη, μη πιστευειν, μηδε ασφαλεις εχειν ο, τι αν παρ' αυτης λαβη τις; μηδε ως ιδια ηγεισθαι ουδεν γαρ κωλυει ταυτα παλιν αφελεσθαι, και ετερω διδοναι.* There are thus the three different expressions *dare*, *dare mutuum*, and *dare proprium*, corresponding to the three different kinds of giving—the first indefinite, without specification, and used whether the thing given is or is not to be given back; the two latter definite and with specification, and signifying, *mutuum dare* that the thing given is to be given back, *proprium dare*, that the thing given is not to be given back. Exactly similar to *DA PROPRIUM* in our text we have, l. 77, "*propriam dicabo*," not

meaning, with Heyne "*dabo simpliciter*," but *I will dedicate her to be thine own, thine henceforward and irrevocably*, and 6. 872, "*propria dona*," *a gift not to be demanded back, a gift for ever*. Analysing the expression *da proprium*, we find in *proprium* the right of property, and in *da* the consequence of that right; analysing the expression *da mutuum*, we find in *mutuum* the right of participation, and in *da* the conveyance of that right. Exactly similar to *dare proprium* and *dare mutuum* we have, 9. 323, "*vasta dabo*." See Remm. on "*propria dona*," 6. 871; and "*propriam dicabo*," 1. 77, and the following paragraph.

CEDAT LOCO (vv. 332-3).—Servius quotes as parallel and explanatory Cic. in *Cat. 2. 1*: "*loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus*." There is, however, no parallelism between the passages, "*loco*," as quoted from Cicero, having a meaning apart from "*depulsus*," thus: "*depulsus*," *driven off*; "*loco*," *from the ground, from the field, from his position*, for Cicero is speaking of Catiline as a public enemy at the head of a hostile army, or as a bandit at the head of his band, and occupying a position from which he takes credit to himself for having dislodged him, while LOCO in our text is intimately joined with CEDAT, so that the two words together express only the one notion, viz., that of yielding, giving way, giving place, LOCO not meaning as in the Ciceronian passage a precise, definite place, but only place in that sense in which it occurs in the English expression *give place*, and in the Greek παραχωρειν, as Lucian: Ου γαρ εχρον γεροντα απελθειν του βιου, παραχωρησαντα τοις νιοις; where the single word παραχωρησαντα is the exact equivalent of the Latin phrase cedentem loco, and of the English phrase *giving place*. See preceding paragraph, v. 331.

335-343.

TU POTES UNANIMOS ARMARE IN PRAELIA FRATRES
 ATQUE ODIIS VERSARE DOMOS TU VERBERA TECTIS
 FUNEREASQUE INFERRE FACES TIBI NOMINA MILLE
 MILLE NOCENDI ARTES FECUNDUM CONCUTE PECTUS
 DISIICE COMPOSITAM PACEM SERE CRIMINA BELLII
 ARMA VELIT POSCATQUE SIMUL RAPIATQUE IUVENTUS
 EXIN GORGONEIS ALLECTO INFECTA VENENIS
 PRINCIPIO LATIUM ET LAURENTIS TECTA TYRANNI
 CELSA PETIT TACITUMQUE OBSEDIIT LIMEN AMATAE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 337.)

TIBI I *Med.*, *Rom.*, *Ver.* III †. IIII *Serv.* (cod. *Dresd.*); *Ven.* 1470;
P. Manut.; *La Cerda*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1671); *Heyne*; *Brunck*;
Wakef.; *Haupt*; *Wagn. (Praest.)*; *Wagn. (ed. Heyn.)*; *Lad.*; *Ribb.*
 CUI IIII *Nonius.*

O *Vat.*

TU POTES UNANIMOS ARMARE IN PRAELIA FRATRES ATQUE ODIIS
 VERSARE DOMOS, theme; TU VERBERA TECTIS FUNEREASQUE IN-
 FERRE FACES, variation.

VERSARE DOMOS.—Exactly our *embroil families*. Whatever
 doubt hung about the meaning of the words has been dissipated
 by Forbiger's apposite quotation of Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 2. 29:

"ille [servus conscius] placet, versatque domum, neque verbera sentit;"

and Prop. 3. 10. 1:

"quid mirare, meam si versat femina vitam?"

Compare Aesch. *Eumen.* 347 (Chorus of Furies speaking):

γίγνομεναισι λαχὴ τὰδ' ἐφ' αὖτις ἐκράνθη·

.....

δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλομαι

ἀνατροπὰς.

VERBERA, FACES.—"Tu, in ipsis aedium penetralibus, flagris
 et facibus insequeris sceleratos," Heyne. "VERBERA . . . non

ad poenas a scelestis exigendas spectant, sed ad rixas turbasque domesticas; ‘faces funereae’ ad caedem inde ortam,” Wagner, ed. Heyn., following Donatus; and so Wagner, 1861; also Forbiger and Thiel. Heyne is right, and the other four commentators wrong. VERBERA* and FACES are literal, the verbera and faces with which Furies are armed by all writers whether of prose or verse, the very “verbera” and the very “faces” which we find this very Fury, in obedience to these very commands, introducing into the house of Turnus, vs. 451: “verberaque insonuit;” vs. 456:

“ sic effata *facem* iuveni coniecit, et atro
lumine fumantes fixit sub pectore taedas.”

Of course both VERBERA and FACES are typical of trouble and torment, but it is with the types, not with the things typified, Alecto, herself a type, deals. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 11. 103:

“ ferte *faces* in me, quas fertis, Erinnyes atrae,
ut meus ex isto luceat igne rogos;”

Id. *Ibis*, 161:

“ *verbera* torta dabunt sonitum; nexaeque colubris
conscia fumabunt semper ad ora *faces*.
his vivus *furiis* agitabere, mortuus iisdem.”

TIBI NOMINA MILLE, MILLE NOCENDI ARTES.—“TIBI NOMINA MILLE, πολυωνυμος,” Heyne. “Pro varia potestate, qua quisque erat, deus variis appellabatur nominibus, πολυωνυμος,” Wagner. “Du, tausendnamige, kennest tausend künste des leids,” Voss. This is not the meaning. The number of Alecto’s names, whether great or small, is indifferent to Juno and the business she has in hand; but it is not indifferent to Juno and the business she has in hand that Alecto is skilled in a thousand *different kinds* of mischief; therefore (with Peerlkamp) NOMINA MILLE (*nocendi*), MILLE NOCENDI ARTES. NOMINA is equivalent to *genera* or *kinds*, for every genus, or kind having a distinct name, there were, of course, as many kinds as there were names.

* VERBERA here means κομμοί, *plactus*, ‘beatings of the breast,’ as in Ovid, *Her.* 10. 38: ‘verbera cum verbis mixta fuere meis.’ There are other places in this work, not a few, as to which it will be necessary for me, on some convenient occasion, to record my dissent from Dr. J. Henry’s view.—J. F. D.

That this is the true meaning of the passage appears further not only from its being the usual habit of Virgil to present the same object under different aspects in several short and distinct sentences, but (*a*) from the repetition of the word MILLE, the emphasis of which repetition is lost if the first MILLE be referred to one object and the second MILLE to another, and (*b*) from the double circumstance that the words TIBI NOMINA MILLE, MILLE NOCENDI ARTES are actually preceded by an enumeration of the different kinds of wickedness in which Alecto is skilled—

TU POTES UNANIMOS ARMARE IN PRAELIA FRATRES,
ATQUE ODIIS VERSARE DOMOS ; TU VERBERA TECTIS,
FUNEREASQUE INFERRE FACES—

and followed by an exhortation (FECUNDUM CONCUTE PECTUS) to ransack her prolific breast, prolific sciz. of those thousand NOMINA (*names*, and therefore *kinds*), and those thousand artes of wickedness, in order to select that “nomen” and that “ars” of wickedness which promised to be most effectual to set the Trojans and Latins at variance :

DISIICE COMPOSITAM PACEM, SERE CRIMINA BELLI.

If I am asked for an example of nomina used by Virgil in this sense, I beg to refer to 6. 627, “poenarum nomina” (*names of punishments*, i. e., *kinds or categories of punishment, each with a distinct name*), and to observe at the same time the strong similarity in thought between the two passages, the one treating of the innumerable kinds of crime, NOMINA mille, MILLE NOCENDI ARTES, and the other treating of the innumerable kinds of punishments :

“non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraue centum,
ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.”

ARMA VELIT POSCATQUE SIMUL RAPIATQUE IUVENTUS.—SIMUL belongs to the whole three verbs: *Let the calling for and seizing of arms be simultaneous with the wish to arm ; let the youth wish for arms, and at the selfsame moment that it wishes for arms let it call for and seize them.* The poets abound with examples of this calling for arms, as Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 672 (Eteocles calling for his arms as soon as he has determined to

fight Polynices in person):

εχθρος ξυν εχθρῳ στησσομαι. φερ' ως ταχος
κτημιδας, αιχμην, και πετρων προβληματα.

Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 957:

τις μοι διδωσι τοξα; τις δ' οπλον χερος;

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 241 (of the Centaurs and the Lapithae):

"certatimque omnes uno ore, 'Arma, arma,' loquuntur."

Claud. *Ruf.* 1. 340 (of Mars):

"surgit et hortatur celeres clamore ministros:
'fer galeam, Bellona, mihi, nexusque rotarum
tende, Pavor; frena rapidos, Formido, iugales.'"

Compare also 9. 72, the "implet manum" of which corresponds to the *RAPIAT* of our text.

GORGONEIS INFECTA VENENIS.—"*Diris INFECTA serpentibus* GORGONEIS; ut in eum modum mutata videretur quo fingitur Gorgone, et tales serpentes gestare pro crinibus quales illa portat in vertice," Donatus, Ascensius, Catroeus, Heyne, Voss, Wagner (ed. 1861). To be sure she appears with Gorgon, i. e., viper hair. We are told so expressly by our author himself: CAERULEIS UNUM DE CRINIBUS ANGUEM CONIICIT. But this is not the meaning of our text any the more on that account. Neither does Servius give us much information when he explains GORGONEIS by "pessimis, saevis, a Gorgone;" nor La Cerda, when he says: "Non aliter ac si secum afferret venena et serpentes Gorgonum;" nor Ladewig, quoting "von Gorgonischen gifte verpestet," and explaining: "Da Juno die an sich schon wilde Allecto noch welder gemacht hat, s. ver. 330, so ist die naturliche wuth der Furie jetzt zur wuth der Gorgonen angeschwollen." These explanations not only do not set forth the author's meaning, but substitute a false meaning instead. Allecto is not in any "wuth" or rage, is quite calm and composed, and goes about her business with all coolness and deliberation. It is Amata who is in a rage, not Allecto:

FEMINAE ARDENTEM CURAEQUE IRAEQUE COQUEBANT.

All Allecto does is quietly to jerk between Amata's skin and

shift one single one of her vipers—

CONIICIT, INQUE SINUM PRÆCORDIA AD INTIMA SUBDIT—

and this she does with the deliberate object that Amata may be transported with passion and overturn the whole house :

QUO FURIBUNDA DOMUM MONSTRO PERMISCEAT OMNEM.

Alecto is GORGONEIS INFECTA VENENIS not for the special occasion but because she is always so, always stained, tinged, dyed with Gorgonean poisons, the juices which her serpent locks are continually distilling, spewing forth, and which run down over her person. See Ovid, *Met.* 4. 492 (of Tisiphone) :

“caesariem excussit. motae sonuere colubrae ;
parsque iacens humeris, pars circum tempora lapsae
sibila dant, sanique vomunt, linguasque coruscant.”

Aen. 2. 221 (of Laocoon) :

“perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno.”

But not alone for this reason is Alecto INFECTA GORGONEIS VENENIS, viz., because they are continually distilling from her Gorgon or viper hair, she is also INFECTA with them because, like Ovid's Tisiphone, she is continually handling them and dealing in them, *Met.* 4. 500 :

“attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni,
oris Cerberei spumas, et virus Echidnae,
erroresque vagos, caecaeque obliviae mentis,
et scelus, et lacrymas, rabiemque et caedis amorem ;
omnia trita simul, quae sanguine mista recenti
coxerat aere cavo, viridi versata cicuta.
dumque pavent illi, vertit furiale venenum
pectus in amborum, praecordiaque intima movit.”

INFECTA.—*Stained, dyed, steeped in, imbued with.* The word signifies that penetration of the infected substance which arises from the continued action of the infecting agent. Accordingly Alecto is INFECTA with the poisons because she has been operated on by them for a length of time, while Laocoon is only “perfusus” because only for a short time, and that only recently, exposed to the poisonous influence.

TACITUMQUE OBSEDI LIMEN AMATAE.—“TACITUM pro *tacite*,” Servius. “Quia vero Amata tota intus coquebatur curis, tota iris ardebat, neque se dum CURAE illae, aut IRAE manifestaverant,” La Cerda. “Aut pro *tacite* OBSEDI, ut Servius, aut quatenus de matrisfamilias cubiculo agitur in secretiore domus parte. Cerda ad curas retulit; sc. ut *tacita* sit Amata. Sed, ut dixi, de solitudine est accipiendum, quae cum cura et dolore mentis tacito bene convenit,” Heyne. “TACITUM, quo sola secesserat Amata curis intenta,” Wagner (*Praest.*). I entirely agree with Servius, first, because it is not necessary to say anything in this verse about Amata’s state of mind, the whole of the two immediately subsequent verses being devoted solely to that subject; secondly, because it is necessary to say that Alecto besieged (OBSEDI) Amata’s door silently in order that the word OBSEDI might not lead the reader into the opinion that she made noise or disturbance, or used threats; thirdly, because at vs. 505 we receive the precisely similar information concerning Alecto, viz., that she lurked “*tacitis silvis*,” where there is no reason why the woods should be understood to be tacit, and where there is every reason that Alecto herself should be tacit, inasmuch as she was lying hid (“*latet*”); and fourthly, because it is according to Virgil’s usual manner thus to use this word elsewhere, as l. 506:

“*Latonae tacitum pertendant gaudia pectus*”

(where it is Latona who is silent, not Latona’s breast); 4. 363: “*totumque pererrat luminibus tacitis*” (where it is Dido who is silent, not Dido’s eyes); 6. 842:

“*quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquit?*”

(where it is “*quis*” who is to keep silence, not Cato or Cossus); and, most remarkable of all, 2. 255: “*tacitae per amica silentia lunae*” (where it is not the moon which keeps silence, but the Greeks).

350-379.

VOLVITUR—CIRCUM

VOLVITUR ATTACTU NULLO (vs. 350).—"Sine morsu, sine sensu," Servius. "Sine morsu," Cynth. Cenet. "Wie Ovid, 'nec vulnera membris ulla ferunt,' Thiel. "Drehet sie ohne berührung einher," Voss.

"ei primamente infra la gonna, e'l petto
strisciando, e non mordendo."

(Caro.)

With the single exception of Servius's two words "sine sensu," this is all in a high degree incorrect. The meaning is, so far from being *does not bite* (a meaning which it is difficult to say how commentators have been able to find in the words at all), that it is not even (a meaning which might have been legitimately deduced from the words, considered independently of the context) *does not touch, does not come into contact, slips between the dress and the body without touching, without coming into contact with the latter*. This meaning, I say, might be legitimately assigned to the words themselves (AT—TACTU NULLO), and would besides agree well with the immediately subsequent FALLITQUE FURENTEM, *does not touch, and is not perceived by her*. But then how are we to understand

FIT TORTILE COLLO

AURUM INGENS COLUBER, FIT LONGAE TAENIA VITTAE,

INNECTITQUE COMAS, ET MEMBRIS LUBRICUS ERRAT ?

If the snake does not touch her at all, how is it possible for it to form itself into a necklace round her neck ; how is it possible for it to serve as a band for her hair ; how is it possible for it to glide over her limbs in every direction, slimy and slippery ? There is so downright an impossibility in all this, that ATTACTU NULLO must have some other meaning than *not touching her*. What other meaning, then ? Why, simply *not being felt to touch her, conveying no impression to her sense of feeling* ; and this may probably be the meaning of Servius's "sine sensu," added,

not as it would *prima facie* seem as an explanation of “sine morsu,” but as a second and substantive interpretation. But no matter whether this be or be not the meaning of Servius’s “sine sensu,” it is certainly the meaning of Virgil’s *ATTACTU NULLO*, and that is the only point which it is of any consequence to decide. The ordinary and manifestly false explanation of “sine morsu” has evidently been imported from Ovid, *Met.* 4. 495 :

. . . “at illi
Inocuosque sinus Athamanteosque pererrant ;
inspirantque graves animas : nec vulnera membris
ulla ferunt,”

referred to, *totidem verbis*, by Thiel. *ATTACTU NULLO*, so understood, is, as usual, the theme, of which *FALLITQUE FURENTEM* is the variation.

VIPEREAM INSPIRANS ANIMAM (vs. 351).—*Inspiring into her its snaky spirit, while it glides over her person, next her skin, in every direction, unperceived.*

FIT TORTILE COLLO AURUM INGENS COLUBER, FIT LONGAE TAENIA VITTAE, INNECTITQUE COMAS, ET MEMBRIS LUBRICUS ERRAT (vv. 351-3).—Let not the too literal reader imagine that there is a transformation of the snake, first into a real gold necklace, secondly into a long ribbon, and thirdly into a hair-band. Such indeed is the statement, and nothing can be more explicit than the words *FIT, FIT*. But this positive averment is—like most positive averments, not of poets alone, but of all those numerous speakers and writers who speak and write poetically—to be understood poetically, not as such positive averments are too often understood, literally and prosaically, the meaning being, not that the snake became a twisted gold necklace, a long ribbon, and a hair-fillet (“*Redit serpens ab intimis prae cordiis; et in aurum versus, fit torques circa collum, vitta circum comas*”), but that it twisted itself round her neck, like a gold necklace, hung down from her head-dress like a long ribbon, and wound itself round her hair like a hair-band. The positive averment *FIT, FIT*, made in this metaphorical sense, has its exact parallels in the “*saltu super ardua venit Pergama*” of

Book 6, where the wooden horse is distinctly stated to have come *with a leap* into Pergamus, the meaning all the while being that it came into Pergamus as suddenly and unexpectedly *as if* it had leaped into it; in the “*dant animos plagae*” of this very Book, where the strokes of the lash are categorically averred to give spirit to the top, while no more is to be understood as said, than that they *seem* to give spirit to it; and in a thousand such-like positive averments not only in the Aeneid but in every poem deserving the name, all as wholly metaphorical and poetical as, and no more to be understood literally than, the positive averments of Christ that He is a door, or a vine, or a shepherd, or the life, or the resurrection, or that the cup which He holds in His hand is His blood, and the bread which He gives His disciples to eat is His body.

TORTILE COLLO AURUM.—The serpent clasps the neck not only like a collar, but like a twisted collar, and not only like a twisted collar, but, on account of the brilliancy and often golden colour of serpents’ scales (5. 87 :

“*caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro
squamam incendebat fulgor*”),

like a twisted collar or necklace of gold.

PRIMO AQUILONE (vs. 361).—Not so much because Aquilo blew in the right direction for Aeneas’s leaving Latium, as because Aquilo produced clear skies, and before the invention of the compass it was only during clear weather it was safe to sail (see Rem. on 5. 2). Boreas also cleared the sky of clouds and the atmosphere of haze, and is therefore called *αιθρηγενής* by Homer, *Od.* 5. 296, but being apt to be very rude, blustery, and stormy, was generally feared and avoided by sailors. See 12. 366 and Rem.

AT NON SIC PHRYGIUS PENETRAT IACEDAEMONIA PASTOR (vs. 363).—AT NON, and not *an non*. So 9. 144 :

. . . “*at non viderunt moenia Troiae
Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignes.*”

In both places “non” is ironical—*not, forsooth!* and in neither place should there be a note of interrogation.

INACHUS ACRISIUSQUE PATRES, MEDIAEQUE MYCENAE (vs. 372). —“*MEDIAE* hebt den begriff von *MYCENAE*, das nicht an der küste, sondern recht in der mitte, im innern des auslandes liegt,” Thiel. No; *MEDIAE* does not describe the situation of *Mycenae* with respect to *Argolis*, or with respect to *Greece* in general, but the relation of the origin of *Turnus* to *Mycenae*, that the origin of *Turnus* was from the middle of *Mycenae*, from the very heart of *Mycenae*. Compare 9. 738 :

“*nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum*”

[not surely *Ardea* in the middle of *Italy*, or in the middle of the country of the *Rutulii*, but the middle of *Ardea*, the very heart of *Ardea*]. Ovid, writing from *Tomis* to his friend *Macer* at *Rome*, ex *Pont.*, 2. 10. 49 :

“*hic es, et ignoras : et ades celeberrimus absens :
inque Getas media visus ab Urbe venis*”

[the middle of the city of *Rome*, the heart of *Rome*, as we would say “the middle of *London*,” “the heart of *London*”]. Juv. 3. 80 : “*mediis sed natus Athenis*” [born in the very heart of *Athens*]. Claud. in *Eutrop.* 1. 2 :

“*moenibus et mediis auditum nocte luporum
murmur*”

[the middle of the city, inside the very walls]. Id. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 245 : “*mediis invenimus arvis exanimem Cyanen*” [the middle of the fields]. *Aen.* 1. 113 : “*mediis fluctibus*” [the middle of the waves]. And so precisely I understand the *μεσον Αργος* of *Homer*, *Il.* 6. 224 ; *Od.* 1. 345, 15. 80, about which Mr. Gladstone made such a coil, and has given both himself and his readers so much trouble to so little purpose, the middle of *Argos*, the heart of *Argos*, and I find no difference between the expression *Αργεῖ μεσσω* (*Il.* 6. 224) and the expression *νηυσὶ μὲν ἐν μεσσησίῳ* (*Il.* 13. 312).

VACUA ATRIA CIRCUM (vs. 379).—“*Ante domum*,” Heyne, Forbiger. No; Wagner and Voss are right. In the hall; exactly as in English we say : “round the hall,” “round the room.” Else why *VACUA* ?

383-391.

DANT ANIMOS PLAGAE NON CURSU SEGNIOR ILLO
 PER MEDIAS URBES AGITUR POPULOSQUE FEROCES
 QUIN ETIAM IN SILVAS SIMULATO NUMINE BACCHI
 MAIUS ADORTA NEFAS MAIOREMQUE ORSA FUROREM
 EVOLAT ET NATAM FRONDOSIS MONTIBUS ABDIT
 QUO THALAMUM ERIPIAT TEUCRIS TAEDASQUE MORETUR
 EUOE BACCHE FREMENS SOLUM TE VIRGINE DIGNUM
 VOCIFERANS ETENIM MOLLES TIBI SUMERE THYRSOS
 TE LUSTRARE CHORO SACRUM TIBI PASCERE CRINEM

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 390).

VOCIFERANS, ETENIM MOL. **III** Ribb.

VOCIFERANS, ETENIM MOL. **III** P. Manut.; Brunck.

VOCIFERANS; ETENIM MOL. **III** Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.).

VOCIFERANS: ETENIM MOL. **III** La Cerda; Wakef.; Lad.; Wagn. (*Praest.*).

VAR. LECT. (vs. 391).

CHOROS **I** *Rom.*; "In plerisque veteribus codd. cum Romano et Mediceo legitur CHOROS," Pierius. **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** Ven. 1470; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670). The passage is not commented on by Servius (cod. Dresd.).

S.

CHORO **I** *Med.* (CHOROSACR). **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** La Cerda; Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (edd. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

DANT ANIMOS PLAGAE.—"Heynius motum concitatio-rem turbinis interpretatur; alii de puerorum animis ipso ludo accensis accipiunt. Et hoc verius puto etiam quia statim sequitur post verba MIRATA VOLUBILE BUXUM. Si de turbine poeta dixisset, posuisset post CURVATIS FERTUR SPATIIS," Peerlkamp. The

argument is bad. It is quite according to Virgil's habit thus to interpose a parenthetical description, and then to return to and complete the principal subject, or subject which he had in hand when he so deviated. On such occasions, too, it is usual for him, as he has done in this instance, and very strikingly, too, to return even in the interposed account to the main point of the principal description so that there may be no hiatus between the last word or words of the interposed passage, and the words of the resumed description. In the present case VOLUBILE BUXUM (the very subject itself of the main description) concludes the parenthetical part, and is fresh in the mind of the reader when, in the words DANT ANIMOS PLAGÆ, the author returns to and takes up again the main description. The connexion is scarcely less close and less plain than if a relative or personal pronoun *cui* or *ei* had been placed as connecting link between BUXUM and DANT. With DANT ANIMOS compare 9. 142:

. . . " quibus hæc medii fiducia valli
fossarumque moræ, leti discrimina parva,
dant animos ;"

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1. 2. 85 :

" *dant animos* arcus illis, plenæque pharetræ ;"

Id. *Amor.* 2. 17. 7 :

" *dat facies animos ; facie violenta Corinna est ;*"

Id. *Met.* 6. 152 : " multa dabant animos ;" *ibid.* 10. 656 :

" *adiiciunt animos* iuveni clamorque favorque
verbaque dicentum : ' nunc, nunc incumbere tempus ;' "

Stat. *Theb.* 2. 111 :

" *dant animos* socer augurio fatalis Adrastus,
dotalesque Argi ;"

ibid. 6. 360 :

" tunc aperit [Apollo] quis fulmen agat, quis sidera ducat,
spiritus, unde *animi* fluviis, quæ pabula ventis
quo fonte immensum vivat mare ;"

Coripp. *Johan.* 1. 227 :

“*dant animos* clamore viri : vox ipsa labores
adiuvat, et vires nautis et gaudia praestat ;”

Ibid. 1. 514 :

“*dant animos* socii (clamor tentoria miscet)
hortanturque parem ;”

in all which instances, no less than in the Horatian,

. . . “*Parios ego primus iambos*
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi,”

and in our text, “*animi*” exactly corresponds to the English *spirit*.

PER MEDIAS URBES AGITUR POPULOSQUE FEROCES.—One of those exaggerations which are unhappily of but too frequent occurrence in Virgil. It is much to the credit of our epos (we have no epos, deserving the name, except that of Milton), that it is not similarly disfigured.

MAIUS ADORTA NEFAS.—Adoriri is *to set about*. Compare 6. 397 : “*deducere adorti*” [set about to take away] ; and Liv. 22. 9 ; 35. 51 ; 44. 11, 12 : “*oppugnare adorti*” [set about to storm] ; Cic. *pro Sext.* 37 : “*Inermem tribunum alii gladiis adoriuntur*” [set on him with swords]. Nothing can be more exact than the parallelism (even to the very preposition) between the Latin expression *adoriri* and the English *set on*, *set about*, and *set-to*.

FREMENS, VOCIFERANS.—The construction is rather unusual, but not without example, the two co-ordinates, FREMENS and VOCIFERANS, followed, one by the *oratio directa*, the very words : EVOE BACCHE, the other by the *obliqua*, the words put into the language of the author : SOLUM TE VIRGINE DIGNUM.

ETENIM MOLLES TIBI SUMERE THYRSOS.—“*Ait Amata se SUMERE Baccho THYRSOS, se LUSTRARE eum CHORO, se CRINEM ipsi PASCERE,*” Heyne. “*Vociferatur filiam TIBI MOLLES SUMERE THYRSOS, chorus circum te ducere,*” Wagner (*Praest.*). Heyne is wrong, Wagner doubly wrong ; Heyne in ascribing

the words to Amata, Wagner in not only ascribing the words to Amata, but understanding them to mean that it is Lavinia who takes the thyrsus, who dances round Bacchus, and lets her hair grow. SUMERE is not governed by VOCIFERANS. It is = *sumebat*, and its subject is Amata. It is Amata not Lavinia who is the Bacchanal, who takes the thyrsus, who dances in choir round Bacchus, who lets her hair grow long. Lavinia does not make her appearance at all; Amata has hid her in the mountains, MONTIBUS ABDIT. From EXIN, vs. 341, as far as CRINEM, vs. 391, Alecto and Amata are the sole actors on the scene. Accordingly, vs. 343, AMATAE; 344, QUAM (Amata); 346, HUC (Amatae); 348, FURIBUNDA (Amata); 357, LOCUTA EST (AMATA); 373, EXPERTA (Amata); 374, VIDET (Amata); 375, TOTAM (Amata); 377, FURIT LYMPHATA (Amata); 384, AGITUR (Amata); 386, ADORTA, ORSA (Amata); 387, EVOLAT, ABDIT (Amata); 388, ERIPIAT, MORETUR (Amata); 389, FREMENS (Amata); 390, VOCIFERANS (Amata), SUMERE (Amata); 391, LUSTRARE, PASCERE (Amata). Only after CRINEM (verse 391) does the narrative leave for a moment the person of Amata in order to describe the effect of the contagion of Amata's example on the other women, and return to it, to the person of Amata, again immediately at verse 397, IPSA (Amata) SUSTINET, CANIT, TORQUENS, whence it goes on as before; vs. 400, CLAMAT (Amata); 401, AMATAE; 403, MECUM (Amata), which last word the reader will observe is MECUM, not as it would have been had Lavinia been a party with her mother in the previous proceedings, *nobiscum*. No, no; the modest, retiring character of Lavinia is not thus flagrantly violated. She does not throw off all decency (SINE MORE, vs. 377, and see Rem. on 5. 694), take the thyrsus, toss her hair and howl, does not, Bacchanal herself in the midst of a Bacchanalian choir, sing her own Hymenaeal. This is the part of the mother :

IPSA INTER MEDIAS FLAGRANTEM PERVIDA PINUM
SUSTINET, AC NATAS TURNIQUE CANIT HYMENAEO
SANGUINEAM TORQUENS ACIEM.

Lavinia is not there, is as little there as Turnus. She is hidden far off among the woods in the mountains. Voss perceived the

glaring incongruity of Lavinia's being at one and the same time "abditā" and taking part in orgies in which all the women of the city joined, but saw no way out of the difficulty except a very considerable and wholly unauthorized alteration of the text: "Es sind [viz., vv. 390, 391] worte der mutter von ihrer dem Bacchus geweihten tochter, wofern man die lesart ETENIM und das punct nach CRINEM zulässt. Das leidet aber das vorige ABDIT nicht, dass die tochter mitschwärme. Das ETENIM ist immer im wege. Man lese AT ENIM, und verbinde FAMA VOLAT.

LUSTRARE CHORO.—Chorus is a number of persons in a circle, either singing or dancing, or both, and probably at the same time holding each others' hands. One of the most exquisite of Guilio Romano's all exquisite pictures (in the Pitti palace in Florence) is the chorus of the Muses, the Muses dancing round, hand in hand. Lustrare is to go round and round a central point or object. Therefore LUSTRARE CHORO in our text expresses the motion of a number of persons either singing or dancing, or both, round and round a central point. Amata is said LUSTRARE CHORO, inasmuch as she is the principal person, the leader in this chorus. She is said LUSTRARE TE (Bacche), Bacchus being either in imagination, or under some figure, the central point which the chorus goes round, *lustrat*. Compare 10. 224 :

"agnoscunt longe regem *lustrantque choris*."

409-413.

QUAM DICTUR URBEM

ACRISIONEIS DANAE FUNDASSE COLONIS

PRAECIPITI DELATA NOTO LOCUS ARDEA QUONDAM

DICTUS AVIS ET NUNC MAGNUM MANET ARDEA NOMEN

SED FORTUNA FUIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 411).

ARDEA* **■** *Rom., Med., Ver.* (only the first letter distinctly legible). **■■** $\frac{1}{2}$.
■■■ *Serv.* (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; Aldus (1514); P.
 Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Jahn;
 Süpfle; Haupt; Wagn. (1861); Ribb.

ARDUA **■** "Est ARDUA in Mediceo et aliquot aliis antiquis codd.," Pierius.
■■■ "MAGNUM TENET ARDEA NOMEN. Bene allusit, nam ARDEA quasi
Ardua dicta est, i. e. magna et nobilis," *Serv.*; La Cerda; Ruæus;
 Catroeus; Phil.; Wakef.; Voss.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 412).

TENET **■■■** "*Retinet* quidem nomen adhuc, sed fortunam primam extinxit
 aetas," *Schol. Palimps. Veron. Keil's ed.*, p. 97, l. 33; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.,
 ed. 1861).

TE

MANET **■** *Med.* (MANET), *Ver.* (almost illegible); "MANET in Mediceo et
 aliquot aliis antiquis codd.," Pierius; P. Manut.; La Cerda (MANEAT);
 D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck.; Wakef.; Lad.; Ribb.

PRAECIPITI DELATA NOTO.—One of the many places in which
 Wagner in his edition of Heyne's Virgil has altered, not only
 gratuitously, but very much for the worse, the Heynian punctu-
 ation: "Mutata interpunctione colon in fine versus posui, ut

* N. B.—ARDEA occurs in the very next verse.

quæ sequuntur, PRAECIPITI DELATA NOTO, non ad Danaen, sed ad Allecto referantur; ad illam enim si retuleris, otiosa sunt et languida" (Wagn., 1832). DELATA belongs not to Allecto, but to Danae—Firstly, because such is the order of the words; Secondly, because the train of thought were very disagreeably broken by the re-introduction of Allecto between the mention of the foundation of Ardea by Danae and the mention of ancient greatness and modern insignificance of that place; Thirdly, because Allecto has no assistance from the winds at vs. 476 :

"Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis,"

a verse, notwithstanding, so exactly parallel to

PROTINUS HINC FUSCIS TRISTIS DEA TOLLITUR ALIS.

Fourthly, because TOLLITUR harmonizes ill with PRAECIPITI. Fifthly, because however correct, however justified by Ovid, *Met.* 8. 814 :

"dieta Fames Cereris (quamvis contraria semper
illius est operi) peragit, perque aera *vento*
ad iussam *delata* domum est,"

be the application of *delatus* to flying objects or objects carried by the wind through the air, the ordinary application of the term is to persons passing across the sea from one shore to another, as 7. 22: "*delati* in portus," 5. 57: "portus *delati* intramus amicos;" Plaut. *Amph.* 2. 2. 69 (ed. in usum Delph.):

"quid si e portu navis huc nos dormientes *detulit*?"

Plin. *N. H.* 8. 16. 21: "Elpis Samius natione, in Africam *delatus* nave;" Lucan. 2. 88 :

. . . "pelago *delatus* iniquo
hostilem in terram;"

Ovid, *Met.* 13. 770 :

"Telemus interea Siculam *delatus* ad Aetnen,
Telemus Eurymides, quem nulla fefellerat ales,
Terribilem Polyphemon adit;"

Sixthly, because "*delata*" is the very term used by Hyginus in

his relation of the story, 63: "Quam [Danaen] pater ob stuprum, inclusam in arca cum Perseo in mare deiecit. Ea voluntate Iovis *delata* est in insulam Seriphum." Compare Sil. l. 288 (of the landing of colonists from Zacynthos on the coast of Spain):

"mox profugi *ducente* Noto advertere coloni;"

and Stat. *Theb.* 2. 193:

"nec minus haec laeti trahimus solatia, quam si
praecipiti convulsa Noto prospectet amicam
puppis humum."

Seventhly, because Allecto having been already represented flying—

FUSCIS TRISTIS DEA TOLLITUR ALIS
AUDACIS RUTULI AD MUROS—

the view afforded by "*DELATA* Allecto" is as unnecessary and supererogatory as, there having been no previous mention whatever of Danae's arrival, the view afforded by "*DELATA* Danae," *i. e.*, the view of Danae's arrival by sea, is not merely ornamental but necessary for the completion of the picture. I should not have thought it necessary to establish by so many arguments the sufficiently plain connexion of *DELATA* with Danae ("Filiam in capsulam misit, et in mare proiecit, quae *delata* est in Latium," Cynth. Cenet.), had not Wagner in his own edition of Virgil of 1861, even while *sub silentio* restoring the comma, declared in the words: "Ardeam *DELATA* Allecto Turni animum deturbat" his adherence to the construction for the sake of exhibiting which he had in 1832 found the removal of the comma indispensable.

LOCUS ARDEA QUONDAM DICTUS AVIS, ET NUNC MAGNUM MANET ARDEA NOMEN. SED FORTUNA FUIT.—"ARDEA NOMEN, non tam praecedentibus, quam potius sequentibus verbis SED FORTUNA FUIT opposita sunt," Forbiger, following Heyne, whose words are: "LOCUS QUONDAM a maioribus DICTUS est ARDEA; et etiamnum NOMEN urbis MAGNUM ac nobile MANET; verum FORTUNA pristina urbis extincta est." This view of the construction is, I think, incorrect, because SED marks a contrast or opposition,

but there is no contrast or opposition between NUNC MAGNUM MANET ARDEA NOMEN, understood to mean *no more of the city remains than its name*, and FORTUNA FUIT. On the contrary, the two sentences, if immediately connected with each other, should have been united not by SED, but by *et* or *nam*. *No more of the city remains than its mere name, for (or and) its fortune is past.* I therefore connect FORTUNA FUIT with LOCUS ARDEA QUONDAM DICTUS AVIS, and consider the words ET NUNC MAGNUM MANET ARDEA NOMEN to be thrown in parenthetically: *the place was of old time called Ardea (which great name continues down to the present day) but its fortune is past.* I think, too, that it has been rather gratuitously assumed that the words NUNC MAGNUM MANET ARDEA NOMEN mean that the city had entirely disappeared, leaving only its name behind (“*nunc nihil superest praeter nomen*,” Heyne). This may be, but is not necessarily, the sense. The words will equally bear the less strong meaning: *the city is no longer what it was, no longer deserving of its great name.* Just as we might say, speaking of Rome, *et nunc magnum manet Roma nomen*, without meaning, however, that there was at present no such city as Rome, nothing remaining of the great city of Rome but the mere name; and just as Cicero (*in Verr.*, act. 2, lib. 5, c. 72, ed. Orelli), speaking of the plunder by Verres of the temple of the Idaean mother, says: “*teque, sanctissima mater Idaea, quam apud Enguinos, augustissimo et religiosissimo in templo, sic spoliata reliquit, ut nunc nomen modo Africani, et vestigia violatae religionis maneat, monumenta victoriae, fanique ornamenta non exstent*,” not only without meaning that the temple had ceased to exist, but with the express salvo that it still existed. Compare Lucan, l. 135: “*stat magni nominis umbra*,” where “*nominis*” is not *name* in the sense of *appellation* (the shadow of an appellation being nonsense), but *name* in the sense of *renown, reputation, glory*. Exactly as the expression is applied by Lucan to a still living though decayed man; it is applied here by Virgil to a still existing though decayed city. “*Infaustum interluit Allia nomen*,” verse 717, is a reflection of the same kind, the same cadence, the same grammatical structure, and occupying the

same position in the verse. Compare also Sil. 10. 582 (of Italy after the battle of Cannae):

. . . "nec enim superesse iuventam,
ac stare Ausoniae vacuum sine corpore *nomen*."

AVIS.—Doubtless = maioribus.

MANET, in preference to tenet, the sense of MANET being strong, while that of tenet (sciz. for obtinet) is weak, is more proper for a grammatical fop than a great poet.

[*Aliter*]. Heyne reads ARDEA QUONDAM, and explains: "Urbs olim dicta a maioribus, AVIS, ARDEA; MANET ea urbs etiamnum MAGNUM NOMEN;" an explanation not to be admitted if it were only because QUONDAM signifies that the place was no longer in Virgil's time called as it had been called in the time of Virgil's ancestors. La Cerda reads ARDUA, and explains: "Dicit hanc urbem AVIS, i.e. veteribus, dictam Arduam, et inde corruptione vocabuli mansisse Ardeam," an explanation equally inadmissible, first, on account of the total absence of any evidence of the place's having been ever so called; secondly, on account of such derivation of the name Ardea being in direct contradiction to the etymology assigned to the word by Hyginus, ap. Serv.: "Licet Hyginus . . . ab augurio avis ardeae dictam velit;" and thirdly, because the words NUNC MANET signify plainly that no change of name is spoken of, but on the contrary the continuance of the place down to the present (Virgil's) time under the same name—and now ARDEA MANET, *Ardea remains*; MAGNUM NOMEN, *a great name, a great and famous name*. But how do I reconcile this MANET, this remaining NUNC, at the present day, of Ardea, the same city of Ardea, with the same famous name—how, I am asked, do I reconcile this remaining, this MANET with the change implied by QUONDAM? Nothing easier, and this is precisely the point, the point which, as I think, both Heyne and La Cerda and all commentators have missed. ARDUA is not the name but an epithet of the city, LOCUS ARDUA QUONDAM DICTUS AVIS. Ardea in old times had the epithet ARDUA, it was "ARDUA Ardea," "Ardea ARDUA," on account of the dignity of the place: "Bene allusit, nam Ardea quasi Ar-

dua dicta est, i. e. magna et nobilis," says Servius, right in the matter of fact of the play on the words ARDEA and ARDUA, but wrong that the town owed its name to a degeneration of the word ARDUA into the word ARDEA. Ardea **was** "magna" and "nobilis," a great and noble place, a great and noble place not merely according to Servius but according to Livy, 1. 56: "*Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens*;" according to Silius, 1. 667:

"quum *felix nimium* dimitteret *Ardea* pubem"

(where "*felix nimium*" is the ARDUA of our text); according to Silius again in his imitation of our author, 1. 291:

"firmavit *tenuis ortus* mox *Daunia* pubes,
sedis inops; misit *largo* quam *dives* alumno,
magnanimis regnata viris, nunc Ardea nomen"

(where in "*magnanimis regnata viris*" we have the ARDUA (*haughty*) of our text, and in "*nunc Ardea nomen*," the NUNC MAGNUM TENET ARDEA NOMEN); and, according to our author himself, 7. 629:

"quinque adeo *magnae* positis *incudibus urbes*
tela novant, *Atina* potens *Tiburque* superbum,
Ardea, *Crustumericque* et *turrigeræ Antemnae*;"

and was besides strongly fortified and difficult to be taken by assault (see Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, 1, p. 245: "Se l'altezza della cittadella de Ardea reca sorpresa dall'alto, non è meno bella a vedersi da basso; potendosi meglio godere le parti intatte del recinto in questo lato orientale"), therefore ARDUA in the literal sense of the word also. It was usual, therefore, to add to it the epithet not "magna," not "nobilis," but on account of the alliteration, ARDUA, and to say "Ardea ARDUA."

If I am told that DICTA (LOCUS) ARDUA can mean nothing else than that ARDUA was the actual name of Ardea, and that, accepting the reading ARDUA, I must accept La Cerda's explanation, I reply that dictus is used no less commonly of epithets or adjectives than of proper names, *ex. gr.*, Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 597:

"tunc primum Dido *felix* est *dicta* sorori,
et quaecunque aliquam corpore pressit humum,"

and is used precisely in this manner by Ovid when speaking of this self-same Ardea and in conjunction with the exactly corresponding epithet "potens," *Met.* 14. 573 : "cadit Ardea Turno sospite dicta potens," where "dicta potens" is precisely the *DICTUS ARDUA* of our text, and where "Turno sospite" is precisely the *SED FORTUNA FUIT*. La Cerda's reading, *ARDUA*, therefore, is to be adopted even contrary to the weight of MS. authority, but the word is to be written with a small *a*, and taken in a sense diametrically opposite to La Cerda's given to the passage. The better to point out this sense, the word should be printed in italics.

423-432.

REX—IUBET

QUAESITAS SANGUINE (vs. 423).—This mention of wars in which Turnus had shed his blood fighting for Latinus seems rather inconsistent with the statement at the commencement of this Book that a long and profound peace in Latium had preceded the arrival of the Trojans :

" rex arva Latinus et urbes
iam senior *longa* placidas in *pax* regebat."

PLACIDA CUM NOCTE IACERES (vs. 427).—Commentators have not observed how very *mal-à-propos* in this place is the second person. Turnus is lying asleep, as we are informed both at the commencement of the story, vs. 414, and at the end of it, vs. 458. While he is so lying asleep, Alecto in the form of Calybe appears to him and informs him that she brings him a message from Juno which she was ordered to deliver to him in his sleep. Who ever heard, in all the history of romance, of anything similar ? the whole verisimilitude of the vision destroyed in one word by the apparition itself ! Is it not plain that *IACERES* is a mere

blunder of a transcriber, and that with the anonymous critic in the *Miscel. Virgil.*, p. 308, we should read IACEREM? The pretended Calybe informs Turnus that she had had a vision in which she was commanded by Juno to deliver a message to Turnus, exactly as we have seen, Book 5. 635, the pretended Beroë inform the Trojan women that she had had a vision in which Cassandra put a lighted torch into her hand, and commanded her to go and set fire to the Trojan ships:

“ nam mihi Cassandreae per somnum vatis imago
ardentes dare visa faces.”

It was on the one hand as unnecessary and *mal-à-propos* for Calybe to tell Turnus that she had been commanded to deliver him the message while he was asleep, as it was on the other hand proper and even necessary that she should inform him that she had received the message for him when she was herself asleep.

CAELESTUM VIS MAGNA (vs. 432).—“ ‘Nec dubites,’ inquit, ‘accepta perficere; quum coeptis tuis affuturus sit potentissimorum numinum favor; et id Iuno praecepit magnae potentiae,’ h. e. quae plus posset quam dii ceteri,” Donat.; followed by Wagner (1861): “magnum aliquod numen, Iuno,” erroneously, as I think; the reference not being to the special power either of Juno or any other divinity, but to the divine power generally. And so Heyne, correctly: “magnum deorum numen, το τῶν θεῶν κρᾶτος, dii;” and Voss: “so will’s göttergewalt.” It is as if Calybe had said: “Don’t despise these commands of Juno; remember the great power, the great vis, of the celestials.” Calybe first informs Turnus that she is the bearer of Juno’s commands:

IPSA PALAM FARI OMNIPOTENS SATURNIA IUSSIT;

next specifies the commands:

QUARE AGE, ET ARMARI PUBEM, PORTISQUE MOVERI
LAETUS IN ARMA IUBE, ET PHRYGIOS QUI FLUMINE PULCHRO
CONSEDERE DUCES PICTASQUE EXURE CARINAS:

and finally assigns the reason why the commands should be

obeyed: CAELESTUM VIS MAGNA IUBET, viz., because the power of the "caelestes," one of whom Juno is, is great, therefore not to be trifled with. Juno is included under the general term CAELESTUM, exactly as l. 15, Juno's mind is included under "animis caelestibus." See Remm. on "vi superum," l. 8, and on "animis caelestibus," l. 15; and compare Cic. *pro Milone* (ed. Lamb., p. 556): "Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim caelestem esse ducit, numenve divinum," where "vim caelestem" is altogether general, is the celestial power contrasted with human power; and so in our text.

From the glosses of Servius and Ascensius ("aut per definitionem ipsa Iuno est vis deorum; aut per augmentum, suavit primo per se, deinde per Iunonem, postremo per omnium vim deorum," Serv. (ed. Lion); "Scilicet aut ipsa Iuno, aut tota manus superiorum," Ascensius), each leaving the reader his free choice between the two rival interpretations, and neither making even the slightest allusion to a third, **may** be inferred, on the one hand, how equally divided into two camps were ancient opinions respecting this passage, and, on the other, how entirely both camps were agreed that no third camp was possible. The glory of forming the third camp was reserved for Peerlkamp: "Fortasse MAGNA pro res magnas, magnum ac memorabile facinus a te exspectat, ut peregrinos ex Italia pellas." But why should antiquity be so divided into two camps respecting the meaning of this passage? Why should Donatus have no doubt or hesitation in referring to Juno alone an expression at first sight so plainly referrible to celestial or divine power generally, CAELESTUM VIS MAGNA? an expression which in the form of "vis caelestis" is so clearly and unequivocally used by Cicero (as above) without the least reference to Juno, and in the plain obvious and grammatical sense of the words: *celestial or divine power, the celestial or divine power by which the world is governed*; the "vis superum" of *Aen.* l. 8. And, scarcely less extraordinary, why should Servius represent the two so very different interpretations as equally likely to be true; nay, assign first, and, of course, with first place first importance, to the interpretation, apparently and at first sight least likely to be true ("aut per

definitionem ipsa Iuno est vis deorum; aut, per augmentum, suasit primo per se, deinde per Iunonem, postremo per omnium vim deorum")? A clue to the answer to this inquiry is, perhaps, to be found in the "per definitionem" of Servius's gloss. Juno, the queen of heaven, the sister and wife of Jove, is a definition or specification of VIS CAELESTUM, is, *par excellence*, VIS CAELESTUM, and therefore the commands of Juno, whatever OMNIPOTENS SATURNIA IUSSIT (vs. 428) are the commands of the CAELESTUM VIS MAGNA, vs. 432; that is to say, Virgil in the words CAELESTUM VIS MAGNA IUBET does no more than return back to and repeat in a slightly changed form what he had said in the words: OMNIPOTENS SATURNIA IUSSIT. Still more to justify this interpretation we have in Juno's Greek appellation *Ηρα* the very notion of *vis* embodied (Hesych. *in voc.* *ΗΡΑ και ηρα τον αερα και την γην, η αλκη, και οινος*), and in the verse of Ausonius, *Idyll. 12*, "monosyllaba de deis":

"et soror et coniux fratris, regina deum *Vis*,"

the identification as plainly as possible of *Ηρα* (Juno) and *Vis*, not merely in name but in nature. Nor let it be alleged that such identification of *Ηρα* and *vis* is below the epic dignity, and however admissible and even to be expected in Ausonius, is wholly inadmissible in Virgil. On the contrary, a similar play on words, similar allusions to the real or supposed meanings of terms, occur in all languages, are used by all writers, and captivate minds not captivated by nobler means. Phoebus Apollo himself as the Delphi oracle quoted by Tzetzes *ad Lycophron. 662*, expressly informs us:

οὐκ ἐτι Παλαίμων κληθήσεται, αὐτὰρ Ἀπολλῶν
 Ἡρακλῆα δὲ σε Φοῖβος ἐπωνυμὸν ἐξονομαΐει,
 ἐξ Ἡρας γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος ἀφθίτον ἐξεῖς,

gave Palaemon his new name of Hercules on account of the *κλέος* he was to derive from this very *Ηρα* (whether in the sense of Juno, or in the sense of *vis*, no matter; nor would it be easy now-a-days to decide) and the address of Alecto in the form of Calybe, IUNONIS ANUS TEMPLIQUE SACERDOS in the middle of the night to sleeping Turnus is as dignified and oracular as

any address from heaven need be, not even that of the Harpy Celaeno excepted, and the play upon Juno's name, *Hpa*, at least as noble and worthy of Virgil as the play upon "*mensas*" which determined for Aeneas and the Trojans their settling point in Hesperia, and was celebrated on the spot by religious observances :

" nunc pateras libate Iovi, precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis.
sic deinde effatus frondenti tempora ramo
implicat, et Geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem, Nymphasque, et adhuc ignota precatur
flumina, tum Noctem, Noctisque orientia signa,
Idaeumque Iovem, Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem
invocat, et duplices caeloque Ereboque parentes,"

religious observances not only recognized and accepted, but responded to on the spot by ever watchful and thankful heaven :

" hic Pater Omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto
intonuit, radiisque ardentem lucis et auro
ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem.
diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor
advenisse diem, quo debita moenia condant :
certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno
crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant."

438-472.

FINGE—CERTATIM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 444).

QUIS BELLA GERENDA ■ *Vat., Rom., Med.* (QUIS OR QUEIS). ■■■ Ven. 1470;
P. Manut. ; La Cerdà ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Phil. ; Wakef. ;
Weichert ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and ed. 1861) ; Lad. :
Haupt ; Ribb.

QUIS BELLA GERENDA ■■■ not cited by Serv. (cod. Dresd.) *OMITTED*
OR STIGMATIZED Heyne ; Brunck ; Heumann (Ribb. *al loc.*)

FINGE (vs. 438).—*Invent.*

VICTA SITU (vs. 440).—Qy? *vieta* SITU; VICTA being substituted by some copyist, who did not understand how *vieta* could perform the part of a dissyllable.

QUIS BELLA GERENDA (vs. 444).—Heyne affixes asterisks to these words, and observes: "Cum Heumanno Burmannus bene vidit esse rescindenda, ut ab aliena manu assuta." Wagner has removed the asterisks, and, as I think, with great propriety. Had VIRI been in the emphatic position these words would not have been necessary, but the sense absolutely requiring that the emphatic position should be occupied by BELLA, it became necessary to throw in a make-weight in order to fix the reader's attention sufficiently on VIRI; or, to make my meaning clearer, VIRI in its secondary position in the line does not alone and by itself sufficiently contrast with the object (*feminae* understood) with which it is put in opposition. It was impossible to put it foremost in the line, both on account of the rhythm, and on account of the necessity of making BELLA emphatic by position; the words QUIS BELLA GERENDA are therefore added to give weight to VIRI. That the words are genuine is further shown by the more or less similar sentiment so frequently met with elsewhere, as Hom. *Il.* 6. 490 (Hector to Andromache):

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κομίζε,
ἴσταν τ' ἡλακατῆν τε, καὶ ἀμφιπολοῖσι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποιχεσθαι. πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσὶ μέλησει
πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοὶ Ἴλιω ἐγγεγάασιν.

Eurip. *Heracl.* 711 (Iolaus to Alomena):

ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἀλκή. σοὶ δὲ χρὴ τούτων [puerorum] μέλειν.

Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 182 (of young Octavius Caesar):

"bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer."

TANTAQUE SE FACIES APERIT (vs. 448).—"Semoto anili vultu quem finxerat, et quo se induerat," Servius. "Nam horrendi angues ex capite sibilant, et dira deae FACIES vera apparet. TANTA pro talis," Heyne. "Intellige faciem in maius auctam quae anni assimilata, ut consentaneum est, parva fuerat," Wag-

ner. "Quum cerneret faciem Furiae, deposita anili forma, ex-crescentem in ingentem magnitudinem; nisi quis velit esse explicationem superioris; i. e. tot se hydrorum facies aperuerunt, et serpentium hiatus ostentarunt," Lemaire. But the only word requiring explanation is precisely the word all these commentators have left unexplained, viz., *FACIES*. The question is, what is meant by this word *FACIES*—whether the face, as their sufficiently obscure words seem to indicate ("vultu quem finxerat," Servius), or the whole figure, form, appearance of the Fury. That it is the latter, not the former, I have no doubt; and I think the word *TANTA* shows plainly that it is, unless indeed we are content to imagine that the Fury's stature remained of the size suitable to Calybe while her face assumed enormous proportions, a picture methinks fitter for a modern nursery tale than for the *Aeneid*. No, no; *FACIES* is the whole aspect, form, appearance of the Fury, enlarged to her natural size, and hissing with all her serpents, the person or figure of the Fury. And so Voss, correctly: "so gross breitet sich aus die gestalt. We have the same term applied to the whole appearance of a Fury, 6. 575: "*facies quae limina servat!*" as we would say: "What a figure!" Compare 8. 194, where "*Caci facies dira*" is not *the dire face of Cacus*, but *Cacus's dire form, the dire figure of Cacus*; also 12. 416: "*faciem circumdata nimbo*" [*not with a nimbus about her face, but with a nimbus about her whole person*]; and Manil. 2. 755:

"ut rudibus pueris monstratur litera primum
per *faciem* nomenque suum."

It is in this sense, not in the restricted or special sense of *face*, that the word *facies* is oftenest used by Virgil.

With our text, compare further—the probable source whence Virgil drew this very grand picture—the account Callimachus has given in his *Hymn to Ceres*, of that goddess appearing under the form of Nicippe, the keeper of her temple, with her fillet and other emblems in her hand, to the man who violated the sanctity of her temple by cutting down the sacred trees: compare her ordering him to desist, and when he not only re-

fused but in return insulted and threatened her, her assumption of her natural size :

Δαματῆρ δ' ἀφ' αὐτῶν τι κοτεσσάτο· γείνατο δ' ἄθεός·
 ἰθὺματα μὲν χερσὶν, κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἀψάτ' Ὀλύμπῳ.

Who can doubt that this is the *TANTA SE FACIES APERIT* of Virgil, a much more modest, but essentially the same, picture ?

EN EGO VICTA SITU, QUAM VERI EFFETA SENECTUS ARMA INTER REGUM FALSA FORMIDINE LUDIT, RESPICE AD HAEC; ADSUM DIRARUM AB SEDE SORORUM, BELLA MANU LETUMQUE GERO (vv. 452—5).—The structure is EN EGO BELLA MANU LETUMQUE GERO, the words VICTA SITU, QUAM VERI EFFETA SENECTUS ARMA INTER REGUM FALSA FORMIDINE LUDIT, borrowed from vs. 440, being merely supplementary to EGO, and the line RESPICE AD HAEC: ADSUM DIRARUM AB SEDE SORORUM, being parenthetical.

EN EGO GERO, &c.—Ego is emphatic, and contains this meaning: *You think it is you kings who wage war and peace, but behold it is I who do so; it is I, this woman VICTA SITU who carries in her hand war and death!*

HAEC (vs. 454) the torch which she carried in her hand and the snakes of the whip: *look at these, and know who I am, and where I come from*, viz., DIRARUM AB SEDE SORORUM. The editors, not understanding the structure here, placed a semicolon at LUDIT and another at SORORUM; also a colon at HAEC, as if HAEC referred to the words ADSUM DIRARUM AB SEDE SORORUM, and BELLA MANU LETUMQUE GERO, **and** the sense were, *Mind this, viz., that I am here from the seat of the Furies, and carrying war and death in my hand*. In order that the punctuation should point to the true structure and sense, the semicolons and colon must be removed, and in place thereof a comma must be placed at LUDIT, a comma at SORORUM, a semicolon at HAEC, and the line RESPICE, &c., placed within parenthetical marks.

RESPICE AD HAEC.—As we say: *look here*.

BELLA MANU LETHUMQUE GERO.—So Eurip. *Rhesus*, 273 (Hector to the shepherd who comes as messenger):

ΕΚ. πᾶσαι λέγων μοι τὰς προσαυλείους τύχας·
 μάχας προ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βασταζόμεν.
 ΑΓΓ. τοιαῦτα καγὼ σημανῶν ἐληλυθα.

ARMA AMENS FREMIT (vs. 460), theme ; ARMA TORO TECTISQUE REQUIRIT (vs. 460), first variation ; SÆVIT AMOR FERRI, ET SCELERATA INSANIA BELLI, IRA SUPER (vv. 461-2), second variation.

FURIT INTUS AQUAI FUMIDUS ATQUE ALTE SPUMIS EXUBERAT AMNIS (vv. 464-5).—Virtually, though not in regular form, two variations of the theme EXULTANT AESTU LATICES (vs. 464). Compare Hom. *Od.* 12. 237 (of Charybdis vomiting forth the sea which it had swallowed) :

ἦτοι σὺ' ἐξεμεσεῖε, λεβητὸς ὡς ἐν πυρὶ πολλῶ,
πᾶσ' ἀναμυρμυρεσκε κυκωμένη, ὑψοσε δ' ἀχύνῃ
ἀκροῖσι σκοπελοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπίπτεν.

POLLUTA PACE (vs. 467).—"Vel sua, vel Troianorum," Servius. "Violata iam, sciz., consilio, conatu et voluntate Turni," Forbiger. No ; Heyne is right : "violata iam a Latino." The peace spoken of is the peace up to this time existing between Turnus and Latinus (vs. 426 : *TEGE PACE LATINOS*) which peace has been now violated by Latinus, who is about to cast off Turnus and give his daughter, and by consequence his kingdom, to Aeneas. And so Voss, correctly :

"rasch nach entweihten bunde zur kriegsfahrt gegen Latinus
ruft er der jüngerlinge häupter."

IUBET ARMA PARARI, TUTARI ITALIAM, DETRUDERE FINIBUS HOSTEM (vv. 468-9).—ARMA PARARI, TUTARI ITALIAM, DETRUDERE FINIBUS HOSTEM, three independent sentences in place of the single one *armis detrudere hostem Italia* ; in other words, the whole sense expressed by a theme and two variations.

CERTATIM (vs. 472).—Ital. *a gara*. There is no corresponding English expression.

479-510.

HIC—SECURI

HIC SUBITAM CANIBUS RABIE^M COCYTIA VIRGO OBIICIT, ET NOTO NARES CONTINGIT ODORE, UT CERVUM ARDENTES AGERENT (VV. 479-481).—UT depends, not on CONTINGIT, but on RABIE^M, as if Virgil had said: VIRGO CANIBUS *contingens* NARES NOTO ODORE, OBIICIT RABIE^M UT AGERENT CERVUM, *i. e.*, RABIE^M *agendi* CERVUM; exactly as Columel. 6. 35: "Equarum nota *rabies*, ut cum in aqua imaginem suam viderint, amore inani capiantur, et per hunc oblitae pabuli," &c. ET NOTO NARES CONTINGIT ODORE, is, after our author's usual manner, explanatory and complementary of RABIE^M OBIICIT, not at all connected with UT; as if he had said: *contingens* NARES NOTO ODORE, OBIICIT RABIE^M UT AGERENT, &c.

QUAE PRIMA LABORUM CAUSA FUIT (vs. 481), theme; BELLOQUE ANIMOS ACCENDIT AGRESTES (vs. 482), variation.

CERVUS (vs. 483).—Bonstetten, who visited Torre Paterno, the site of Laurentum, in the year 1803, informs us that deer still exist in that neighbourhood.

MANUM PATIENS (vs. 490).—" *Patiens illius rei* dicimus. Unde apparet unum v causa metri esse detractum," Servius. "In codicibus aliquot, MANUM, ubi manifesta synizesis; subtractum tamen v alterum plerique malunt, et ita codices emendatiores habent. Quanquam nihil prohibet, MANUM, quarto casu, inservire participio," Pierius. I disagree with the latter part of Pierius's observation, and agree entirely with Servius, on the ground that sense requires PATIENS to be an adjective, as in so many other similar sentences; "patiens laborum," "patiens operum," "patiens Phoebi," &c. If we understand PATIENS to be a verb governing MANUM in the accusative, the words must refer to a particular occasion on which the deer submitted to be handled; but this is plainly not the sense intended, the author

describing, as there can be no manner of doubt, the general character of the animal, not its conduct on a particular occasion.

HUNC PROCUL ERRANTEM RABIDAE VENANTIS IULI COMMOVERE CANES (vv. 493-4).—This is one of those cases in which our author returns back to a point where he had left his direct narrative, in order to explain circumstances which a prose writer would have endeavoured to introduce in historic order. Having first presented us with Iulus and his dogs hunting, and then having set them on a particular scent, our author stopped short at vs. 481 above to inform us, first, that the hunting of the particular deer, whose scent they had fallen on, excited the anger of the peasants and so made them ready to second Turnus in his war against the Trojans; and secondly, to describe the particular circumstances connected with the deer which called forth the anger of the peasants at its being hunted. Having given us this information in the long digression, between lines 481 and 493, he now, at vs. 493 returns to the point which he had left at 481, and proceeds with the description of the chase. See, for numerous instances of the same kind, Rem. on l. 151.

RABIDAE.—*On the scent* (RABIEM OBIICIT, vs. 479), and in full cry.

COMMOVERE.—See Rem. on “commotus,” l. 126.

FLUVIO QUUM FORTE SECUNDO DEFLUERET RIPAQUE AESTUS VIRIDANTE LEVARET (vv. 494-5).—Both La Cerda and Heyne understand the meaning to be that the deer had swum down the stream and was on the bank enjoying the shade, when she was started by the hounds—“Nihil enim aliud dicit, quam post defluxum, i.e. natationem, successisse ripae ad levandos AESTUS,” La Cerda; “Iam defluserat, ut bene Cerda accipit DEFLUERET, et sane CANES eum reficientem se commoverunt, excitarunt,” Heyne. Both commentators, however, err, and the meaning is that the deer was started by the hounds as she was swimming down the stream, and enjoying (in the stream) the shade afforded by its banks. COMMOVERE CUM DEFLUERET is perfectly explicit, marks unmistakably the time when; and RIPA AESTUS VIRIDANTE LEVARET is explanatory of DEFLUERET, assigns the reason why the deer “defluebat,” viz., to assuage

the heat she was suffering. Nothing could be more incorrect, more inadmissible, than to understand the one imperfect, DEFUERET, as equivalent to the pluperfect, and the other exactly similar imperfect, LEVARET, as literally the imperfect. The explanatory sentence RIPAQUE AESTUS VIRIDANTE LEVARET, being omitted, the sense appears clear and unobstructed. But it will be said: Why mention the bank at all unless to signify that the deer had left the water and was on the bank? or: How could the deer cool her heat with the bank as long as she was in the water? Why, plainly with the umbrage of the trees growing on the bank. Nor is it necessary we should be even so literal, or take the author even so much at his word, RIPA can be *the river*, and RIPA VIRIDANTE, *the green shady river*, without special reference to the bank as distinguished from the water. Nay start not, reader; I can prove my statement, strange as it may appear, with all the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. Only hear Silius, 14. 189:

“haud secus Eridani stagnis ripave Caystri
innatat albus olor, pronoque immobile corpus
dat fluvio, et pedibus tacitas eremigat undas.”

What particle more of necessity is there for the RIPA VIRIDANTE with which Virgil's deer cooled her heat to be the actual shady bank of the river, and not merely the shady river, than for the “ripa Caystri” on which Silius's swan swam to be the actual bank of the Cayster?

NEC DEXTRAE ERRANTI DEUS AFUIT (vs. 498).—“ERRANTI, *i. e.*, inconstantem fugientis cervi cursum sequenti,” Wagn. (1861). No, no; ERRANTI is *going wrong, missing the mark, erring*. The boy, being an inexperienced marksman, took bad aim, and would have missed the mark but for the DEUS who took care to guide the arrow to its destination. So 2. 739: “erravitne via,” *went astray, took a wrong direction*. The attendance of the god were superfluous if the boy had been able to do the deed by himself.

SAUCIUS AT QUADRUPES NOTA INTER TECTA REFUGIT, SUCCESSITQUE GEMENS STABULIS; QUESTUQUE CRUENTUS ATQUE IMPLO-

RANTI SIMILIS, TECTUM OMNE REPLEBAT (vv. 500-502).—Theme and two variations: STABULIS repeats TECTA, TECTUM repeats STABULIS, SUCCESSIT repeats REFUGIT.

AUXILIUM VOCAT, ET DUROS CONCLAMAT AGRESTES (vs. 504).—Theme and variation.

PESTIS ENIM TACITIS LATET ASPERA SILVIS (vs. 505).—*I. e.*, PESTIS LATET *tacita* in SILVIS. Compare vs. 343, where see Rem.

STIPITIS HIC GRAVIDI NODIS (vs. 507).—Strange that this sentence should invariably be understood by commentators and cited by lexicographers as an instance of *gravidus* joined with the ablative case. "STIPITIS GRAVIDI NODIS, *i. e.*, *pleni* Forbiger. "*Stipes gravidus* NODIS," Forcellini. Nothing can be plainer than that GRAVIDI depends on NODIS, not NODIS on GRAVIDI. NODIS STIPITIS GRAVIDI, *the knots of a heavy stick, a heavy knotted stick.*

SPIRANS IMMANE (vs. 510).—Not to be taken literally, or as if the meaning were *drawing a deep and terrible breath*, but to be taken metaphorically and according to a very common use of the verb *spirare*, as signifying *thinking a terrible thing, ready to do something great and terrible*—the very thought less briefly and emphatically expressed by Callimachus, *Hymn. in Del.* 60 (of Juno), in the words *σπερχομενη μεγα δη τι και ου φαρων*, and more emphatically and graphically by Aeschylus, *Prom.* 354 (Weil):

Τυφωνα θουρον, εἰς ος ἀντεστη θεοῖς,
σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλῆσι σὺριζῶν φονόν.

[What a softening down of the Aeschylean expression is the Virgilian! And yet no more than, hardly as much as, was required by the infinitely lower level on which Tyrrheus, the herd, stood as compared with Typhon, the antagonist of all the gods: εἰς ος ἀντεστη θεοῖς]. Compare Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 166 (of the Roman poet):

"nam spirat tragicum satis, et feliciter audet,"

Ammian. 22. 3: "Eusebium super his, cui erat Constantiani thalami cura commissa, alte *spirantem* et dirum addixere poenae lethali." Id. 22. 9: "At prosperis Iulianus elatior, ultra homi-

nes iam *spirabat*. Claud. 6 Cons. Honor. 442 (of Alario) :

. . . “ruptas animis *spirans* immanibus Alpes.”

Val. Flacc. 2. 182 (Venus in the character of Dryope exciting the Lemnian women) :

“non prius ense manus, raptoque armabimus igne ?
dumque silent, ducuntque nova cum coniuge somnos,
magnum aliquid *spirabit* amor ?”

[love well, aim at, aspire to some great exploit]. Flor. 1. 22 (of the Roman people) : “Inerat quaedam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quae quiddam *spirabat* indomitum.” Flor. 1. 22 (of the Roman people) : “Inerat quaedam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quae quiddam *spirabat* indomitum. The expression is Greek, as Hom. *Il.* 3. 8 ; 11. 508 : μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί. Aesch. *Agam.* 374 (ed. Davies) :

πεφάνται δ' ἐγγενῆς
ατολμητῶν Ἀρης
πνέοντων μείζον ἡ δίκαιος

[“a strife for things denied
to lust is proved innate
in men unduly *breathing* pride”].

Ibid. 218 :

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδω λεπάδων,
φρένος πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίων
ἀναγών.

Id. *Eum.* 840 (ed. Schütz) (chorus of Furies speaking) :

πνέω τοι μένος, ἀπαντα τέ κότεον.

Aristoph. *Ran.* 1016 :

ἀλλὰ πνέοντες δορυ καὶ λογχὰς καὶ λευκολοφούς τριφυλείας
καὶ πηληκὰς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ θυμούς ἐπταβοείους.

Pind. *Nem.* 3. 39 (ed. Boeckh) :

. . . ψεφνός ἀνὴρ ἀλλοτ' ἀλλὰ πνέων οὐκοτ' ἀτρεκεῖ
κατέβα ποδὶ

[where Dissen "animo agitans"]. Eurip. *Andr.* 189 :

οι γαρ πνεοντες μεγαλα τους κρεισσους λογους
πικρως φερουσι των ελασσωνων υπο.

Pseudo-Demosth. *contra Aristog.* p. 787 (Reiske) : ταυτην την ανθρωπον, την τοιαυτ' ευεργετησασαν αυτον, ως πολυς παρ' υμιν επνει και λαμπρος . . . το μεν πρωτον ραπισας και απειλησας απεπεμφεν απο της οικιας. Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 30 (ed. Boeckh) :

ο δε χαμηλα πνεων αφαντον βρεμει

[breathing meanness]. Id. *Olym.* 11(10) 91 (ed. Dissen) :

και οταν καλα ερξαις αιδας ατερ,
Αγησιδαμ', εις Αιδα σταθμον
αηρ ικηται, κενεα πνευσαις επορε μοχθω
βραχυ τι τερπνον

[breathing vanity, emptiness] (where Damm quoted by Wheeler: "Inania postquam spiravit, i. e., frustra laboravit;" and where Dissen, "vana conatus"). Aesch. *Agam.* 1215 (Butler's Stanley ed.) :

αλλ' ην παλαιστης, καρτ' εμοι πνεων χαριν

[breathing affection, regard]. Johan. Gramm. Gaza, *Anacr.* 5. 56 (in Matrang's *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 2) :

απατας πλεκουσι μυθοι,
κενεα πνεουσι τολμαις
τα παθη πνεουσι γαιης
μακαρων ανω προς ουδας
απαθης Ολυμπος εστιν.

Milton, *Par. Lost*, 2. 697 :

. . . "and *breathest* defiance here and scorn,
where I reign king?"

And though less figurative, still figurative, and showing the transition from the literal, Milton, *Comus* (Comus to the lady who has just been singing) :

"Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
breathe such divine enchanting ravishment?
sure something holy lodges in that breast,
and with these raptures moves the vocal air
to testify his hidden residence."

512-539.

ARDUA—CENTUM

ARDUA TECTA PETIT STABULI ET DE CULMINE SUMMO PASTORALE CANIT SIGNUM (vv. 512-13).—"Bene CULMINE, quia de tectis agrestium loquitur," Servius. The meaning of Servius is that the shepherds' houses in Italy, and especially the stabula or cattle-houses, had high conical roofs. Such houses, quite circular, built entirely of reeds, and having at a little distance the appearance of very tall haycocks, are almost the only houses which one sees at the present day in the Campagna of Rome. Hence not only, as well remarked by Servius, CULMINE SUMMO, but ARDUA TECTA, the very opposite of our stables and cattle stalls, which are mere huts or sheds.

PASTORALE CANIT SIGNUM, CORNUQUE RECURVO TARTAREAM INTENDIT VOCEM (vv. 513-14).—Theme and variation.

CORNU RECURVO.—The common cow's horn, the point being cut off, is the instrument still used by the shepherds and swineherds in Italy and Spain for calling their dogs and making signals to each other. It is worn as our huntsmen wear the bugle, viz., at the side, suspended by a cord attached to each end of the horn and passing over the opposite shoulder. So Bonstettin, "Encore aujourd'hui les bergers de Torre Palerno [Laurentum of Pliny] se servent d'un *cor* pour appeler leurs camarades," *Don Quixote*, 1. 2: "Un porquero que andaba recogiendo de unos rastros una manada de puercos . . . tocó un *cuerno*, a cuya señal ellos se reconocen," &c.

QUA PROTENUS OMNE CONTREMUIT NEMUS, ET SILVAE INTO NUERE PROFUNDÆ (vv. 514-15).—Theme and variation.

SED FERRO ANCIPITI DECERNUNT, ATRAQUE LATE HORRESCIT STRICTIS SEGES ENSIBUS (vv. 525-6).—FERRO ANCIPITI, *with two-edged iron*, i. e., *with the sword*—(■), because their present military mode of fighting is contrasted with their previous

unmilitary, or, if I may so say, civilian mode, and the military mode of fighting *par excellence* was in those days with the sword. (2), because the immediately succeeding words *ATRAQUE LATE HORRESCIT STRICTIS SEGES ENSIBUS*, an amplification and explanation of *FERRO ANCIPIITI DECERNUNT*, declare swords to be meant; compare 10. 513:

“proxima quaeque metit *gladio*, latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit *ferro*”

(where there is a similar theme and variation, and “*gladio*” corresponds to, and explains, “*ferro*”). (3), because *anceps*—itself used as an epithet for the sword, *Prudentius*, *Cathem*. 6. 85 (“Hymn. ante somn.”):

“huius manum potentem
gladius perarmat *anceps*,
et fulgurans utrinque
duplicem minatur ictum;”

with which compare verse 91:

“*ens*que bis timendus
prima ac secunda mors est”—

is manifestly the Latin representative of *διθηκτος*, *αμφηκης*, *αμφιδειξιος*, *αμφιπληξ*, and *αμφιπληκτος*, all epithets of the sword (as Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 869:

διθηκτον εν σφαγαισι βαψασα ξιφος·

Hom. *Od.* 21. 341:

και ξιφος αμφηκες· δωσω δ' υπο ποσσι πεδιλα·

ibid. 16. 80:

δωσω δε ξιφος αμφηκες και ποσσι πεδιλα·

Eurip. *Hipp.* 791:

ουκ οισει τις αμφιδειξιον
σιδηρον, ω τοδ' αμμα λυσομεν δερης;

Soph. *Trach.* 932:

ορωμεν αυτην αμφιπληγι φασγανω
πλευραν υφ' ηπαρ και φρενας πεπληγμενην·

with which compare *Public Opinion* (newspaper), April 4, 1863: "People who turn their reaping-hooks into sabres, and their scythes into *two-edged swords*." Browne, *Brit. Pastor.* 1. 5:

. . . "rest upon that word
which doth assure thee, though his *two-edged sword*
be drawn in justice 'gainst thy sinful soul.")

And (4), because the very expression "*ancipiti ferro*" is used by Apuleius, *Met.* 8 [172] (ed. Valpy), in a context in which it cannot by possibility mean anything else than *two-edged iron*, i. e., *sword*: "Dique capite demisso, cervices lubricis intorquentes motibus, crinesque pendulos in circulum rotantes, et nonnunquam morsibus suos incursantes musculos, ad postremum *ancipiti ferro*, quod gerebant, sua quisque brachia dissecant." Not only, therefore, are **both** Wagner (ed. Heyn.) and Thiel wrong in interpreting our text "*aequatibus iam armis DECERNUNT*, quo fit ut certamen existat anceps;" **both** Wagner (edd. 1845 and 1849), and Forbiger wrong in interpreting it "*bipennibus*," and doubly wrong because, as appears abundantly from the sequel, neither Trojans nor Latins used "*bipennes*" at all, in battle; **but** the doubt of Servius, "*aut gladios aut bipennes*" is altogether destitute of reason, and the amendment of Peerlkamp, "*et Marte*" instead of *SED FERRO*, uncalled for, and worse than uncalled for, inasmuch as, at one and the same time, it substitutes an indefinite, weak, and hackneyed, for a definite, strong, choice, and rare expression, and robs the passage of the picturesqueness bestowed on it by the contrast of the two modes of fighting.

FLUCTUS UTI PRIMO COEPIT CUM ALBESCERE VENTO, PAULATIM SESE TOLLIT MARE, ET ALTIUS UNDAE ERIGIT, INDE IMO CONSURGIT AD AETHERA FUNDO (vv. 528-530).—This simile has been both by Heyne and others compared with and supposed to resemble Homer's *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ* (*Il.* 4. 422) and Virgil's own "*Fluctus ut in medio*" (*Georg.* 3. 237). It differs, however, essentially and *toto caelo* from both, the comparison in our text being that of the contest between the Latins and Trojans—at first inconsiderable and of no moment and waged with rustic

weapons only, and then becoming serious and of great moment, and waged with swords and martial weapons—to the sea, which in the beginning of a storm is only ruffled, and as the storm increases is disturbed from the very bottom, and rages with fury; while Homer's comparison is that of an army marching to battle, to the waves of the sea rolling in succession to, and breaking on, the shore; and Virgil's own comparison in the third Georgic is that of a bull, charging his enemy, to a single wave rolling in from the sea and breaking on the shore.

UDAE VOCIS ITER (vv. 533-4).—"Hoc est *udum* ITER VOCIS; non enim vox udae est; sed per udam arteriarum labitur viam," Servius. Peerlkamp objects: "Ineptum, meo quidem sensu, epitheton UDAE, etiam si cum interpretibus per hypallagen ad ITER referendum esse dicas. Saepe apud poetas inveni *vocis iter*, *vocis via*, nusquam *udae*. Mart. 11. 92, 'mors *vocis iter* properavit claudere blandae.' Et talia sunt addenda, quibus aliquid in voce singulare exprimitur, non *uda*, quod in medica descriptione gutturis vel alia ratione locum obtinere poterit, non potest ubi telum in gutture haeserit." Peerlkamp did not perceive that the comparison was not merely of the wet trachea to a road, but of the wet trachea to a wet road. *Udum iter* or *uda via* was the phrase by which a wet road was expressed. See Lucan. 3. 85:

"et qua Pontinas *via* dividit *uda* paludes;"

and compare Ovid, *Met.* 6. 354 (of Latona thirsting):

. . . "caret os humore loquentis;
et fauces arent; vixque est *via vocis* in illis."

CENTUM (vs. 539).—A word signifying indefinite multitude, as if Virgil had said: *five flocks of sheep, five herds of cows, and I do not know how many ploughs.*

543-572.

CAELI—LEVABAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 337.)

CONVERSA ■ *Med.*, a *man. pr.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. 1832, ed. 1861); Thiel; Süpfle; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt.

CONVEXA ■ *Rom.*; Pierius. ■■ †§; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.), who adds: "Dicit et quidam commentarius *convecta* legendum, ut sit, *ipsa convecta*, quod difficile in exemplaribus invenitur;" Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Ribb.

Voss says: "Vielleicht *caeloque invecta*."

VAR. LECT. (vs. 557).

AURAS ■ *Rom.* ■■ "SUPER AETHERIAS; quia dixerat CAELI CONVEXA PER AURAS" (where the meaning must be "SUPER AETHERIAS AURAS, quia," &c.), Serv. (cod. Dresd.); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ORAS ■■■ Lachmann ad Lucret. 4. 167.

CAELI CONVERSA PER AURAS IUNONEM VICTRIX AFFATUR (vv. 543-4).—I. e., *itinere facto PER AURAS CAELI convertitur ad Iunonem atque eam ita AFFATUR.*

CAELI PER AURAS.—*Having made her journey through the air, having travelled through the sky, exactly as Claud. in Prob. et Olybr. Cons. 124:*

"ut stetit ante duces discussas Roma *per auras*,"

where, as in our text, the journey through the air is expressed by the words "per auras" without the assistance of any verb of motion.

CONVERSA.—*I.e.*, CONVERSA in *Iunonem*, turned towards Juno, exactly as “*conversis*,” Sil. 10. 147 :

. . . “*plenamque, heu barbara virtus !
abscissi galeam capitis, ceu missile telum,
conversis in terga iacit,*”

is turned about, turned to flight. Compare Claud. *Laus Serenae*. 100 :

. . . “*in matrem teneris conversa querelis :
'quid de me propriis auferre Penatibus,' inquit,
'imperat hic semper' ?*”

where, inasmuch as the verb is merely “*inquit*,” without specification of the person addressed, the full expression “*in matrem conversa*” is necessary, whereas in our text the abbreviated expression CONVERSA is sufficient, the person addressed being immediately subjoined to the verb : IUNONEM AFFATUR. I find no trace of a reading *congressa* either in the MSS. or in Servius, else I should be tempted to think that Claudian had read neither CONVERSA NOR CONVEXA, but *congressa*, for in his very parallel passage, in *Rufin.* 1. 354, he has “*Megaera deprendit Iustitiam in arce*” :

“*acrior interea voto, multoque Megaera
luxuriata malo ; maestam deprendit in arce
Iustitiam, diroque prior sic ore lacescit :
'En tibi prisca quies' ?*” etc.

See Rem. on “*conversa cuspide*,” 1. 85.

[*Aliter*]. CONVERSA.—*Changed, turned* ; viz., into her own proper figure. Else, at verse 561, we find ourselves in the dilemma of either assuming that Allecto has changed back into her proper figure, *sub silentio*, or of picturing to ourselves the pretended Calybe spreading out her snaky wings and descending on them to Cocytus. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 87 :

“*sic modo quae fuerat rudis et sine imagine tellus
induit ignotas hominum conversa figuras.*”

EN (vs. 545).—*Behold ; you see ; as if Juno had been looking on all the while at what Allecto was doing.*

SI QUA SUPER FORTUNA LABORUM EST (vs. 559).—*If any*

more trouble happens, the trouble being expressed by LABORUM, and the chance that it may happen by FORTUNA. Compare Georg. 3. 452:

“non tamen ulla magis praesens *fortuna laborum* est
quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum
ulceris os”

[there is no trouble more likely to be useful, no labour* you can take to cure the sore affords you a better chance of success than puncture]. The entire sense of the two words FORTUNA LABORUM is expressed at 9. 41 (where see Rem.) by the single word “fortuna,” just as in English also we express by the single word *accident*, an accidental misfortune, or evil.

NOBILIS, ET FAMA MULTIS MEMORATUS IN ORIS (vs. 564).—NOBILIS, *much talked of, celebrated, famous*; without even the smallest praise attached to the celebrity. Compare Liv. 9. 1: “Sequitur hunc annum *nobilis clade* Romana Caudina pax.” FAMA MULTIS MEMORATUS IN ORIS is only another way of saying the same thing; which has been already said in NOBILIS. In other words, NOBILIS is a theme, of which MULTIS MEMORATUS IN ORIS is the variation. I therefore agree by all means with Wagner and Jahn in placing a comma at ALTIS (vs. 563).

HIC SPECUS HORRENDUM MONSTRATUR (vv. 568, 9), is the theme, of which SAEVI SPIRACULA DITIS (*monstrantur*), and RUPTO INGENS ACHERONTE VORAGO PESTIFERAS APERIT FAUCES are the two variations.

QUIS CONDITA ERINNYS, INVISUM NUMEN, TERRAS CAELUMQUE LEVABAT (vv. 570-1).—Compare Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 454 (of the death of Rufinus):

“senserunt convexa necem, tellusque nefandum
amolitur onus. Iam *respirantibus* astris
infernus *gravat umbra lacus*.”

* [Rather: ‘no chance-of-relief for them in their trouble is more (usually) effectual.’ *Fortuna*, like *τύχη*, standing alone, means either *good* or *bad fortune*, but ‘usually the former’: see Liddell’s *Lexicon* s. v. *τύχη*. Allecto may very well say ‘agreeable chance of having some work to do.’—J. F. D.]

Manil. 5. 618 (ed. Jacob.), of the sea monster killed by Perseus):

“quo concidit ipsa
Gorgone non levius monstrum, pelagusque levavit.”

Senec. *Thyest.* 105 (Megaera to the ghost of Tantalus):

“actum est abunde. Gradere ad infernos specus,
amnemque notum: iam tuum maestae pedem
terrae gravantur,”

where Gronovius: “*gravamur aliquam rem, quam vel si iam ferimus, tentamus excutere, vel nondum susceptam recusamus ac procul habemus.*”

In the words of our text the direct narrative, dropped at verse 562 above:

COCYTUS PETIT SEDEM, SUPERA ARDUA LINQUENS,

in order to describe more particularly the VORAGO by which the Fury left the upper world, is again resumed. See Rem. on l. 158.

INVISUM NUMEN (vs. 571).—Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 524 (of the picture of Typhon on the shield of Hyperbius):

αφ' ἱλὸν ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας
δαίμονες, ἐχθρὸν εἰκασμα βροτοῖς τε καὶ
δαρσείοισι θεοῖσι.

Id. *Eum.* 71 (of the Furies):

ἐπεὶ κακὸν
σκοτὸν νεμενταί, τάρταρον θ' ὑπὸ χθονος,
μίσσηματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων,

and again, *ibid.* 641 (Apollo addressing the same):

παντομίση κνωδαλα, στύγη θεῶν.

577-589.

TURNUS—TENET

VAR. LECT. (vs. 577).FENI ■ *Rom., Med.* ■■■ Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

IGNIS ■ "In Romano IGNI legitur, sed IGNIS melius," Pierius. ■■■ Prine.; Strasb. 1470; Ven. 1470; Rom. 1471, 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

[*punct.*]IGNI · TERROREM ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ "Et IGNI: in ipso fervore seditionis," Serv. (cod. Dresd.)IGNI TERROREM ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Ribb.

IGNIS TERROREM ■■■ La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 587).UT—FRAGORE ■ *Rom., Med., Ver.*; Pierius. ■■■ P. Manut.; Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn., ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.UT—FRAGORE ■■■ not cited by Servius (cod. Dresd.); *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED*, Heyne, Brunck.

TURNUS ADEST, MEDIOQUE IN CRIMINE CAEDIS ET IGNI TERROREM INGEMINAT (vv. 577-8).—La Cerda connects his reading IGNIS with CRIMINE so as to afford the sense: "Concitata et maioris facit (TERROREM), crimen conferens in Troianos CAEDIS factae, IGNIS immissi"—a sense, I need hardly say, inconsistent with the narrative, inasmuch as there had been no incendiarism. Heyne, adopting the same reading, connects IGNIS with TERROREM and thus interprets: "INGEMINAT TERROREM CAEDIS ET IGNIS, i. e., *minatur caedem et ignem.*" I object, first, that the

reading is of inferior authority (see *Var. Lect.*), and secondly, that the sense which it affords is bad, inasmuch as it nowhere appears that Turnus threatened Latinus or the Latins at all, much less threatened them with "caedes" and "ignis," whether at his own hands or the hands of anyone else. I therefore adopt the reading *IGNI*, and, interposing a comma, so as to separate that word from what follows and connect it with what goes before, obtain the sense: *in mediis flagrantibus iris propter caedem suorum a Troianis*. Compare 11. 225:

"hos inter motus, medio flagrante tumultu,
ecce super maesti magna Diomedis ab urbe
legati responsa ferunt,"

where "medio flagrante tumultu" exactly corresponds to the *MEDIO IN CRIMINE CAEDIS ET IGNI* of our text, and where the news brought by the legates is an additional cause of the popular fermentation ("super"), just as in our text the terror occasioned by Turnus's representations aggravates the commotion already raised by the "caedes." Compare also Eurip. *Hec.* 604:

εν τοι μυριω στρατευματι
ακολαστος οχλος, ναυτικη τ' αναρχια
κρειστων πυρος.

IGNIS is metaphorical, as so often elsewhere, and as not only the similar Latin terms (compare Ammian. 36. 10: "inter quos eminebat Araxius, in ipso rerum *exustarum ardore* adeptus ambitu praefecturam," where both the "ardore" and the "exustarum" are metaphorical), but the corresponding terms in all languages, and remarkably in the Greek, as Hom. *Il.* 286:

αραται δε ταχιστα μνημεναι εν θαϊ λυγη.

And so Servius: "In ipso scilicet fervore ac incendio seditionis."

TERROREM INGEMINAT: TEUCROS IN REGNA VOCARI (vs. 578), &c.—*I.e.*, *TERROREM INGEMINAT, monendo, sive identidem dicendo, TEUCROS IN REGNA VOCARI, &c.*; or, *identidem dicens, TEUCROS IN REGNA VOCARI, TERROREM INGEMINAT*. Compare 11. 448:

. . . magnisque urbem terroribus implet:
instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros
Tyrrenamque manum totis descendere campis"

[i. e., "implet urbem terroribus, monens Teucros instructos acie descendere," &c.]

MARTEMQUE FATIGANT (vs. 582).—"FATIGANT Latinum clamoribus ac precibus super Marte seu bello faciendo," Heyne, Wagn. (*Praest.*) I think not, but *weary Mars himself with their eagerness for battle*. And so in the very sentence, 8. 94, quoted by Heyne himself :

"olli remigio noctemque diemque *fatigant*"

[weary the very day and night with their rowing, with the constancy with which they row]. See Rem. on 1. 284.

FATA DEUM (vs. 584).—Compare Lucan, 1. 599 :

"tum qui *fata deum* secretaque carmina servant,
et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybeben."

PERVERSO NUMINE (vs. 584).—"Irato," Servius. "Perversa, conturbata et infirmata deorum voluntate," Heyne. "Quasi pervertentes, susque deque habentes, imperium deorum," Wagn. (*Praest.*) "Merito profecto Virgilius loquax iudicaretur, si PERVERSO NUMINE de oraculo aut de voluntate divina intelligi voluisset, quasi utrumque non satis expressum esset verbis CONTRA OMINA et CONTRA FATA DEUM. At quid magis nefarium est quam deorum imperium pervortere, quod nonne is facit, qui contraria iis, quae illi iusserunt, poscat? Quam apta vero, talis sententia: POSCUNT, *cantra ea, quae dii decrevere*, BELLUM, *non modo contempto, sed funditus everso divino imperio?*" Dietsch, *Theol. Virg.* No; but *perversa voluntate eorum, viz. ipsorum Rutulorum*; the CAECUM CONSILIUM of verses 591, 2. That this and nothing else is the meaning of PERVERSO NUMINE is shown by the immediately preceding CONTRA OMINA, and CONTRA FATA DEUM. Their numen, voluntas, or will, was perverse, precisely because it was CONTRA OMINA, and CONTRA FATA DEUM. Compare 1. 137, "*meo sine numine*" [without my will, unauthorized by me]; 2. 396, "*haud numine nostro*" [not according to our own will or choice]; and see Rem. on 2. 396, where further authorities are adduced in support of this interpretation of the term.

ILLE VELUT, &c., . . . TENET (vv. 586-9).—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9. 39 (Achelous giving an account of his combat with Hercules):

“ me mea defendit gravitas ; frustraue petebar.
 haud secus ac moles, quam magno murmure fluctus
 oppugnant ; manet illa ; suoque est pondere tuta.”

598-599.

NAM MIHI PARTA QUIES OMNISQUE IN LIMINE PORTUS
 FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR

VAR. LECT.

NAM . . . OMNISQUE ■ *Rom.*, *Med.* (OMNISQ.), *Ver.* (OMNISQ). ■■■
 P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Wakef. ;
 Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861) ; Haupt ; Ribb.

NAM ■ *Vat.* ■■■ Bruck.

NAM . . . MORTISQUE ■■■ Burm.

NON . . . OMNISQUE ■■■ Lad.

Not cited by Servius (cod. Dresd.)

VAR. LECT.

OMNISQUE IN LIMINE PORTUS *STIGMATIZED* ■■■ Bruck.

O *Vat.*

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*]

PORTUS FUNERE (no interpoint) ■ *Med.* ■■■ N. Heins. (1670) ; Ribb.

PORTUS · FUNERE ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.) ; Ven. 1470 ; P. Manut. ; La
 Cerda ; D. Heins. ; Phil. ; Heyne ; Wakef. ; Haupt ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.,
Lect. Virg. and *Praest.*)

FUNERE ■ *Ver.*

Compare Apollon. Rhod. 1. 689 :

ἡ μὲν ἔγνω, εἰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πεφρικασί
 Κῆρες, ἐπερχομένον τοῦ οἰομαι εἰς ἔτος ἡδὴ
 γαίαν ἐφυσσέσθαι, κτερεὼν ἀπομοῖραν ἐλούσαν
 αὐτὼς ἡ θεμὶς ἐστὶ, παρὸς κακότητά πελάσσαι.
 σπλοτερῆσι δὲ παγχυτὰδε φράζεσθαι ἀνωγα.

"Securitas omnis in promptu est," Servius* (cod. Dresd. Daniel., Lion), followed by Ruhkopf ("omne auxilium mihi ante pedes et paratum est seni"), Wagner (1861), Forbiger and Thiel—an explanation to which there is the very obvious objection that *in limine* is never "ante pedes et paratum, but always *in principio*, Germ. *anfangs*. On the other hand, Heyne's interpretation "et totus sum in aditu portus, in portu navigo," although all right as far as *IN LIMINE* is concerned, is scarcely less objectionable; first, because *OMNIS* (*ego*) cannot well stand without *sum*; and secondly, because *PORTUS*, simply and by itself, is wholly inadequate to express the port of death. Only when he has read the words *FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR* can the reader be quite sure that the port at whose entrance Latinus has arrived is the port of death. Compare Cic. *ad Fam.* 1. 15: "Sed nescio quomodo ipsae illae excludere me a *portu et perfugio videntur*," et quasi exprobrare *quod in ea vita maneam*, in qua nihil insit, nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis," where it is impossible for the reader certainly to know what "portus" and "perfugium" is meant, until he arrives at the explanation contained in the words "quod in ea vita maneam." I therefore throw *OMNIS* to *SPOLIOR*, and understand *QUE* to join the sentence *OMNIS IN LIMINE PORTUS FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR* to the preceding *NAM MIHI PARTA QUIES* in that

* An error in the printed text of most editions of Servius, viz., "in portu est," instead of "in promptu est," has led most of the elder, and some even of the later commentators, into a fatal, and to those of their readers who are unaware of the error, wholly unaccountable confusion. Only to those who are aware of the error in the Servian text, are Taubmann's "Mihi mortis vicinæ beneficio quies et securitas omnis in portu est," Heyne's "Servii explicatio nihili est, 'securitas omnis in portu est,'" and Voss's animadversion on the latter, "Servius sagt: 'PARTA QUIES, scil. vicinæ mortis beneficio; IN LIMINE PORTUS, securitas [die erklärung des vorigen QUIES] omnis in portu est,'" not riddles.

loose manner in which QUE sometimes connects two unequal or not perfectly congruous sentences, as for instance, *Æn.* 10. 187:

“ cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice cristae,
(crimen amor vestrum) formaeque insigne paternae ;”

and *Georg.* 4. 67 :

“ sin autem ad pugnam exierint—nam saepe duobus
regibus incessit magno discordia motu—
continuoque animos vulgi,” &c.

Compare *Æn.* 11. 693, where “et” joins the words “laevo dependet parma lacerto” to the preceding sentence without joining them to “qua,” just as in our text QUE joins the words OMNIS IN LIMINE PORTUS FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR to the preceding sentence without, however, joining them to NAM. The sentence, so understood, is the correction or limitation of the preceding NAM MIHI PARTA QUIES: “the coming trouble cannot affect me much, because I am just about to die, but still it affects me inasmuch as it makes my death unhappy;” in other words, “I, having reached the natural term of life, shall soon escape from that trouble from which you, Turnus, shall not escape.”

FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR.—“Exequiis tantum regalibus careo,” Servius. “Tali, quale ducitur ei qui in felicitate moritur,” Wagner (1861). Doubly erroneous; first, as separating the words FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR from OMNISQUE IN LIMINE PORTUS, with which they form a single indivisible sentence; and secondly, as understanding “funus,” here used in the sense of *death* [compare *Æn.* 1. 236: “tot funera passis;” Coripp. *Justin. Minor.* 1. 143 :

“ nunc idem genitor laetus plenusque dierum
funere felici caelestia regna petivit”]

to mean *funeral obsequies*. The sentence OMNISQUE IN LIMINE PORTUS FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR is only a little wider variation than usual of the preceding theme, MIHI PARTA QUIES. The entire sense of theme and variation, expressed in one sentence, is: *I have a near port of refuge in death; I only wish my entrance into that port had been happier.* This junction of OMNIS IN LIMINE PORTUS to SPOLIOR, and this construction of PORTUS as the geni-

tive to LIMINE, is the more probably correct as it suggested itself to Ladewig before he could have been aware that it had suggested itself to me. It is a further confirmation of its correctness that it has been adopted by Ribbeck from Ladewig.

LIMINE PORTUS.—“*Limen portus*,” the threshold or entrance of the port (viz., death), as οὐδος γηραος, the threshold, or entrance of old age, *Hymn. in Vener. 105*:

δηρον εὐζῶειν καὶ ὄραν φας η̄λαιοιο,
ὀλβιον ἐν λαοῖς, καὶ γηραος οὐδον ἱκεσθαι.

Compare Q. Curtius, 6. 3: “*in ipso limine victoriae stamus*” [on the threshold of victory]; *Aen. 8. 656*: “*Gallos in limine adesse canebat*” [that the Gauls are on the threshold, or as we say, at the door]; and *Actt. Apost. 5. 9*: Ἰδου, οἱ ποδες των θαντων τον ανδρα σου επι τη θυρα, καὶ εξοισουσιν σε. [at the door, i.e., in limine].

PORTUS (the genitive depending on LIMINE) is here equivalent to death, death being the port *par excellence*. Compare Epigr. Leonidae, *Anthol. Pal. 7. 452*: κοινος πασι λιμην Αἰδης. Soph. *Antig. 1295* (Capper):

ω, ω, δυσκαρτος Αἰδου λιμην,
τι μ' ἀρα, τι μ' ὀλεκεῖς;

Ennius (ed. Hessel, p. 274) (Thyestes execrating Atreus):

“neque sepulcrum, quo se recipiat, habeat, portum corporis, ubi remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat a maleis.”

Cic. *Tusc. 5* (ad extrem.): “Quid est tandem, dii boni, quod laboremus? portus enim praesto est, quoniam mors ibidem est, aeternum nihil sentienti receptaculum.” Longin. *de sublim. 9*: Αλλ' ἡμιν μὲν δυσδαιμονουσιν ἀποκειται λιμην κακων, ο θανατος. Carlyle. *Fred. the Great*, vol. 5 (Frederick the Great, writing to the Margravine of Baireuth):

“ainsi mon seul asyle et mon unique port
se trouve, chère soeur, dans les bras de la mort.”

MIHI PARTA QUIES, theme; OMNISQUE IN LIMINE PORTUS
FUNERE FELICI SPOLIOR, variation.

612-641.

CINCTUQUE—MOVETE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 641).

CANTUSQUE MOVETE ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Servius, who observes: "legitur et MONETE;" (Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Jahn; Thiel; Wagn. (1861); Sùpfle; Forb.; Ribb.

CANTUSQUE MONETE ■■■ Wakef.

CANTUQUE MONETE ■■ Cod. Canon. (Butler).

CINCTUQUE GABINO (vs. 612).—The scholiast to Persius (*Sat.* 5) gives us this curious bit of information concerning this "cinctus Gabinus": "Gabino habitu cinctuque Dii Penates formabantur, obvoluti toga super humerum sinistrum, dextro nudo;" and the scholiast to Lucan, 1. 596, this other: "Quo habitu diaconi in ecclesia quadragesimali tempore ministrant."

ABSTINUIT TACTU PATER (vs. 618), theme; AVERSUSQUE REFUGIT FOEDA MINISTERIA, first variation; ET CAECIS SE CONDIDIT UMBRIS, second variation; the three sentences being disposed in climax.

FERRATOS (vs. 622).—*Plated with iron, strengthened with iron*, as 2. 481, "aeratos," *plated with brass, strengthened with brass*. No doubt, the stronger.

RUPIT (vs. 622).—*Broke open by force the door, burst all the bars*.

POSITIS INCUDIBUS (vs. 629).—Compare Hom. *Il.* 18. 476: *θηκε δ' ἐπ' ἀκμοθεῖω*, where Villoison "*Ἀκμοθεῖω* : cavitate super quam imponitur incus."

CANTUSQUE MOVETE (vs. 641).—In favour of the reading MONETE, is first its mention by Servius as an *aliter*; secondly, that MONETE is the reading of both the Palatine (Ribb.) and the Gudian (Ribb.), 10. 163, where the same verse is repeated;

thirdly, verse 41, above, "tu vatem, tu, diva, *mone*;" also Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 259:

"quis mihi nunc dicat quare caelestia Martis
arma ferant Salii, Mamuriumque canant?
nympha, *mone*, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae;"

and *ibid.* 5. 445:

"dicta sit unde dies, quae nominis extet origo,
me fugit: ex aliquo est invenienda deo.
Pleiade nate, *mone*, virga venerande potenti;"

and, above all, the singular suitability of MONETE to the immediately following:

ET MEMINISTIS ENIM, DIVAE, ET MEMORARE POTESTIS.

Against MONETE is to be objected, first, that, except in the Palatine (Ribb.) and Gudian (Ribb.) readings of the same verse where it occurs again, viz., 10. 163, the expression *cantus monere* has not been found elsewhere; secondly, that at 10. 163, Wakefield himself has not adopted that *aliter* of the Palatine and Gudian MSS., but, on the contrary, silently contented himself with the vulgar reading CANTUSQUE MOVETE; and thirdly, that in Statius's imitation:

"nunc mihi, fama prior, mundique arcana vetustas,
cui meminisse ducum vitasque extendere curae,
pande viros, tuque o nemoris regina sonori,
Calliope, quas ille manus, quas moverit arma
Gradivus, quantas populis solaverit urbes
sublata molire lyra,"

"*sublata molire lyra*" has been less probably suggested by CANTUSQUE MONETE than by CANTUSQUE MOVETE.

Nowhere perhaps in the whole Aeneid, not even in the visit to Hades (see Rem. on 6. 426) is the aristocratic spirit of Virgil manifested more plainly than in this account of the Latin armament. It is, it will be observed, substantially an account not of the Latin forces but of the Latin generals, each of whom is described at full length with all the minute details of his personal history, while the least possible notice, in some cases no notice at all, is taken of the troops under his command. Thus, we have

thirteen lines devoted to the personality of Aventinus, and no more than two to his troops, these two informing us indeed that they fought with "pila" and "dolones" and the "veru Sabel-lum," but not saying one word either of their numbers, or from what part of Italy they came; nay, so contemptuously are his troops treated that they are introduced to us with the word "gerunt" to which we are left at liberty to supply what nominative we like. In like manner, we have eight lines devoted to the two brother chieftains Catillus and Coras, but not one single word of the troops under their command. Then while there are five lines given to Lausus and two to Mezentius, the troops of Lausus are despatched in a single line, and those of Mezentius in the single word "agmina." Umbro has ten lines and a half to himself; to Umbro's troops not even so much as one single word. Virbius has no less than twenty-two lines, but, for aught we are told to the contrary, may be supposed to have come alone to the war. Camilla has eleven lines entirely to herself, while her "agmen equitum et florentes aere catervas" are disposed of *totidem verbis* as if they had been her personal suite, or beef-eaters. Now this is all in the very strongest contrast to the account of the Grecian armament given by Homer, in which the first and most important place is given to the forces led, and only the second place and minor consequence to the leaders, Homer mentioning separately and individually every town, city, and district from which troops were sent to the war, with such distinctness that a geographical map of Greece might be formed from his catalogue, and never growing weary, however weary his readers, of one unvaried *οι τε, οι τε, οι τε, οι τε*, repeated without end. It would be in the very highest degree tedious to go through the particular cases one after another, so I shall content myself with taking the first case, viz., that of the Boeotians, *Βοιωτων*, for with the true spirit of a democrat Homer places the people first, and lets the leaders follow. The Boeotians, he tells us, were led by Peneleus, Leitus, Arcesilaus, Prothœnor, and Clonius, on not one of whom does he bestow a second word, but hurries on to tell you with the most minute circumstantiality the names of the individual towns, cities and

districts from which the troops under their command came, almost every one of these towns, cities, and districts having its own peculiar descriptive epithet attached to it, and concludes with an exact tot of the aggregate of the contingent. From this fundamental difference between the Virgilian and Homeric catalogues arises that other so remarkable difference observable between them, viz., that while the former enriches the Aeneid with a chapter second in interest and poetical beauty to none in the whole work, the latter encumbers the Iliad with, to say the best of it, a long dry table of statistical details. Well for Milton's great poem that its author, in this as well as in so many other respects, followed the example not of Homer but of Virgil. Puritan and regicide as he was, he yet treats the "crowd" as unceremoniously as even Virgil himself with his "gerunt":

"say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
roused from the slumber on that fiery couch
at their great Emperor's call, as next in worth,
came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
while the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof."

645-660.

MEMINISTIS—ORAS

VAR. LECT.

AURAS IIII D. Heins.

ORAS I *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "Antiqui plerique codices legunt FORTIVO PARTU . . . ORAS," Pierius. III §. IIII P. Manut.; La Cerda; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

Not cited by Serv. (cod. Dresd.)

MEMINISTIS DIVAE (vs. 645).—Compare Empedocles, *de Natura*, 47: πολυμνηστη λευκωλενε παρθενε Μουσα. No wonder they

had good memories, being all of them daughters of Mnemosyne herself. No wonder they were able to tell stories (MEMORARE POTESTIS).

Nowhere in the whole work is Virgil's inexhaustible variety and command of language more conspicuous than in this enumeration of the Italian chieftains (vv. 647, *et seqq.*), no two of whom are, I will not say described in the same manner, but, even so much as introduced in the same form. First of all, MEZENTIUS INIT BELLUM, AGMINAQUE ARMAT. At his side, his son LAUSUS DUCIT MILLE VIROS, NEQUIDQUAM SECUTOS EX AGYLINA URBE. After these, AVENTINUS OSTENTAT INSIGNEM PALMA CURRUM VICTORESQUE EQUOS. Then the two brothers Catillus and Coras,

TIBURTIA MOENIA LINQUUNT,
ET PRIMAM ANTE AGIEM Densa INTER TELA FERUNTUR.

Then Caeculus is there :

NEC PRAENESTINAE FUNDATOR DEFUIT URBIS.

Then Messapus :

RESIDES POPULOS DESUETAQUE BELLO
AGMINA IN ARMA VOCAT SUBITO, FERRUMQUE RETRACTAT.

Then behold CLAUSUS MAGNUM AGMEN AGENS, MAGNIQUE IPSE AGMINIS INSTAR. Next Halesus CURRU IUNGIT EQUOS, TURNOQUE FEROCES MILLE RAPIT POPULOS. Next Oebalus is not left unmentioned :

NEC TU CARMINIBUS NOSTRIS INDICTUS ABIBIS,
OEBALUS.

And Nersæ sent thee, O Ufens, to the battle (MISERE IN PRAELIA); and Umbro the priest and serpent-tamer VENIT, and Virbius the son of Hippolytus IBAT, and Turnus

INTER PRIMOS
VERTITUR, ARMA TENENS, ET TOTO VERTICE SUPRA EST ;

and besides all these Camilla arrived,

ADVENIT,
AGMEN AGENS EQUITUM, ET FLORENTES AERE CATERVAS.

Homer, on the contrary, in his catalogue (well so called) of the

Grecian forces repeats the word *ἔρχον* 11 times, *ἡγεμονεύειν* 12 times, *ἐνεμοντ'* or *ἀμφενεμοντο* 15 times, *ἔποντο* 17 times, and *εἶχον* no less than 32 times; yet critics are not wanting who set Virgil's poetical skill below Homer's.

CONTEMPTOR DIVUM (vs. 648).—See Rem. on 6. 620.

DIGNUS PATRIIS QUI LAETIOR ESSET IMPERIIS, ET CUI PATER HAUD MEZENTIUS ESSET (vv. 653, 4).—Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 89: “non Vitellio principe *dignus* exeroitus.” PATRIIS QUI LAETIOR ESSET IMPERIIS, theme; ET CUI PATER HAUD MEZENTIUS ESSET, variation.

LAETIOR.—The expression is as delicate as it is possible for expression to be. He does not say that Lausus was unhappy, only that he deserved to have been happy. Laetus seems to be properly and peculiarly used to express the happiness the child has in the parent, or the parent has in the child. Compare 6. 787:

“*laeta* deum partu, centum complexa nepotes.”

CENTUM ANGUES CINCTAMQUE GERIT SERPENTIBUS HYDRAM (vs. 658).—The CENTUM ANGUES, of the first part of the verse are not the same as the SERPENTIBUS of the last part, but they are the same as the HYDRAM SERPENTIBUS CINCTAM of the last part. The first impression made on the mind of the beholder by the device on the shield is that it is an immense number of serpents (CENTUM ANGUES). The hydra on the shield of Aven-tinus has so many heads and necks that it appears to the beholder to be an immense number of serpents; this immense number of serpents is, however, only the single hydra with its many heads and necks, each head presenting the appearance of a separate serpent. Nor let the reader take umbrage at the hydra surrounded (“cincta”) by parts of itself, by its own members. The serpent of Cadmus, which has but one head, is surrounded, girt (“cingitur”) with its own orbs or convolutions, lies snug in the middle of its own coils, Ovid, *Met.* 3. 77:

“ipse modo immensum *spiris* facientibus orbem
cingitur; interdum longa trabe rector exit.”

How much more the hydra with its manifold heads and necks?

CENTUM (*gerit*) ANGUES, theme; CINCTAM GERIT SERPENTIBUS HYDRAM, variation—one and the same thing presented under two different aspects, each aspect explaining the other. The general view is, as usual, placed first; the particularizing, second. The two views together make up the single view of the prosaist: *suis centum serpentibus cinctam hydram*. A confirmation of the above analysis, according to which the CENTUM ANGUES are neither more nor less than the *centum angues* constituting the hydra itself, is afforded by Eurip. *Phoen.* 1134:

ταῖς δ' ἑβδομαῖς Ἀδραστός ἐν πυλαῖσιν ἦν
 ἑκατόν ἐχιδναῖς ἀσπίδ' ἐκπληρῶν γραφῇ
 ὑδρας,

where ἑκατόν ἐχιδναῖς are the *centum capita* of the hydra itself. Compare also Sil. 2. 158:

“*centum angues* idem Lernaëaque monstra gerebat
 in clipeo, et sectis (?) *geminam serpentibus hydram*,”

the “*centum angues*” constituting the same Lernaean monster, the same hydra; also, Virg. *Aen.* 8. 299:

. . . “non te rationis egentem
 Lernaëus turba caput circumstetit anguis,”

where see Rem.

665-668.

ET TERETI PUGNANT MUCRONE VERUQUE SABELLO
 IPSE PEDES TEGUMEN TORQUENS INMANE LEONIS
 TERRIBILI INPEXUM SAETA CUM DENTIBUS ALBIS
 INDUTUS CAPITI SIC REGIA TECTA SUBIBAT

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 668).

CAPITI . ■ *Pal., Med., Ver.* ■■■ Ven. 1470; P. Manut.; La Cerdà; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

Not cited by Serv. (cod. Dresd.)

VERUQUE SABELLO.—We must not suppose real roasting spits used as spears, as in Sir W. Scott's song, in the *Doom of Devorgoil*, 2. 2:

“these cowls of Kilmarnock had *spits* and had spears,
and lang-hafted gullies to kill Cavaliers,”

but spears resembling roasting spits in the shape of their blades.

TERETI MUCRONE VERUQUE SABELLO.—*I. e.*, with the *veru Sabellum*, a spear the blade end of which is not flat or sharp-edged, but like that of a roasting-spit, round and tapering to a point.

INDUTUS CAPITI.—“Non conveniunt TEGUMEN TORQUENS, INDUTUS CAPITI,” Jahn. “Eiice versum importunum INDUTUS CAPITI SIC REGIA TECTA SUBIBAT, quae a sensu et loco aliena sunt, et iuncturam verborum enecant,” Heyne. “Apparet, ex more vulgaris sermonis haec, TORQUENS et INDUTUS, copula fuisse iungenda. Sed de industria ab eo more discessit poeta, quod in re horrida horridiore (! ! !) etiam dicendi genere utundum putavit,” Wagner. If we understand INDUTUS to be the accusative plural of the substantive indutus, and to stand in apposition to TEGUMEN, we shall have a perfectly regular structure: IPSE SUBIBAT REGIA TECTA PEDES, TORQUENS IMMANE TEGUMEN LEONIS (IMPEXUM TERRIBILI SETA CUM DENTIBUS ALBIS) INDUTUS CAPITI, SIC SUBIBAT REGIA TECTA, HORRIDUS, &c. We may either consider the sentence as broken off at CAPITI and begun again at sic, and the nominative IPSE as standing without a verb (compare 1. 227, and Rem.), or we may consider sic as interposed between the nominative IPSE and its verb SUBIBAT. The lion's skin is to be understood as covering both the head and body of the wearer, the face appearing through the *rictus*. Camilla's tiger's skin was, no doubt, worn after the same fashion, 11. 577:

“tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.”

Compare the similar equipment of Ornytus, consisting of a cow's skin eked out with the skin and teeth of a wolf's head, 11. 679:

“cui pellis latos humeros erepta iuvenco
pugnatori operit; caput ingens oris hiatus
et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis.”

TEGUMEN IMMANE INDUTUS CAPITI, as vs. 688, "fulvos gale-ros tegmen capiti." Compare also vv. 632 and 742, "tegmina capitum." If Virgil had here written *tegmen capiti* the sense would have been plain and the structure undoubted, but he could not have used both *tegmen* and *tegumen* in the same sentence. Hence the necessity to have recourse to the word of general signification INDUTUS. Compare Tacit. *Ann.* 16. 4 (of Nero performing on the stage): "ne fessus resideret; ne sudorem, nisi ea, quam *indutui* gerebat, veste detergeret."

"SIC REGIA TECTA SUBIBAT.—Compare 10. 870: "sic cursum," &c.; also 12. 304: "sic rigido latus ense ferit."

674-677.

CEU DUO NUBIGENAE CUM VERTICE MONTIS AB ALTO
DESCENDUNT CENTAURI HOMOLEN OTHRYNQUE NIVALEM
LINQUENTES CURSU RAPIDO DAT EUNTIBUS INGENS
SILVA LOCUM ET MAGNO CEDUNT VIRGULTA FRAGORE

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*]

LINQUENTES CURSU RAPIDO; DAT ■■■ Heyne; Wakef. (RAPIDO: DAT) (quoting 8. 216: "colles clamore relinqui"); Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Süpffe; Ribb.

LINQUENTES: CURSU RAPIDO DAT ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670).

DAT EUNTIBUS INGENS SILVA LOCUM.—"Defectus, *cedit*; cum utique cedit sylva, cedunt et virgulta; cum utique a minore ad maius venire debuerit;" Servius (ed. Lion). "The observation of Servius is just. This beautiful description is unhappily closed. Nothing can be greater than DAT EUNTIBUS INGENS SILVA LOCUM. It should not have been followed by MAGNO CEDUNT VIRGULTA FRAGORE," Jortin. "Pulchra descriptio infeliciter finitur. Nihil maius esse potest quam DAT EUNTIBUS INGENS SILVA LOCUM, se-

quentia hic non bene congruunt, MAGNO CEDUNT VIRGULTA FRAGORE," *Miscell. Observ.* 1, p. 17, where annotator B observes: "ita poeta capiendus, ut SILVA INGENS, sive arborum maiorum cacumina Centaurorum horum capitibus dederent LOCUM; VIRGULTA pedum inoessu mota, fracta, et protrita cum sonitu fuerint." "Ex *Miscell. Obs.* notatur ad h. l. reprehensio poetae, qui post "silvam," VIRGULTA, post maius minus commemorando, versus vim infregerit. Respondet ibi vir doctus alius, sed parum commode; nec magis commode Schrader. ad Musaeum, p. 164, a generali poetam ad specialius transire. Dicendum erat, VIRGULTA poetico sermone iungi cum 'silvis' et eodem loco haberi, nec inferius illo esse," Heyne. To which Wagner subjoins: "Num igitur putabimus arbores ab illis currentibus fractas aut prostratas? Potius dicendum erat: *silvam* h. l. ut saepe, dici de densis fruticetis, minoribusque arbustis, sed proprie poetam locutum puto: SILVA DAT LOCUM, dum ramuli arborum prominentes cursus impetu franguntur; VIRGULTA CEDUNT, proteruntur pedibus Centaurorum."

A total misunderstanding, as it seems to me, of our text, by all commentators ancient and modern alike. Not only is there no anticlimax, no giving way first of the great wood, the INGENS SILVA, and then of the little wood, the VIRGULTA, no bursting with heads and shoulders through the boughs of the tall trees, and with the feet, through the underwood (!), there is not even so much as the slightest mention of or allusion either to two woods or two different parts of the same wood's tall trees and brushwood—the SILVA and VIRGULTA spoken of being one and the same thing under different aspects, SILVA the brushwood, VIRGULTA the shrubs of which the SILVA consists. Therefore INGENS SILVA, the mighty brushwood, the brushwood considered in respect of its extent, and VIRGULTA MULTO FRAGORE the same brushwood considered in respect of the effect produced on it by the breaking through of the Centaurs. Our author has chosen for the sake of ease and fluency of versification to express in two simpler co-ordinate sentences the thought which had been so much less ambiguously expressed in the one more complex sentence, *ingens silva virgultorum cedit*

magno fragore. The case about which the commentators have made so much noise, and to so little purpose, is thus a mere ordinary case of theme and variation, VIRGULTA varying SILVA, as CEDUNT varies—scarcely even so much as varies, almost repeats—DAT LOCUM; and as MAGNO varies—scarcely even so much as varies, almost repeats—INGENS. Compare (a), Ovid, *Met.* 8. 340 (of the hunt of the Calydonian boar):—

“sternitur incursu nemus, et propulsa fragorem
silva dat,”

where (a), “nemus” and “silva” are neither two distinct woods, a greater and a less, nor even so much as different parts (the tall trees and the brush) of one and the same wood; but “silva” varies “nemus,” as VIRGULTA in our text varies SILVA; (b), “propulsa fragorem dat” varies “sternitur incursu,” as MAGNO CEDUNT FRAGORE in our text varies DAT EUNTIBUS LOCUM; (c), the whole second clause is a mere variation of the whole first clause, as the whole second clause of our text is a mere variation of the whole first; and (d), “silva” is not a wood of tall trees, but like the SILVA of our text and the “nemus” of the preceding clause, a brushwood or jungle, consisting of the particular shrubs specified (Ovid being always more specific than Virgil) only four verses previously:

. . . “tenet ima lacunae
lenta salix, ulvaeque leves, iuncique palustres,
viminaque, et longa parvae sub arundine cannae.”

Compare also (b), that similarly “non alta silva,” of Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 689:

“silva nemus non alta facit; tegit arbutus herbam;
ros maris et lauri nigraeque myrtus olent.
nec densae foliis buxi fragilesque myricae,
nec tenues cytisi, cultaque pinus abest,”

where we have not only a similar enumeration of the shrubs constituting the “non alta silva,” or brush, but the express declaration of the identity of the “non alta silva” and the “nemus.” Also (c), *Aen.* 6. 7: “pars densa ferarum tecta rapit silvas,” where “densa ferarum tecta” is not something

different from “*silvas*,” but “*silvas*” considered under a different aspect, the woods considered as the stalls, stabling or cover of wild beasts. Also (d), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 376 (of Poly-nices):

“*talis opaca legens nemorum Cadmeius heros
accelerat, vasto metuenda umbone ferarum
excutiens stabula, et prono virgulta refringit
pectore,*”

where again “*stabula ferarum*” and “*virgulta*” are not two things each of which is substantially different from the just-mentioned “*opaca nemorum*,” but the just-mentioned “*opaca nemorum*” themselves, considered under two new aspects—first, as the stalls or stabling of wild beasts, and then as brushwood or bushes embarrassing the passage. **And**, above all, compare (e) our author himself, 12. 521:—

“*ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro,*”

where not only is the “*silva*” followed, as in our text, by the explanatory “*virgulta*,” but the explanatory “*virgulta*” is followed by the still further explanatory “*lauro*,” and we are informed not only that the wood spoken of was a brushwood, but that the brushwood constituting the wood was of bay. So habitual, indeed—I might truly say so inveterate—is our author’s use of this construction that we need go no further than the immediately preceding verses for an example of it, the HOMOLEN OTHRYNQUE NIVALEM of those verses being at once the explanation and varied repetition of the VERTICE MONTIS ALTO, and LINQUENTES the explanation and varied repetition of the DESCENDUNT AB of the same verses.

The Centaurs present a fine picture, as they descend from the top of the mountain through the brushwood which clothes its sides. The picture they had presented descending through a tall wood, the full-grown trees of which they broke down before them, had been ridiculous; the picture they had presented descending through a tall wood, breaking only the lower branches of the full-grown trees with their shoulders, and the

brushwood with their feet, had been no picture at all, at least no picture with which Catillus and Coras, rushing into the midst of the enemy, could with propriety have been compared, Catillus and Coras being full in view under the open sky, the Centaurs hid from all view by the tall trees.

The "silvas" of Statius's imitation, *Theb. 4. 159* :

"non aliter *silvas* humeris, et utroque refringens
pectore, montano duplex Hyleus ab antro
praecipitat, pavet Ossa vias, pecudesque feraeque
procubuere metu,"

is of course to be understood in the same way as the *SILVA* and *VIRGULTA* of our text, for Statius, Rodomont as he was, was hardly Rodomont enough to break down full-grown trees with the mere impetus of a Centaur coming down from a mountain; also the *υλην* of Hom. *Il. 12. 146* :

αγροτεροισι σνεσσιν εοικότε, τω τ' εν ορεσσιν
ανδρων ηδε κυων δεχεται κολοσυρτον ιοντα,
δοχμω τ' αϊσσουντε περι σφισιν αγνυτον υλην,
πρυμνην εκταμνοντες,

for who ever yet heard of, or even imagined, wild boars rushing with such violence as to overturn tall full-grown trees? That Donatus as little perceived as his brother commentators the real construction of the passage, as little imagined as they that the latter clause of the sentence was the mere explanatory variation of the first, appears plainly from his gloss, "his currentibus cedunt omnia, quae fortassis occurrerent," the "omnia" of which is neither more nor less than an equivalent for both the great trees and the underwood; and it is no doubt to the same, I must say, gross misconception of our author's meaning we are indebted for Ariosto's very absurd and ridiculous picture of Bajardo breaking down and bearing before him not only trees, but everything which opposes his passage through the wood, *Orl. Fur. 1. 72* :

"non furo iti due migliaia, che sonare
odon la selva, che li cinge intorno,
con tal romore, e strepito, che pare,
che tremi la foresta d' ogn' intorno :

e poco dopo un gran destrier n' appare,
 d'oro guernito, e riccamente adorno,
 che salta macchie, e rivi, ed a fracasso
 arbori mena, e ciò, che vieta il passo."

See Rem. on "quem si fata virum servant," l. 550; and on
 "progeniem sed enim," &c., l. 23-26.

684-713.

PASCIT—SEVERUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 684).

PASCIT ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Wakef.; Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Süpfle; Forb.; Ribb.

PASCIS ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 695).

AEQUOSQUE FALISCOS ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; La Cerda; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

EQUOSQ. FALISCOSQ. ■■■ Rom. 1473.

EQUOSQUE FALLECOS ■ *Rom.*

Ladewig omits vs. 695 altogether.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 703).

AGMINE TANTO ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■■ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

AGMINE LANTO ■ *Med.* (not TANTO, as incorrectly represented by Foggini and Ribbeck).

EXAMINE TANTO ■■ ½.

ACMINE TANTO ■■ ½.

Not cited by Serv. (cod. Dresd.)

VESTIGIA NUDA SINISTRI INSTITUERE PEDIS (vv. 689-90).—If it be not a hopeless task to analyze these words (VESTIGIA in the sense of *steps* agreeing as badly with NUDA, as in the sense

of *feet* it agrees with INSTITUERE), I am inclined to construe them thus:—INSTITUERE NUDA, *they instituted naked*; VESTIGIA, *the steps*, i. e., *the stepping part*; SINISTRI PEDIS, *of the left leg*. In plain English, *they walked with the left foot naked*. Scarcely less difficult of analysis is the Greek parallel, Eurip. fragm. *Meleagri*, 6 :

οι δε Θεστιου

κουροι το λαιον ιχνος αναρβυλοι ποδος,

τον δ' εν πεδιλοις ως ελαφριζον γονυ

εχοιεν, ος δη πασιν Αιτωλοις νομος.

RESIDES (vs. 693).—See Rem. on 1. 726.

IBANT AEQUATI NUMERO, REGEMQUE CANEBANT (vs. 698).—AEQUATI NUMERO, “*digesti in ordinem*. Hinc *sacpenumero scripsi*, hoc est, ordine, congruenter, sicut decebat,” Servius, Cynth. Cenët. “*Aequalibus numeris h. ordinibus*,” Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*) “*Gleich in geordnetem tritt gehn all*,” Voss. “*Ivan del pari in ordinanza*,” Caro. I think not; but, with Peerlkamp, Thiel, and Forbiger, “*gressus aequabant ad numerum carminis*.” This is the correct interpretation, first, because the immediately following words, REGEMQUE CANEBANT, supply you with the subject of the song, keeping time to which they marched (IBANT AEQUATI); and secondly, because the picture of soldiers marching in time (προς ρυθμον εμβαινοντες, Lucian; περι ορχησεως προς ρυθμον βαινωσιν, Plutarch. *Apophthegm.*) i. e., all setting down their feet at the same moment, is much more striking than that of soldiers merely going in ranks consisting of equal numbers. The picture is, therefore, frequently presented to us by poets, as Milton, *Par. Lost*, 1. 549 (of the army of Satan) :

. . . “anon they move
in perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
of flutes and soft recorders, such as raised
to height of noblest temper heroes old
arming to battle;”

and *ibid.* 6. 59 (of the army of God) :

. . . “nor with less dread the loud
ethereal trumpet from on high gan blow ;
at which command the powers militant
that stood for heaven, in mighty quadrate joined
of union irresistible, moved on

in silence their bright legions, to the sound
of instrumental harmony, that breathed
heroic ardor to adventurous deeds,
under their godlike leaders, in the cause
of God and His Messiah."

NUMERO, REGEMQUE CANEBANT.—In every song there are words and measure. The words are referred to in REGEM, the subject of which the song treated, the measure is expressed by NUMERO. The distinction between the words and the *numeri* is well observed by D. Heinsius, *Ovid, Natal. 175* :

"ad numeros veniunt verba ligata suos."

Compare *Aen. 8. 452* :

"illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt
in numerum ;"

and *Ecl. 6. 27* :

"tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
ludere."

If AEQUATI NUMERO has no reference to the singing of the soldiers as they marched, but only to their marching in equal ranks, then the very long simile of CEU NUBEM, the entire subject of which is the music of the swans, has reference to two words IBANT CANEBANTQUE only, and none at all to AEQUATI NUMERO. Such illustration, it is manifest, had been very disproportionate. AEQUATI NUMERO being understood to be spoken of the marching to music, stepping in time, the disproportion is removed, and the meaning is no longer CANEBANT CEU, but IBANT AEQUATI NUMERO CANEBANTQUE CEU. Compare (quoted by Heyne, and like the suicide's weapons, fatal to their master) *Sil. 3. 345* :

. . . "misit dives Callaecia pubem,
barbara nunc patriis ululantem carmina linguis;
nunc pedis alterno percussa verbere terra
ad numerum resonas gaudentem plaudere cetras ;"

and *Id. 8. 420* :

"ibant et laeti pars Sancum voce canebant
auctorem gentis, pars laudes ore ferebant,
Sabe, tuas."

SONAT PULSA (VV. 701, 2).—*Echoes*. The Romans, having

no single word by which to express the verb *echo*, were obliged to use a periphrasis. So *Ecl.* 6. 84 :

“ ille canit ; *pulsae referunt ad sidera valles* ; ”

Aen. 6. 150 :

“ *pulsati colles clamore resultant.* ”

NEC QUISQUAM AERATAS ACIES, &c., . . . NUBEM (vv. 703-5).—Servius understands the swans spoken of in the preceding verses to form the subject of these verses also, for, commenting on VOLUCRUM RAUCARUM, he says: “Sciendum tamen Virgilium secundum morem provinciae suae locutum: in qua bene canentes cygni *rauciores* vocantur. Est autem haec Homeri comparatio, quam ipse etiam de cygnis facit (*Il.* 2. 459) τῶν δ' ὡς, κ. τ. λ.” I think Servius is mistaken, and that not the swans already spoken of are meant in these words, but other birds of a different species—first, because swans do not fly in a “nubes,” but in comparatively small troops; and secondly, because Virgil elsewhere, when using swans for the purpose of a similitude, completes his picture by the addition of birds of a different kind, *Il.* 456 :

“ haud secus atque alto in luco quum forte *catervae*
consedere *avium*, piscosove amne *Padusae*
dant sonitum *rauci* per stagna loquacia *cygni*, ”

where “*catervae avium*” cannot be the “*cygni*,” inasmuch as swans do not sit on high trees, and inasmuch also as the birds sitting on the high trees are placed in contrast with the swans on the water. In like manner in our text the VOLUCRUM RAUCARUM NUBEM is different from the NIVEI LIQUIDA INTER NUBILA CYGNI, and the former crowding towards land from their passage across the sea are contrasted with the latter high up in the sky. The soldiers singing while they march are thus compared—first, with respect to their singing, to swans; and secondly, with respect to their moving noisy multitude to immigrating birds. Compare pseud.-Eurip. *Rhesus*, 290 :

πολλὴ γὰρ ἤχη θρηκίος ῥέων στρατός
ἐστειχε,

exactly as in the fifth Book the movements of the riders in the *Ludus Troiae* are compared, with respect to their intricacy, to

the Cretan Labyrinth; and with respect to the agility with which they are made, to the gambols of dolphins, the two similes being required to set before the reader the full picture of the singing, moving, noisy multitude.

AERIAM SED GURGITE AB ALTO URGUERI VOLUCRUM RAUCARUM AD LITTORA NUBEM (vv. 704-5). The following is the account given by an eye-witness of the arrival of quails on the Italian coast in spring, after having spent the winter in Africa, Maceroni's *Memoirs*, 1. 29: "The region of juniper bushes forms the first asylum of the quails, upon their arrival [viz., in the Pontine Marshes] early on a fine May morning, after their night's flight across the Mediterranean Sea from the coast of Africa. Those who catch those delicious birds for the supply of the markets place vertical nets attached to poles extending many hundred yards along the shore, and about five from the water's edge. The lower limb of the net is drawn up, so as to make a double or bag. The quails arrive in general in a very exhausted state, especially if the least contrary wind has obstructed them, and they fly close to the surface of the water. Thus they strike against the net, and falling to the bottom are easily taken by the persons on the watch. Millions which escape the nets throw themselves like stones on to the sand [URGUERI AD LITTORA NUBEM], and roll into the nearest juniper bush, from which it is perhaps their destiny to be soon aroused by the dog of the sportsman, and shot dead by his gun."

NEC QUISQUAM AERATAS ACIES EX AGMINE TANTO MISCE-
RUM PUTET (vv. 703-4).—"Nemo putaret illud ad pugnam facien-
dam incedere. . . . *Miscentur acies*, dum congregiuntur et
pugnant," Heyne, Forbiger, Voss. Nothing could be more
incorrect. MISCE- is not future, but present, and co-ordinate
with URGUERI, and means not the *mêlée* of battle, but the con-
fused noise made by the soldiers marching and singing at the
same time. Compare *Georg.* 1. 358: "*resonantia longe littora
misceri*;" *ibid.* 4. 75 (of bees):

"et circa regem atque ipsa ad praetoria densae
miscentur;"

Aen. 4. 209:

. . . "caecique in nubibus ignes
terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent;"
ibid. 4. 411:

"misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor."

The structure is not MISCE RI EX AGMINE, but ACIES EX AGMINE.

LIQUIDA INTER NUBILA (vs. 699).—*Amidst the clear sky*, as
4. 245. (where see Rem.), "turbida nubila," *the turbid sky*;
5. 525 (where see Rem.), "liquidis nubibus," *the clear sky*.

INSTAR (vs. 707).—See Rem. on "quantum instar in ipso,"
6. 866.

MONTEMQUE SEVERUM (vs. 713).—See Rem. on "Petilia,"
3. 402.

720-757.

QUUM—EVALUIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 738).

R

SARRASTIS ■ *Rom., Pal.* (SARRASTIS), *Med.* SARRASTIS or SARRASTES
■■ ½. ■■■ *Ven.* 1470; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.
(1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and 1861);
Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

SARASTRES ■■ ½.

SARASTIS ■■■ *Serv.* (cod. *Dresd.*)

VEL QUUM SOLE, &c. (vs. 720).—Not QUAM, but QUUM,
QUAM being purposely rejected by the author himself, in order
to vary the expression—QUAM MULTI FLUCTUS VOLVUNTUR, VEL
quam multae (torrentur) aristae densae, QUUM ARISTAE DENSÆ
TORRENTUR. See for a precisely similar variation of structure,
12. 67:

"Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
si quis ebur, aut mista rubent ubi lilia multa
alba rosa."

SCUTA SONANT PULSUQUE PEDUM CONTERRITA TELLUS (vs.
722).—There should be no comma at SONANT, all the nomina-

tives in the verse belonging to that verb, and the sense being: *their shields (struck with their spears) and the earth struck with their feet, resound*; in other words, *their shields resound with the striking of their spears, and the earth with the tramp of their feet*. The intention of the poet being to place prominently before the mind of the reader the great noise made by the army in march, he is not satisfied with saying SCUTA SONANT, but adds, as an additional subject to SONANT, PULSUQUE PEDUM CON TERRITA TELLUS, exactly as at vs. 701, his intention being to represent to the reader the great noise made by the swans, he is not content to say SONAT AMNIS, but, as an additional subject to SONAT, adds ET ASIA LONGE PULSA PALUS. This is another of those very numerous instances in which Heyne has had a truer perception of the sense—may I say the fine sense?—of his author, than either of the Heinsii or Wagner, all of whom place a comma after SONANT, so as to make a separate sentence of PULSUQUE PEDUM CON TERRITA TELLUS, thus rendered self-subservient, and containing its own verb CON TERRITA (*est*); a punctuation and consequent interpretation for which Wagner assumes credit in the following words: “Comma posui post SONANT; melius hoc: CON TERRITA, scilz. *est*, TELLUS, quam CON TERRITA *sonat* TELLUS. Elumbe est enim verbum *sonat* adiunctum fortioris verbi participio CON TERRITA.” The credit thus assumed by Wagner (if indeed it be credit, and not rather discredit) belongs however not to him, but to Daniel and Nicholas Heinsius, and the Medicean MS., all of which authorities divide the verse into two at SONANT. I am glad to see that Ribbeck has returned to the, as I doubt not, true punctuation and structure.

CON TERRITA.—A participle introducing a new additional idea, subsidiary to the main idea presented in SONANT and PULSU PEDUM, exactly as “indignatum,” *Georg. 2. 162*, is a new heightening idea, subservient to the main idea expressed in “stridoribus” and “sonat.”

SCUTA SONANT.—Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 1. 667:

. . . “and fierce with grasped arms
clashed on their *sounding shields* the din of war.”

SPARGERE QUI SOMNOS CANTUQUE MANUQUE SOLEBAT (vs. 754).

—"Sparso papavere aut 'medicatis frugibus,' 6. 420, tum adhibita incantatione sopire viperas, l. 426," Wagner (1861). What has "sparso papavere aut 'medicatis frugibus'" to do with SPARGERE SOMNOS CANTUQUE MANUQUE?

EVALUIT (vs. 757).—The force of the *E* added to VALUIT is: *but skilled as he was, he was not skilled enough to, &c. ; his skill did not reach so far.*

759-760.

TE NEMUS ANGUITIAE VITREA TE FUCINUS UNDA
TE LIQUIDI FLEVERE LACUS

TE LIQUIDI FLEVERE LACUS.—"Etiam alii," Servius. "LACUS alii praeter Fucinum," Wagner (1861). If this interpretation be correct, Umbro is represented as wept not merely by the NEMUS ANGUITIAE and the lake of Fucinus, but by a number of other lakes not named; a most unlikely sense, both because there is not a number of lakes in the country of the Marsi to be so referred to by the general term LACUS, and because even if there had been, to have so lumped together those other lakes under one general term, without further description or particularization after the particular mention of one, had been contrary to the habit not only of our author himself, but of all poets—all poets, and particularly our author, being careful to proceed from general to particular, never from particular to general. Compare *Ecl.* 10. 13:

"illum etiam *lauri*, illum etiam *flevere myricae*,
pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
Maenalis et gelidi *fleverunt saxa Lycasi*;"

Aen. 7. 793:

"insequitur nimbus peditum, clipeataque totis
agmina densantur campis, Argivaeque pubes,
Auruncaeque manus, Rutuli, veteresque Sicani,
et Sacrae acies, et picti scuta Labici;
qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos," &c.

I therefore understand LIQUIDI LACUS to be a variety of VITREA UNDA, a dwelling on the just-expressed thought, as if Virgil had said: *Fucinus with its glassy wave, the clear lake of Fucinus wept thee*. This is the more probably the meaning on account of the exact parallel of Ausonius, *Mosell. 140* (of the Silurus):

“at quum tranquillos moliris in amne meatus,
et virides ripae, te caerulea turba natantum,
te liquidae mirantur aquae,”

where “virides ripae” are the green banks of the Moselle, “caerulea turba natantum” the fishes of the Moselle, and “liquidae aquae” the clear waters of the Moselle; exactly as in our text NEMUS ANGITIAE is the groves in the neighbourhood, perhaps even on the banks of lake Fucinus (*Solin. 8*: “C. Caelius Aetiae tres filias, Angitiam, Medeam et Circen fuisse dicit. . . . Angitiam vicina Fucino occupasse”), VITREA UNDA the glassy waves of the lake Fucinus, and LIQUIDI LACUS the clear water of the lake Fucinus; and where “te liquidae mirantur aquae” is twin brother of TE LIQUIDI FLEVERE LACUS, both in respect of the prosopopoeia in both, the position in the verse of both, the number of words in both, the measure of both, and the relation of both to the two immediately preceding clauses of the sentences to which they respectively belong. In this, as well as in the similar prosopopoeias, *Ecl. 10. 13*, quoted above; *ibid. 1. 39*:

. . . “ipsae te, Tityre, pinus,
ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant;”

Georg. 4. 461:

. . . “flerunt Rhodopeiae arces,
altaque Pangaen, et Rhesi Mavortia tellus,
atque Getae, atque Hebrus, atque Actias Orithyia,”

our author follows the lead of Moschus, whose very words seem to weep, *Idyll. 3. 1*:

αἰλινα μοι στοναχεῖτε, νάπαι, καὶ Δωρίον ὕδωρ,
καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίετε τὸν ἡμεροεντὰ Βίωνα, &c.

No wail ever came up to that whine—how could Virgil with his stiff inflexible Latin? Even had he had a more flexible instru-

ment, he was himself quite too civilized, too Augusticized, too Napoleonized, too international-exhibitionized, to draw such melting sounds out of it: *ai, oi, ei, ai, ai, oo, ee, oo, oi, ai, oi, oo*. There was no such thing as real weeping in Virgil's days, no more than in ours. The most one dare venture then, as now, was to put a cambric handkerchief to one's eyes.

La Cerda marshals a whole host of Latin examples of this sort of prosopopoeia, as simple and natural as it is beautiful, and to be found growing wild everywhere, even outside the consecrated pale of Greek and Latin. Compare Albanian song on the death of Selman Toto da Praogonates (Camarda, appendix, p. 36);

*κῆξι μᾶλλ'ε, κῆξι φούσα
οὐ βρα Σελμαν Τότο Ρούσα,*

thus translated by Camarda:

"piangete o monti, piangete o campi,
chè è ucciso Selman Toto Rusha."

764-798.

PINGUIS—COLLES

VAR. LECT. (vs. 764).

ET PLACABILIS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* (PLAGABILIS). ■■ ‡. ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 771).

LUMINA ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

LEMINA ■■■ *Rom.* 1473.

The passage is not cited by Servius (cod. Dresd.)

PINGUIS UBI ET PLACABILIS ARA DIANAE (vs. 764).—"PLACABILIS; ac si diceret non qualis ante fuit vel illic vel apud Tauros, humano gaudens cruore," Servius. This explanation might impose upon us and be accepted if the same critic had not given us the same explanation of "pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici," in the ninth Book (vs. 585): "Hi primo humanis hostiis placabantur, postea quibusdam sacris mitigati sunt, et eorum immutata sacrificia. Inde ergo 'placabilis ara'; quia mitigata sunt eorum numina," Servius. It is ~~so~~ highly improbable, first, that Virgil had in his mind with respect to these two so widely different deities a change in their worship, from human to bestial sacrifices; and secondly, that even if he had such change in his mind, he should express it in both cases not merely by the same word "placabilis," but by the same entire phrase "pinguis ubi et placabilis ara," the first of which two adjectives has nothing whatever to do with such a change of sacrifice, **that** I reject the explanations of both passages alike as nugatory, and accept instead Heyne's much more simple and natural "ARA PINGUIS victimis caesis; et PLACABILIS, pro *deae placabilis*," and at 9. 585: "'placabilis ara' quia dii placari possunt et solent victimis, propter quas eadem ara 'pinguis'"—an interpretation in no small degree confirmed by Hom. *Il.* 2. 549:

καθ' ἐν Ἀθηνῆσ' εἰσεν εὖ ἐνι πῖονι νηῶ·
ἐνθαδὲ μιν ταυροῖσι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλασνται
κούροι Ἀθηναίων,

of which Virgil's "pinguis ara" represents the *πῖονι νηῶ*, and Virgil's "placabilis" the *ταυροῖσι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλασνται*.

PLACABILIS.—Not used either here or at 9. 585 in the special and extraordinary sense assigned to it by Servius, but in both places in the ordinary and received sense of the word as used generally by Latin writers. The expression "placabilis ara," *altar that may be placated*, is fully borne out by Ovid, *Met.* 15. 573:

. . . "viridique e cespite factas
placat odoratis herbosas ignibus aras,"

aptly quoted by Gossrau.

TURBATUS DISTRACTUS EQUIS (vs. 767).—Translation of name Hippolytus, vs. 761 above. So Prudent. *Peristeph.* 11. 85 (of Hippolytus martyr) :

“ ille supinata residens cervice : ‘ Quis,’ inquit,
 ‘ dicitur ?’ affirmant, dicier Hippolytum.
 ‘ Ergo sit *Hippolytus*, quatiat turbetque iugales,
 interestque *feris dilaceratus equis*.’ ”

AD SIDERA RURSUS AETHERIA ET SUPERAS CAELI VENISSE SUB AURAS (vv. 767-8).—A very ornate way indeed of expressing the simple thought of *returned to life*, and in the words AD SIDERA AETHERIA exhibiting a laxity of expression scarcely less to be reprehended than that we have already observed in the words “ aethere in alto,” 6. 436, and “ ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum,” 6. 579.

SECRETIS ALMA RECONDIT SEDIBUS (vv. 774-5), theme ; ET NYMPHAE EGERIAE NEMORIQUE RELEGAT, variation.

AEUORE CAMPI EXERCEBAT EQUOS (vv. 781-2), theme ; CURRUQUE IN BELLA RUEBAT, variation.

FILIUS ARDENTES HAUD SECIOUS AEUORE CAMPI EXERCEBAT EQUOS, &c. (vv. 781-2).—HAUD SECIOUS, “ etsi equi a luco parentis arcebantur,” Heyne. “ Etsi propter calamitatem paternam equos nunquam tangere debuerat,” Peerlkamp. I think HAUD SECIOUS refers specially to neither circumstance taken apart from the other, but to the whole history : *although the father had been killed by his horses, and horses had been in consequence excluded from the sacred grove of the mother, yet the son*, &c.

AT LEVEM CLYPEUM SUBLATIS CORNIBUS IO AURO INSIGNIBAT, IAM SETIS OBSITA, IAM BOS (vv. 789-90).—SUBLATIS CORNIBUS, “ sine cornibus, quae inde sublata, i. e., *ablata*,” La Cerda ; an interpretation which is inadmissible inasmuch as in direct contradiction to IAM BOS. The other interpretation is that of Heyne : “ ornate, pro *Io cornuta*.” To which Peerlkamp objects “ Quod nec ipsum esse verum puto. Vacca sublatis cornibus non aliam significat nisi quae cornua irate et hostiliter tollit . . . Et cur Io cornua tolleret, et vacca, et timida, cui additus erat custos

ARGUS?" and proposes to read SUB LATIS CORNIBUS, which he regards to be the Virgilian equivalent for the $\beta\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\omicron\iota\omicron$ of Moschus (*Idyl.* 2). An ingenious proposition, indeed, but not to be adopted, as, independently of its being based solely on conjecture, the breadth of the horns affords but a dull picture in comparison of the lively image presented by the *upraised* head and horns. SUBLATIS CORNIBUS, therefore, *upraised horns*, exactly as Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 851 :

"nunc potes ad Solem *sublato* dicere vultu ;"

id. *Met.* 11. 463 (of Aleyone) : "*sustulit illa humentes oculos.*" The upraised, elevated position of Io's head and horns is precisely that in which the head and horns of a cow are so often represented, as Ovid, *Met.* 3. 20 (of the cow which conducted Cadmus) :

"bos stetit ; et tollens spatiosam cornibus altis
ad caelum *frontem*, mugitibus impulit auras,"

where we have our author's identical word (*tollere*), and where there is nevertheless no threatening. Compare also Sil. 12. 6 :

. . . "cen condita bruma
dum Rhipaea rigent Aquilonis flamina, tandem
evolvit serpens arcano membra cubili,
et splendente die novus emicat, atque coruscum
fert caput, et saniem *sublatis faucibus* efflat,"

where "*sublatis*" implies not threatening, but mere liveliness and exultation.

IAM BOS (vs. 790).—Compare Mosch. *Europ.* 44 (of the basket of Europa) :

$\epsilon\upsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\eta$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\iota\omicron$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\iota\nu\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma$ $\iota\omega$
 $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\pi\omicron\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha$, $\phi\upsilon\eta\eta$ δ' $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$,

Virgil having slightly varied the thought, viz., from *to be for the rest of her life a cow*, into *already at the present moment having undergone her transformation, and being a cow*.

INSEQUITUR NIMBUS PEDITUM (vs. 793), theme; CLIPEATAQUE TOTIS AGMINA DENSANTUR CAMPIS, variation.

SALTUS, TIBERINE, TUOS (vs. 797).—The passes or ravines through which the Tiber flows, the deep valley or basin of the Tiber.

SACRUMQUE NUMICI LITTUS ARANT (vv. 797-8), theme ;
RUTULOSQUE EXERCENT VOMERE COLLES, variation.

804.

AGMEN AGENS EQUITUM ET FLORENTES AERE CATERVAS

AGMEN AGENS EQUITUM, theme ; FLORENTES AERE CATERVAS, variation.

FLORENTES.—“Splendentes, fulgentes,” Heyne, Wagner (1861), Forbiger ; all misled by Servius’s very inaccurate : “Ennius et Lucretius *florens* dicunt omne quod nitidum est ; hoc est secutus Virgilius.” No ; florere is *ανθειν*, and both words, like our own English *to bloom*, *to blow*, *to be in bloom*, *to be in blow*, and *to flourish* preserve in their secondary and derived meaning the allusion to their primary ; smell, if I may use the metaphor, of the flower-garden, and parterre [compare Plaut. *Pers.* 5. 1. 18 (Toxilus presenting a garland to Lemniselene) : “Do hanc tibi florentem florenti”]. Especially used to express (α) the fresh, blooming, flourishing appearance conferred by youth and beauty, as Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 22 (Vulcan to Prometheus pinning him to the rock) :

. . . σταθευτος δ’ ηλιου φοιβη φλογι
χροιας αμειψεις ανθους

[“coloris florem (venustatem) mutabis”] ; Aristoph. *Eccl.* 897 (ed. Dind.) (de puella florida) :

το τρυφερον γαρ εμπεφυκε
τοις απαλοισι μηριοις,
καπι τοις μηλοις [papillis] επαν-
θει•

Ciris, 435 :

“ non me *florentes* aequali corpore Nymphae ;
non metus incensam potuit retinere deorum ; ”

Ovid, *Met.* 9. 435 (Jupiter speaking) :

“ perpetuumque aevi *florem* Rhadamanthus habet ”

[compare the similar use of *θαλλειν*, Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 49 (ed. Boeckh) :

αμμι δ', ω χρυσεα κομα θαλλων, πορε, Λοξια,
τεαισιν αμυλλαισιν
ευνανθεα και Πυθιον [*αλ. Πυθοι*] στεφανον

“ Nobis autem, O aurea coma florens, praebe, Loxia, tuis ex certaminibus floridam etiam Pythiam coronam,” Boeckh], they are applied with scarcely less frequency to (b) the similar flowering, flourishing, gay, gaudy appearance produced by new and fine clothes, as Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 71 (of Paris) :

. . . ελθων δ' εκ Φρυγων ο τας θεας
κρινας οδ', ως ο μυθος ανθρωπων εχει,
Λακεδαιμον', ανθηρος μεν ειματων στολη,
χρυσω τε λαμπρος, βαρβαρω χλιδηματι

Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 6. 24: ωστε ηστραπτε μεν χαλκω ηνθει δε φοινικισι πασα η στρατια. and of course and by natural consequence to (c) the still more gay and flourishing appearance produced by that most picturesque and striking of all kinds of new and fine clothes, new and fine arms, as Attius, quoted by Nonius :

“ aere atque ferro fervere, igni, insignibus
florere ; ”

Claud. 3. *Cons. Honor.* 133 :

“ *fleret cristatis exercitus undique turmis.* ”

Their use is then extended to (d) the expression of any other kind of handsome, rich, or flourishing appearance—to the colours of stained wax, Mart. Capell. *Nupt.* 4 (of Dialectica) : “ in dextera formulae quaedam *florientibus* discolora venustate oeris, solerter effigatae, latentis hami nexu interius tenebantur ; ” to a wall covered with pictures, Philostr. *Imag. proem.* : Ηστραπτο

μεν οὖν [ἡ στοά] καὶ λίθοις, ὅποσους ἐπαινέει τρυφή, μαλιστα δὲ
 ἡνθῇ γραφαῖς, ἐνὴρμίσσμενων αὐτῇ πινακῶν, οὐς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ
 ἀπαθῶς τις συνελέξατο· **to** the rich and flourishing show made
 by fire, lighted lamps, precious stones, Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 7
 (Robur to Vulcan):

το σὸν γὰρ ἀνθος, παντεχνου πυρος σέλας,
 θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὥπασεν,

where the Scholiast explains το σὸν ἀνθος by τὸν σὸν κόσμον,
 and quotes from Homer (not quoted in Seber):

ἀνταρ ἐπεὶ πυρος ἀνθος ἀπέπτατο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ·

Lucret. 4. 452:

“ bina lucernarum *florentia* lumina flammis; ”

Stat. *Theb.* 2. 276: “ arcano *florentes* igne smaragdos; ” *ibid.*
 1. 210 (of the palace of Jove, when the assembly of the gods
 meets in it):

. . . “ radiant maiore sereno
 culmina, et arcano *florentes* lumine postes; ”

to the sea covered with ships, Lucret. 6. 1441:

“ tum mare velivolum *florabat* navibus pandis; ”

M. Cato in *Orat. Dierum dictar. de consulatu suo*: “ mare velis
florere videres ultra angulum Gallicum; ” even **to** the sea en-
 riched with (prankt with, as we might say in English), dis-
 playing, making a great show of the wrecks of ships and the
 carcasses of the drowned, as a victorious general does of the
 spoils of the enemy, Aesch. *Agam.* 658 (ed. Ahrens):

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,
 ὁρώμεν ἀνθ' οὖν πελάγος Αἰγαιὸν νεκροῖς
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικῶν τ' ἐρείπων·

as well as **to** a family made to burgeon with troubles as a
 tree burgeons with blossoms, Aesch. *Sept. adv. Theb.* 951 (ed.
 Ahrens):

ὡ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες
 ποιοῖσι γέ δομοὺς.

[“ heu ! multis miseriis domum replebant ”] ; **and to** the dead

made to bloom, burgeon or flourish by means of funeral laments and dirges, Aesch. *Choeph.* 150 (ed. Ahrens) (Electra to the chorus):

ὑμᾶς δὲ κῶκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος,
παῖνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξαυδόμενας.

[“*paeānem mortui (Agamemnonis) alta voce canentes*”].

FLORENTES AERE therefore is not “*splendentes, fulgentes AERE*,” but *flowering, flourishing, blooming, looking charming with aes*, and the “*catervae*” of Camilla are FLORENTES AERE not at all in the sense in which the “*catervae*” of Pallas, 8. 593, are “*fulgentes aere*,” and in which Pyrrhus, 2. 470, is “*telis et luce coruscus ahena*,” but in the very different sense of *blooming, flourishing-looking, charming with aes*, and so at last we perceive why an expression never so much as even once in the whole course of the work applied to other troops has been applied to the troops of Camilla not only here, but also 11. 433, or, on each of their only two appearances on the stage, viz., not at all as conveying the notion that the troops of Camilla were in any respect more “*fulgentes*” or “*splendentes AERE*” than other troops, but as conveying the notion that their *florere*, their bloom, their finery was not the ordinary *florere*, bloom or finery of their sex, but the manly martial bloom or finery of “*aes*,” a notion which **although** not inevitably, or of necessary consequence conveyed by the expression [for *florere* is applicable also to masculine bloom, as *Georg.* 4. 563 (our author of himself): “*studiis florentem ignobilis oti*,” *Ciris*, 110: “*Minos florebat in armis*,” Eurip. *Hec.* 1192: *Ἐκτορος νηθεῖ δορυ* Claud. 3 *Cons. Honor.* 133:

“*fleret cristatis exercitus undique turmis,
quisque sua te voce canens; praestringit aena
lux oculos, nudique seges Mavortia ferri
ingeminat splendore diem*,”

and especially Claud. in *Prob. et Olybr. Consul.* 18:

“*nec quisquam procerum tentat, licet aere vetusto
floreat, et claro cingatur Roma senatu,
se iactare parem*”

[nobles blooming, or fine, with bronze statues of their ances-

tors]—where, although affording a different picture, we have the very expression of our text, *aere florere*] can **yet** hardly fail to be suggested by the picture of women FLORENTES, blooming, in what it is so little usual for women to bloom in, viz., “aes.” Nor is it in these respects only, however important these respects may be, that FLORENTES AERE is altogether different from “fulgentes,” or “splendentes AERE.” The “catervae” might have been, as they no doubt were, “fulgentes AERE,” “splendentes AERE,” and yet not at all FLORENTES AERE. To be “fulgentes AERE” it was only necessary that their “aes” should shine; to be FLORENTES AERE it was necessary that they should wear or carry it with ease, should be at home and happy in it and with it, and even proud of it. And this is especially the picture which our author wishes to set before us with the expression FLORENTES AERE, viz., that of his amazons not so much “fulgentes AERE” as neither stiff or awkward in “aes,” but on the contrary, well used to it, happy in it, flourishing in it and enjoying it—a notion which, not being contained in “coruscus,” he was obliged in his description of Pyrrhus to supply by an additional word, viz., “exultat,” expressive of the high delight, the exultation of Pyrrhus, in the excitement of the actual fight, exactly as FLORENTES expresses the more tranquil enjoyment of the amazons who, having not yet entered the combat, were enjoying their arms only in anticipation.

After all, let not the reader be too severe upon us poor commentators. Little notion has he how hard is our task, how difficult it is to keep our feet steady and never slip at all on the slippery ground of a poet’s language. Perhaps he will be more inclined to feel for us when I inform him that we are not the only persons who have been blear-eyed enough not clearly to discern at first sight this, I must own it, very obvious metaphor. Even the accomplished Princess of *Love’s Labour Lost*, act 5, sc. 2, required to have it explained and made clear to her royal comprehension :

“PRINCESS. Will they return ?

BOYET. They will, they will, God knows ;

and leap for joy, though they are lame with blows ;

therefore change favours, and when they repair,
blow like sweet roses in this summer air.

PRINCESS. How blow? how blow? speak to be understood.

BOYET. Fair ladies masked are roses in their bud,
dismasked, their damask-sweet commixture shown,
are angels vailing clouds, or roses blown,"

the correctness of which explanation is not to be questioned, as it is the explanation not of a fallible commentator, but—rare felicity for the reader—of the infallible author himself, explaining his own trope, speaking at one and the same time poetry and prose, poetry for his own delight, and prose for the edification, I was going to say, of his readers, but I will confine myself to the strict matter of fact, and say of the more prosaic of his own *dramatis personæ*.

808-817.

INTACTÆ—MYRTUM

INTACTÆ (vs. 808).—"Sciz. a pedibus eius," Donatus. "Intactam segetem non esse ad etymum revocandam, quippe in poeta, per se patet. . . . Etiam in pedestri oratione dicemus, tam leviter aliquem insistere vestigiis, ut vix terram attingat," Heyne. "Quae vix videatur tangi," Forbiger, Wagner (1845, 1848). "Nec segetem tangeret, nec segetem laederet," Peerkamp.

. . . . "auf dem oberen grüne der kaum nur berühreten saatflur flüge sie." (Voss).

This is to confound INTACTÆ with *vix tactae*. INTACTÆ is *wholly untouched, virgin*, and the meaning is not *scarcely touched* (viz., by Camilla), but *wholly untouched*, viz., by the hand of man, i. e. *unreaped, virgin*. Compare Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 4. 61 :

"nec minimum refert, intacta rosaria primus,
an sera carpas paene relictæ manu"

[intact rosebeds, rosebeds from which no roses had yet been culled]. The absurd and general error has been happily avoided by Thiel, and in his edition of 1861 backed out of, *sub silentio*, by Wagner.

Heyne's defence of Camilla's skimming along the tops of the ears of corn without hurting them, and over the tops of the waves without wetting her feet: "velocitatis denotationem, v. 808 sqq. temere reprehendunt viri docti. Nec illa utique convenit nostris sensibus; sed, cum Maro ea uteretur, a vetustate quasi per manus erat tradita; expressit enim, *Il.* 20. 226-229 de equabus Erichthonii:

αι δ' οτε μεν σκιρτων επι ζειδωρον αρουραν,
ακρον επ' ανθερικων καρπον θεον, ουδε κατεκλων'
αλλ' οτε δη σκιρτων επ' ευρεα ρωτα θαλασσης,
ακρον επι ρηγμινος αλος πολιοιο θεεσκον,"

is a weak defence. The defence should have been not that Virgil followed the bad example of Homer, but that Virgil's exaggeration, great as it is, is scarcely half as great as Homer's, the speed of Camilla, represented by the conditionals VOLARET and FERRET ITER (*might or could fly* and *might or could travel*), being only *in posse*, while the speed of Erichthonius's mares represented by the indicatives θεον and θεεσκον (*did run*), is *in esse*. To which better defence, Heyne, had he only sufficiently understood his author, might have added the further defence that not even *in posse* is Camilla's swiftness that which it has been generally and even by himself represented to be, viz., that of flying along the tops of the corn without touching them, but only that of flying along them without injuring them (see above).

For our text compare also Philostr. *Heroica*. (ed. Boisson. p. 50): δραμοντος δε [Πρωτεσιλαου], ασημος η γη' μετεωρος γαρ τις και οιον επικυματιζων αιρεται.

ILLA VEL INTACTAE SEGETIS PER SUMMA VOLARET GRAMINA (vv. 808-9), theme; NEC TENERAS CURSU LAESISSET ARISTAS, variation.

VEL MARE PER MEDIUM FLUCTU SUSPensa TUMENTI FERRET ITER (vv. 810-11), theme; CELERES NEC TINGERET AEQUORE PLANTAS, variation. FLUCTU TUMENTI is the οιδμα of Hom.

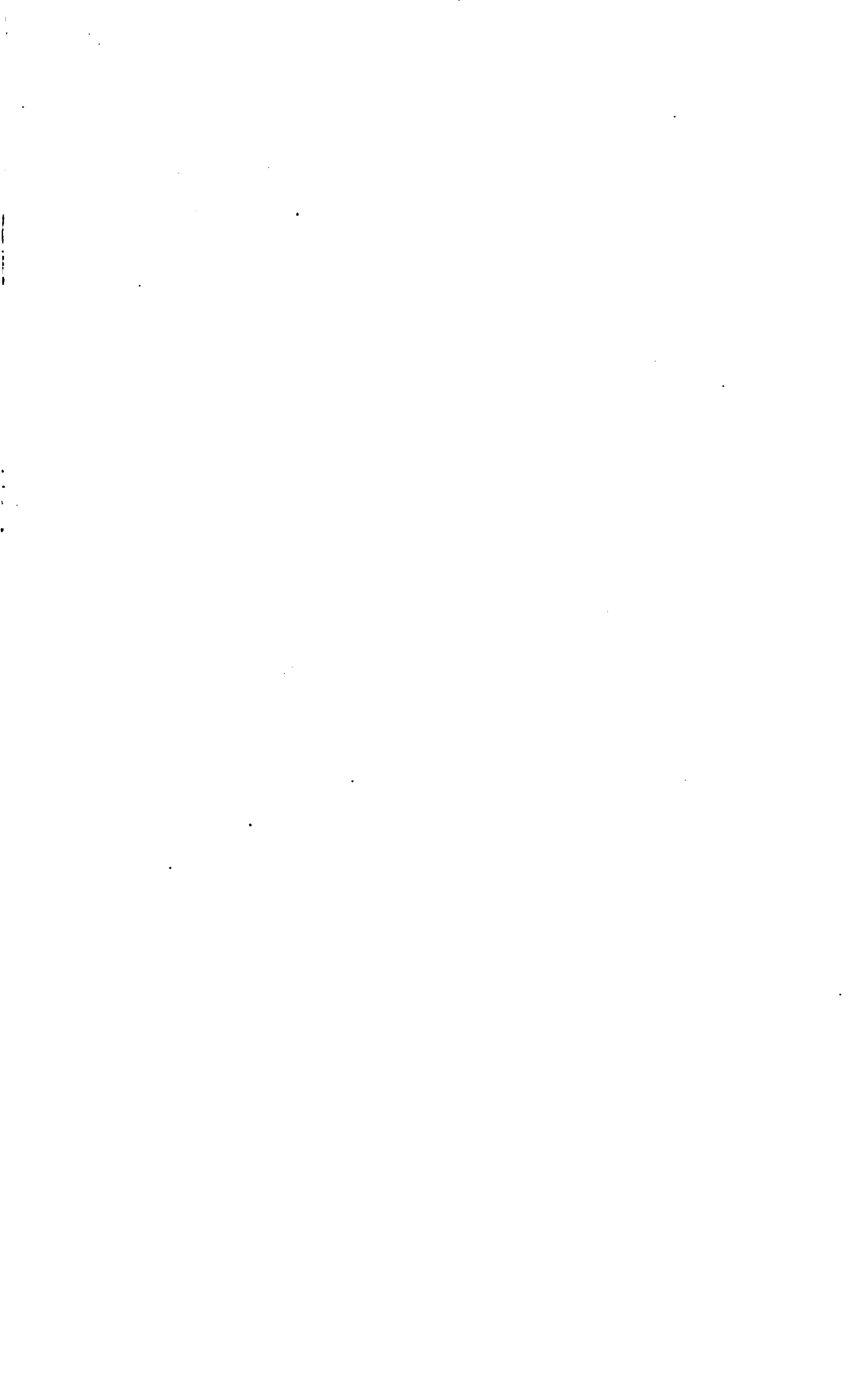
Il. 21. 234, the οἶσμα λῆμνας of Eurip. *Hec.* 446 (ed. Porson), and the αλιον οἶσμα, *ibid.* 631.

ILLAM OMNIS TECTIS AGRISQUE EFFUSA IUVENTUS TURBAQUE
MIRATUR MATRUM (vv. 812-813), theme; ET PROSPECTAT EUN-
TEM, variation.

ET PASTORALEM PRAEFIXA CUSPIDE MYRTUM (vs. 817).—
PASTORALEM, "quia hæc pugnare pastores solent," Servius. No,
but because shepherds used to make their crooks of myrtle. If
they fought with them sometimes, as Statius tells us they did,
Theb. 4. 300:

. . . "hi Paphias myrtos a stirpe recurrant,
et pastorali meditantur praelia trunco,"

it was only by accident, and the myrtle was equally "pastoralis" whether they did or not.



DUBLIN :
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY PONSONBY AND WELDRICK.

AENEIDEA,

OR

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND AESTHETICAL REMARKS

ON THE

AENEIS,

WITH A PERSONAL COLLATION OF ALL THE FIRST CLASS MSS.,
UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED SECOND CLASS MSS., AND ALL THE
PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

BY

JAMES HENRY,

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VOL. III.—(*Continued.*)

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AENEIDEA,

BOOKS VIII. AND IX.

NOTICE.

AFTER the death of Professor DAVIES, we undertook the task of editing the remainder of the *AENEIDEA*. Our work begins at Book IX., vs. 294. We have read the proofs together; but Mr. Purser is mainly responsible for the editing of the remainder of Book IX. and Book XI.; Mr. Palmer for Books X. and XII.

We hope that the work may be finished within a year from the present date.

A. PALMER.

L. C. PURSER.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

June 4, 1889.

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OR

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AENEIDEA,

BOOK VIII.

AENEIDEA.

VIII.

1-8.

UT BELLI SIGNUM LAURENTI TURNUS AB ARCE
EXTULIT ET RAUCO STREPUERUNT CORNUA CANTU
UTQUE ACRES CONCUSSIT EQUOS UTQUE INPULIT ARMA
EXTEMPLO TURBATI ANIMI SIMUL OMNE TUMULTU
CONIURAT TREPIDO LATIUM SAEVITQUE IUVENTUS
EFFERA DUCTORES PRIMI MESSAPUS ET UFENS
CONTEMPTORQUE DEUM MEZENTIUS UNDIQUE COGUNT
AUXILIA ET LATOS VASTANT CULTORIBUS AGROS

UT BELLI SIGNUM, &c., . . . ARMA (vv. 1-3).—In these words, which are with some slight variation a repetition of 7. 637, *et seqq.* :

“ classica iamque sonant, it bello, tessera signum.
hic galeam tectis trepidus rapit, ille frementes
ad iuga cogit equos, clipeumque auroque trilicem
loricam induitur fidoque accingitur ense,”

our author returns to the onward stream of the narrative, interrupted at verse 640 of the preceding Book in order to introduce the long episode or digression of the enumeration of the Latin leaders and their forces.

SIGNUM EXTULIT.—“SIGNUM puto per ipsa illa CORNUA vers. alt. explicari,” Heyne. No; efferre is never anything else than either *to lift out of*, or *to lift up*, *raise on high*, and especially a standard, light, or other visible signal. Compare 2. 256: “*flammas cum regia puppis extulerat*,” where see Rem. If Virgil had wished to express the meaning assigned to him by Heyne he would have said, not SIGNUM EXTULIT, but, as 3. 519, *signum dedit*.

UTQUE ACRES CONCUSSIT EQUOS, UTQUE IMPULIT ARMA.—“Simplicissimum est de apparatu bellico accipere: *ubi Turnus EQUOS et ARMA excitavit, protulit, in medium produxit: EXTEMPIO totum Latium ad bellum est inflammatum*,” Heyne. True on the whole, but not adequate. CONCUSSIT and IMPULIT signify a great deal more than “*excitavit, protulit, in medium produxit*,” signify the *violence* and *impetuosity* with which Turnus “*excitavit, protulit, in medium produxit*,” both express giving a violent impulse to, so as to set into energetic motion or action, as Ovid, *Met.* 7. 200 (Medea speaking):

. “*concussa*que sisto,
stantia concutio cantu freta;”

Stat. 7. 315:

“Asopos genuisse datur, dignusque videri
tunc pater, abruptis cum torrentissimis exit
pontibus, aut natae tumidus cum virginis ultor
flumina *concussit*, generum indignata Tonantem;”

Lucan. 7. 16:

“et quaecunque fugax Sertorius *impulit arma* ;”

id. 1. 574:

. “Thebanam qualis Agaven
impulit, aut saevi contorsit tela Lycurgi
Eumenis ;”

Aen. 4. 594:

“ferre citi flammas, date tela, *impellite* remos;”

Ammian. 27. 3: “Valens . . . *arma concussit* in Gothos;” and above all, and exactly parallel to our text, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 142:

. “prodit Bellum, quod pugnat utroque,
sanguineaue manu crepitantia *concentit arma*.”

If, instead of *concussit* and *impulit*, Virgil had said *movit*, as 12. 6: "*tum demum movet arma leo*;" and *Georg.* 1. 509:

"*hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum*,"

the explanation of Heyne had been sufficient. But Virgil wished to express something more than the mere making of war—wished to express the violence, suddenness and impetuosity with which it was made, and instead of the usual, and therefore tame, word *movit*, used the strongest words he could find, *CONCUSSIT* and *IMPULIT*. Thus the four verbs of the protasis *EXTULIT*, *STREPUNT*, *CONCUSSIT*, *IMPULIT*, no less than the three times repeated *UT* prepare for, and correspond to, the great effect described in the apodosis,

EXTEMPLO TURBATI ANIMI; SIMUL OMNE TUMULTU
CONIURAT TREPIDO LATIUM, SANCTUSQUE IUVENTUS
EFFERA,

where every single word is strong and expressive—nay, the strongest and most expressive which could be found.

Equos and *arma* jointly represent *bellum*, being the two principal requisites necessary to be provided before making war: these provided, the belligerents were in a fit state for the *pugna*, or actual battle, which we therefore find sometimes added to *equos* and *arma* in order to complete the idea of *bellum*, as 9. 777:

"*semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat*;"

and see Rem. on "*caput acris equi*," 1. 447. The entire force and excellence of the passage perishes no less if with the "*quidam*" of Servius we understand the *equos* and *arma* of Turnus's own horses and arms, than if, with Servius himself, we conceive Turnus to have gone into the *sacrarium* and actually given a push with his hand to certain *ancilia* preserved there. It is just possible, indeed, that the expressions *movere arma* and *impellere arma* may have had some such origin, but even if they had, there is certainly no allusion at all to the custom in our text, *impellere arma* being no more than an extensive form of the more ordinary expression *movere arma*,

itself an expression precisely of the same kind and force as the ordinary expressions, *movere opus*, *movere fata*, *movere cantus*, *movere incendia*, &c.

Nothing can be more spirited than this commencement of the eighth Book; this hoisting of the signal of war from the top of the citadel of Laurentum; this pealing of the trumpets; this commotion of men, horses and arms: all the more striking when taken in contrast with the sweet, soft, and tender peacefulness of the commencement of the preceding Book. How masterly the hand which drew two pendants so different, so entirely opposite in every respect, yet at the same time equally perfect!

EXTEMPO TURBATI ANIMI (vs. 4) *theme*; SIMUL OMNE TUMULTU CONIURAT TREPIDO LATIUM, *first variation*; SÆVITQUE IUVENTUS EFFERA, *second variation*.

DUCTORES PRIMI (vs. 6).—*Principal leaders, principal among the leaders*; as 2. 263 (where see Rem.), “*primus Machaon*,” *Machaon principal among the chiefs mentioned*.

CONTEMPTOR DEUM.—Not the theoretical disbeliever in the existence of the gods, but the practical under-rater, despiser, contemner of the gods, θεων ουκ αλεγων, Hom. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 278:

ιξες δ' ες φλογων ανδρων πολιν υβριστααν,
οι Διος ουκ αλεγοντες επι χθονι ραιετασκαν
εν καλη βησση, Κηφισσιδος εγγυθι λιμνης.

This is the only meaning of *contemptor*, and to interpret it *infidel*, or *unbeliever in the existence of the gods*, is either to mistake the meaning of the Latin word *contemptor*, or knowingly to pervert the meaning, for a religious purpose, viz., in order to throw discredit on unbelief by representing it as the companion of cruelty. Compare 9. 205: “*animus lucis contemptor*” [*not disbeliever in the existence of life, but despising life, caring little for life*]. Stat. *Silv.* 2. 3. 70:

“*idei auri facilis contemptor, et optimus idem
promere divitias, opibusque immittere lucem*”

[*not disbeliever in the existence of gold, but despiser of, caring*

little for, gold]. Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 5 (of Helvidius Priscus): "*opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.*" Stat. *Theb.* 11. 513:

"it praeceps sonipes, *strictas contemptor habenas,*
arvae sanguineo scribit rutilantia gyro"

[not a disbeliever in the reins, but contemning the reins, and therefore disobeying the reins]. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 170:

"*contemptor ferri, nulloque forabilis ictu*
Cycnus"

[not disbelieving in iron weapons (for he used iron weapons himself), but setting iron weapons at defiance]. Stat. *Theb.* 6. 542 (of Leander embroidered on a garment):

. . . "*Phryxæ natat hic contemptor ephebus*
aequoris, et picta translucet caeruleus unda"

[not disbeliever in the existence of the Hellespont, but contemner of its dangers, of the harm it might do him]. It was not infidelity in the modern acceptance of that word, viz., a theoretical disbelief in the existence of gods, but want of respect for gods whose existence was never called in question, which was associated in the opinion of the Greeks and Romans with cruelty and fierceness of character.

Exactly as our modern offence, contempt of court, consists neither in disbelieving the existence of the court, nor in entertaining a mean opinion of the court, but in manifesting a contempt of court by disobedience of its orders, so the offence of Mezentius consisted neither in denying the existence of the gods, nor in entertaining a mean opinion of the gods, but in manifesting contempt for the gods by an habitual disregard of their commands. See Rem. on "*non temnere divos,*" 6. 620.

UNDIQUE COGUNT AUXILIA (VV. 7, 8), theme; ET LATOS VASTANT CULTORIBUS AGROS, variation.

VASTANT.—*Render them a waste* (*vastum*), i. e., a place where nobody dwells (and *quaere* whether the sea is not called *vastum mare* in the same sense). Compare *Georg.* 1. 507: "*squalent abductis arva colonis;*" *Caes. Bell. Gall.* 8. 24:

"Fines eius *vastare* civibus, aedificiis, pecore;" Paulinus, *S. Martin.* 4 (of the country people crowding to see Saint Martin):

"omnes denudat vacuos cultoribus agros,
gloria tanta viri."

14-46.

DARDANIO—LABORUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 14).

DARDANIO ■ *Röm., Pal., Med., Ver.* ■■‡. ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

DARDANIUM ■■■ *Misc. Obs.* 4, tom. 2, p. 380.

QUID STRUAT HIS COEPTIS (vs. 15), theme; QUEM EVENTUM PUGNAE CUIAT, variation.

MAGNO CURARUM FLUCTUAT AESTU (vs. 19), theme; ANIMUM NUNC HUC CELEREM, NUNC DIVIDIT ILLUC, first variation; IN PARTES RAPIT VARIAS, PERQUE OMNIA VERSAT, second variation; this second variation again being divisible into sub-theme, IN PARTES RAPIT VARIAS, and sub-variation, PER OMNIA VERSAT. See Rem. on the same words, 4. 285-6.

SICUT AQUAE TREMULUM LABRIS UBI LUMEN ALENIS SOLE REPERCUSSUM AUT RADIANTIS IMAGINE LUNAE OMNIA PERVOLITAT LATE LOCA (vv. 22-24).—*Like the light which is reflected from a basin of water on which the sun or moon is shining.* Such is the substance of the thought, and no thought can be more plain or intelligible, no picture more familiar to every reader. But it would not be Virgil's thought or Virgil's picture if there were not a difficulty somewhere in the expression, and the reader asks: why is the sun simply SOLE, the moon, IMAGINE LUNAE? Is the moon more an image than the sun? A question to which

Servius answers : yes ; the moon receiving her light from the sun is properly an image, an image or reflection of the sun : “ Non *lunam*, sed *imaginem* dixit LUNÆ, quā a sole lumen accipere manifestum est ”—an explanation with which I think few readers will be satisfied. The next explanation is Heyne’s : “ In IMAGINE LUNÆ argutantur interpretes ; est ea pro ipsa luna, cuius sane imago in aquae superficiem incidit ab eaque redditur ; ” i. e., IMAGINE LUNÆ is “ luna ipsa,” the moon being called IMAGINE, or the term IMAGINE being applied to the moon, because the moon’s image falls on and is reflected from the water, a confusion hardly to be equalled elsewhere in this generally explicit commentator. And last of all comes Forbiger’s : “ Non simpliciter pro ipsa luna, sed vere de imagine lunae cogitandum, quae in aquae superficie conspicitur,” in which, although there is no confusion, it is nevertheless difficult to acquiesce, because it is not likely so good a painter as Virgil would have thus drawn off our attention from the main subject of his picture, the light reflected from the water to the ceiling, and fixed it on the less important, wholly subsidiary object, the image in the water ; in other words, that Virgil would have descended to the minutiae that the light which danced on the ceiling was the reflexion of an image in the water, which image in the water was in its turn the reflexion of the sun or moon shining on the water. I therefore understand IMAGINE LUNÆ, as I believe it was understood, though so confusedly explained, by Heyne, to be a mere equivalent or synonym for *luna*, exactly as Ovid, *Met.* 7. 179 :

“ tres aberant noctes ut cornua tota coirent
efficerentque orbem. postquam plenissima fulsit
ac solida terras spectavit *imagine lunae* ; ”

Petron. Arbiter. *Anthol. Lat.* 172. 6 (the witch speaking) :

“ *Lunae* descendit *imago*
carminibus deducta meis ; ”

in both which places “ *imago lunae* ” can be only the moon itself, the orb of the moon as it appears in the sky, the image presented to the mind of the observer by the moon ; in other words the moon itself regarded as an image, shape, or form.

Compare Ovid, *Mét.* 15. 785 (of the omens preceding the assassination of Caesar):

“*Phœbi quoque tristis imago
lurida sollicitis praebebat lumina terris;*”

ibid. 14. 768:

“*qualis ubi oppositas nitidissima solis imago
evicit nubes, nullaue obstante reluxit;*”

in both which examples “*imago*” is applied to the sun in the identical sense in which it is applied in our text to the moon, viz., in the sense of *shape, form, outward aspect*. This being so, viz., *imago* in the sense of *shape, form, outward aspect* [being equally applicable to sun and moon], it follows that our author might equally well, so far as “*imago*” was concerned, have said, *luna re-percussum aut radiantis imagine solis*, and that if he was decided not to say so, but to say rather—

SOLE REPERCUSSUM AUT RADIANTIS IMAGINE LUNAE,

he was decided not by any unfitness of the expression *imagine solis*, but, first, by the measure of his verse, which allowed him to say SOLE REPERCUSSUM, and did not allow him to say *luna re-percussum*; and, secondly, by the circumstance that the sun, being more important than the moon, not only should have the precedence, but could better do without the ornaments IMAGINE and RADIANTIS; in other words: SOLE, alone, first word of the verse, was a perfect counterpoise for RADIANTIS IMAGINE LUNAE, whereas *luna* alone, first word of the verse, had been over-balanced and, if I may so say, eclipsed by *radiantis imagine solis*. “*Imago*,” in the sense of *form, figure, shape*, is thus added to “*luna*” at the end of the verse, exactly as the same word, in the same sense, is added to Adrastus, 6. 479:

“*hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclytus armis
Parthenopæus et Adrasti pallentis imago;*”

and exactly as “*forma*” and “*formæ*” in the same sense are added at the end of the respective verses to “*tricorpor umbra*,” 6. 286:

“*Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque bifformes,
et centungeminus Briareus, ac bellua Lernæ
horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones, Harpyiæque et forma tricorporis umbræ;*”

and to "magni lupi," 7. 18: "*formae magnorum ululare luporum*," the addition being made in all the places alike, for the sake on the one hand of convenience of versification, and on the other of richness and variety. See Rem. on "*formae luporum*," 7. 18.

RADIANTIS LUNAE.—Not at all because the moon was more radiant than the sun, or more deserving of an ornamental epithet, but because the ornamental epithet was more required by an object not only in itself inferior, but occupying an inferior position in the verse.

The Apollonian origin of the image in vv. 22-24 has been pointed out by Heyne, and is sufficiently well known. Less well known is the repetition of it, Aristaen. 2. 5: Ποικίλα της διανοίας επεκπηδα μοι κινηματα, καθαπερ αιγλη τις ηλιου παλλεται συχα περι τοιχον εξ υδατος ανταγωγουσα κατα σκαφιδος η λεβητος κεχυμενου, και αστατω φορα την ευκίνητον συστροφην απεικονιζεται των υδατων.

ÆTHERIS AXE (vs. 28).—See Rem. on "*caeli axem*," 6. 791.

TUM SIC AFFARI (vs. 35), theme; CURAS HIS DEMERE DICTIS, variation.

TROIANAM EX HOSTIBUS URBEM QUI REVEHIS NOBIS (vv. 36-7), theme; ÆTERNAQUE PERGAMA SERVAS, variation. REVEHIS, *bringest home*; Troy having been originally Italian; see 3. 167.

HIC TIBI CERTA DOMUS; CERTI, NE ABSISTE, PENATES (vs. 39), theme and variation embodied in one.

TUMOR OMNIS ET IRAE (vs. 40).—See Rem. on 10. 387.

LITTOREIS INGENS INVENTA SUB ILICIBUS SUS, TRIGINTA CAPITUM. FETUS ENIXA, IACEBIT (vv. 43, 44).—Festus says: "*Confeta sus dicebatur, quæ cum omni fetu adhibebatur ad sacrificium.*"

HIC LOCUS URBIS ERIT, REQUIES EA CERTA LABORUM (vs. 46), theme and variation embodied in one.

47-62.

EX QUO—PERSOLVES

EX QUO TER DENIS URBEM REDEUNTIBUS ANNIS ASCANIUS CLARI CONDET COGNOMINIS ALBAM (vv. 47, 48).—"Ex quo, per latinitatem ita accipere oportet, ut Aeneas requiem habiturus esset condito Lavinio, sed postquam etiam condita esset Alba," Peerlkamp. Very strictly interpreted, the words do, indeed, present the meaning, but the meaning so presented is not the meaning intended by the author, which is, on the contrary: *ex quo tempore*. *In thirty years, counting from the time when such portent shall be presented to you, or ex quo portento, in thirty years counting from such portent (i.e., from the date of such portent) Ascanius shall build a city and, in memory of the portent, call it Alba.*

CLARI COGNOMINIS ALBAM.—"Quod album est, est clarum, ergo Alba habet cognomen clarum, albi nempe coloris, qui erat in sue," Peerlkamp. A mere fancy, as it seems to me, of the commentator. "Clarum" is here, as so often elsewhere, *renowned, illustrious*. Compare l. 554: "Troianoque a sanguine *clarus* Acestes."

NUNC QUA RATIONE, QUOD INSTAT, EXPEDIAS VICTOR, PAUCIS, ADVERTE, DOCEBO (vv. 49, 50).—"DOCEBO QUA RATIONE NUNC EXPEDIAS; NON NUNC DOCEBO," Peerlkamp. No, no; NUNC marks the transition to a new subject, exactly as 4. 115:

"nunc qua ratione quod instat,
conferri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo,"

where, as in our text, the structure is "nunc docebo." In like manner we say at the present day: *and now (that matter having been settled) I will tell you how you are to proceed.*

QUI REGEM EVANDRUM COMITES, QUI SIGNA SECUTI (vs. 52),
theme and variation embodied in one.

HOS CASTRIS ADHIBERE SOCIIS (vs. 56), theme; ET FOEDERA IUNGE, variation.

RECTO FLUMINE (vs. 57).—*Right up the river, along the river.* Compare Manil. 3. 374:

. . . "nam quisquis spectat ab omni,
dimidium e toto mundum videt, orbe rotundi
pars latet inferior; neque enim circumvenit illum
recta acies, mediaque tenus distinguitur alvo"

[the right onward sight of the eye, the eye looking forward in a straight line]. Id. 4. 282:

"iam huc atque illuc agilem convertere clavum,
et frenare ratem, *fluctusque effindere rectos*"

[to plough the wave lying in a right line before the ship, not breasting the wave, but running along it, the ship's length and the wave's length being parallel]. Lycophr. *Cassandra*, 12, ορθη κελευθω. Lucian, *de navigio*. 9: τουντευθεν δε απαξ της ορθης εκπεσοντας. See Rem. on 6. 900.

RIPIS ET RECTO FLUMINE (vs. 57), i. e., *rectis* RIPIS ET RECTO FLUMINE.

MIHI VICTOR HONOREM PERSOLVES (vv. 61-2).—Compare the words of the oracle at Delphi, apud Liv. 5. 16 (ed. Walker): "Bello perfecto, donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato."

62-65.

EGO SUM PLENO QUEM FLUMINE CERNIS
STRINGENTEM RIPAS ET PINGUIA CULTA SECANTEM
CAERULEUS THYBRIS CAELO GRATISSEMUS AMNIS
HIC MIHI MAGNA DOMUS CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 65.)

L

MAGNA . . . CELSIS **II** *Rom.*, *Med.* (CAESIS, with the A crossed out). **III** §.

IIII *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Haupt; Ribb.

CERTA . . . CELSIS **II** *Pal.*

[punct.]

MAGNA DOMUS, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS, EXIT. ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Haupt; Ribb.

MAGNA DOMUS, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT. ■■■ P. Manut.; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Lad.

MAGNA DOMUS CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT. ■■■ La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670).

PINGUIA CULTA SECANTEM.—The CULTA through which the Tyber flows are with the greater propriety said to be PINGUIA, inasmuch as rivers flowing through level grounds are apt to fatten them. Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 451 (ed. Porson):

η Φθιάδος, ενθα καλλισ-
των υδατων πατερα
φασιν Απιδανον γυναι λικαινειν.

Accordingly the Eridanus also, *Georg.* 4. 372, flows through "pinguia culta," i. e., through cultivated grounds made rich by itself,

"Eridanus, quo non alius per *pinguia culta*
in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis;"

and 9. 31, the stream of the Nile is styled "pinguis," i. e., *fattening*, or *which makes the lands through which it flows fat*: "pingui flumine Nilus;" and *Georg.* 2. 184, this pinguescence of the ground well watered by rivers is described and explained at full:

"at quae pinguis humus dulcique uligine laeta,
quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus—
qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus
dispicere; *huc* summis *liquantur* rupibus *amnes*,
felicemque trahunt linum."

CAERULEUS THYBRIS.—Nibby (*Roma nell' anno 1838*, vol. 1, p. 4), speaking of the Tiber, says: "Albula fu appellato in origine dal colore biancastro tendente al *ceruleo* che ha presso Roma, quando non venga intorbidato dalle pioggie;" but I have never seen the Tiber either in the neighbourhood of Rome or between Rome and the sea, of any other colour than muddy, slightly yellowish brown. In Tuscany only, high above Rome,

does it at all deserve the epithet *CABRULUS*. Whether the epithet was more suitable in Virgil's days than now it is hard to say, but most probably it was not, and we are to regard it rather as the offspring of the Roman's partiality for everything Roman.

HIC MIHI MAGNA DOMUS, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS, EXIT.—“*Omnes interpretes hinc se expedire nequeunt. Deinde quid hoc? HIC EXIT MAGNA DOMUS. Nugæ. Lege escit, ἀρχαῖως, ut fuat, olli.*—bene autem *escit*, i. e., *erit*; nam Roma domus fluvii nondum erat,” Faber. On which comment of Faber's, Heinsius, without proposing a better, observes: “*Ingeniose profecto; utinam et vere!*” “*Hic*, i. e., in Italia, quam ego seco, *MIHI ERIT DOMUS MAGNA*, i. e., Roma, quæ omnibus *URBIBUS* futura *CAPUT*,” La Cérda. “*Circa has easdem oras surget aliquando magna urbs, Roma*,” Heyne. “*Significatur Roma; EXIT pro exhibit*,” Wagner. (*Virg. Br. En.*)

“gross hier steigt mein haus, den erhabenen städten ein haupt, auf.” (Voss.)

“*Roma, quæ futura est aliarum magnarum urbium CAPUT et princeps*, wie schon Lambinus zu *Hor. Od. 1. 1. 22*, es fasst,” Thiel. It is hardly possible to imagine an interpretation more remote from the truth. Tiberinus is not speaking of Rome, is not prophesying about the future; he is speaking of himself and of the present time and place: *Ego sum*, etc.: *I am the river god, TIBERINUS, residing here where you have arrived. My stream flows down from a country full of stately cities. As much as to say: This Hesperia is neither a small and insignificant, nor a desert uninhabited country. It is not small and insignificant, for it is watered by this great river of which I am the divinity; it is not desert and uninhabited, for further inland it is full of stately cities.*

HIC MIHI DOMUS.—*Here is my habitation*, meaning not *this river is my habitation*, but *this country in which you have arrived, this Hesperia, is my habitation*. This and no other is the meaning of *HIC* in this place, because this and no other is its meaning in the exactly corresponding passage, verse 39, above, “*hic tibi certa domus*,” explained in the immediately preceding line by the words “*solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis*.” *Hesperia* is the

domus of Tiberinus in the same way and in the same sense as the island off the coast of Sicily—

“ insula Sicaniū iuxta latus Aëliamque
erigitur Liparen ”—

is the house of Vulcan, “ Vulcani domus,” vs. 422; in the same sense as Sicily itself is the “ domus ” of Ceres, Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 419:

“ terra tribus scopulis vastam procurrit in aequor
Trinacria; a positu nomen adepta loci.
grata domus Cereri. multas ea [al. ibi] possidet urbes; ”

and in the same sense as the wood in which Hylas is lost is the “ domus ” of Hylas, Val. Flacc. 4. 26: “ hoc nemus, hæc fati mihi iam domus.”

MAGNA DOMUS.—MAGNA, because Hesperia is *magna* (7. 4); as if he had said, *this great Hesperia is my habitation*.

Caput, as applied to a river, is most usually the source or spring of the river, and has been so used by our author himself when speaking elsewhere of the Tiber, as *Georg.* 4. 368:

“ et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus,
unde pater Tiberinus.”

If CAPUT is used here also in this its strict sense, CELSIS URIBUS must be regarded as in the dative case, and the sense must be *my spring issues forth, viz., out of the ground, to lofty cities, i. e., in the neighbourhood of lofty cities; in other words, there are lofty cities in that part of the country in which I have my source; and this interpretation derives a strong confirmation from the reply of Aeneas which makes special mention of the spring of the Tiber:*

QUO TE CUNQUE LACUS

FONTE TENET, QUOCUNQUE SOLO PULCHERRIMUS EXIS.

At other times, however, caput, as applied to a river, has a much wider sense, embraces all that part of the stream which is near the source, as contradistinguished from that part which is near the sea, as *Sil.* 3. 447:

“ aggeribus caput Alpinis et rupe nivali
prosilit in Celtas, ingentemque extrahit amnem
spumanti Rhodanus proscindens gurgite campos,
ac propere in pontum lato ruit incitus alveo,”

where “ caput ” is not the source of the Rhone, but all that part

of the Rhone which has not yet left the Alps, which is still flowing among the Alps, viz., all that part of the Rhone above the lake of Geneva, and which only in a very wide sense is the caput of the river. If it is in this sense our author employs CAPUT in our text, and the source of the Tiber is not meant, but the upper part of the river as contradistinguished from the part near the sea, then CELSIS URBIBUS must be understood to be in the ablative case, and the sense to be *the upper part of my stream comes out from lofty cities*, i. e., *from a land full of lofty cities*, CELSIS URBIBUS depends on the EX of EXIT, and corresponds in every respect to the “aggeribus Alpinis” and “rupe nivali” of Silius, and EXIT is applied to the issuing forth not of the river’s spring from the ground, but of the river itself from Etruria (“De Tuscia quam illis multum constat floruisse temporibus,” Servius). If the former explanation be adopted, Aeneas in his reply uses EXIT in the precise sense in which it is here used by Tiberinus, and the FONTE, LACUS and SOLO of Aeneas’s speech are the CAPUT of Tiberinus’s. If the latter explanation be preferred, Aeneas does not so strictly confine himself to the thought of Tiberinus, and instead of speaking as Tiberinus had spoken of the country out of which Tiberinus flows, varies the thought so far as to speak of the country in which Tiberinus rises, the same country and the same river being all the while meant by both speakers. In favour of the latter explanation is the almost perpetual junction of exire with the ablative case no less by Virgil himself—and so near as the very reply of Aeneas: QUOCUNQUE SOLO PULCHERRIMUS EXIS—than by all other authors, as Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 709: “Mediis altaribus anguis exit.” The description which Tiberinus gives of himself to Aeneas in the words CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT, in whichever of their two possible senses those words be taken, has a parallel, as exact as it is possible for the parallel between a river and a lake to be, in the description which the supposed Thrasymenus gives of himself to Hannibal, Sil. 4. 738:

“nobis persolves meritos securus honores:
namque ego sum, *celsis* quem *cinctum montibus* ambit
Tmolo missa manus, stagnis Thrasymenus opacis.”

Nor can anyone well doubt that Silius when writing these words had before him and copied as closely as the difference between Thrasymentus and Tiber permitted, our author's:

MIHI VICTOR HONOREM
 PERSOLVES. EGO SUM PLENO QUEM FLUMINE CERNIS
 STRINGENTEM RIPAS, ET PINGUIA CULTA SECANTEM

 HIC MIHI MAGNA DOMUS, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT.

In whichever sense, too, the words be taken, the representation which Tiber gives of the upper part of his stream is in the most perfect harmony with what is stated of it by various authors, *ex. gr.* by Silius, 8. 454, where, speaking of the Umbri, he says:

“sed pater ingenti medios illabitur amne
 Albula, et admota perstringit moenia ripa;”

as well as with the fact of the Tiber's coming down from Tuscany and being properly a Tuscan river—see Sil. 13. 4 (of Hannibal):

“castra locat, nulla laedens ubi gramina ripa
 Turia deducit tenuem sine nomine rivum,
 et tacite *Tusci* inglorius affluit *undis*,”

where “*Tusci undis*” is not, as understood by Nibby, *Dentorni de Roma*, 1, p. 12, the Tuscan side of the Tiber, but the Tuscan waters, *i. e.*, the Tiber.

CELSIS URBIBUS.—It had not been enough to speak of the land alone. That might have been an unimproved, uninhabited desert. As evidence that it was not, Tiberinus adduces its “*cel-sae urbes*.” This is **not only** according to usual custom (compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 419, quoted above:

“terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in aequor
 Trinacris; a posito nomen adepta loci;
 grata domus Cereri. *multas ea [al. ibi] possidet urbes*,”

Also *Aen.* 3. 106 (Anchises speaking of Crete and recommending it to Aeneas as a fit place for settling in, on the very grounds on which the Tiber recommends Hesperia):

“centum *urbes* habitant magnas, uberrima regna”

—as like as the differences of the circumstances and the speaker permit to

HIC MIHI MAGNA DOMUS, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT ;

also 6. 92 :

“ quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris *urbes* ! ”

where the cities of Hesperia are again spoken of and set before the eye of Aeneas by the prophecy of the Sibyl) ~~but~~ in the strictest accordance with the account given by historians of the greatness of ancient Tuscany, as Liv. 5. 33 : “ Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento ; quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum mare, ab Hadria, Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes. Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Hadriaticum vocant. Ii in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere *urbibus duodenis terras*.” Compare the account given by Ammian. 15. 11. of the Garonne ; “ A Pyrenaeis oriens collibus, postque *oppida multa* transursa in oceano delitescens ; ” and (27. 4) of the Ister : “ Qua Romanum caespitem lambit, *urbibus multis* et castris contiguus et castellis.”

CELSIS.—“ *Sitis in collibus*,” Wagn. (*Praest.*) To be sure, if *domus* be understood, as it has been understood by the same critic, to be “ antrum in quo habitat Tiberinus,” for in that case high-situated cities might contrast as well with the “ antrum Tiberini,” low down near the mouth of the river, as they might agree well with the situation of the source high up the country. But *domus* is, as I have already shown, not the “ antrum Tiberini,” but Hesperia, and not merely Hesperia, but *magna* Hesperia (*MAGNA DOMUS* ; see Rem.) ; and it is not lofty situation or situation on hills that this epithet *MAGNA* suggests, but grandeur, dignity, and importance. In this sense, therefore, and not in the sense of *loftily situated*, I understand the epithet here applied to the cities of Etruria, an epithet exactly corresponding to ‘ *magnas*,’ the epithet applied to the cities of Crete, 3. 106. Compare Propert. 3. 9 :

“ *celsaeque Romanis decerpta palatia tauris*
ordiar, et caeso moenia firmæ Remo ; ”

where “*celsa*” is to be understood in the same manner, viz., as signifying moral, not physical, elevation, and for a similar reason, because it is indifferent to the thought, whether the “*palatia*” were loftily situated or not, inasmuch as cattle graze equally on high grounds and low; but it is not indifferent to the thought whether the “*palatia*” were august or not, because cattle less frequently graze in august places than in mean and lowly.

EXIT.—*Exire* is constantly used by Virgil when speaking of rivers. See Aeneas’s reply below, QUOCUNQUE SOLO PULCHERRIMUS *EXIS*; *Georg.* 1. 116:

. . . “*incertis si mensibus amnis abundans
exit, et obducto late tenet omnia limo;*”

Aen. 2. 497:

. . . “*aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles.*”

It remains still to be observed (1), that the passage being thus understood, there is not merely an intimate connexion but the most perfect harmony between the two clauses of which it consists, the land being first spoken of generally, as a great land, and then this greatness explained by the grandeur of its cities. The second or concluding clause of the sentence, CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT, is thus according to our author’s usual manner the complement of the first or commencing clause. (2), that if the sense of the passage had been that assigned to it generally by the commentators, the epithet “*celsus*,” very improper to apply to the inferior or subordinate cities, should have been applied to the superior or commanding city, and our author would have written not CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS, but *celsum* CAPUT URBIBUS, the reading actually proposed by Peerlkamp. (3), that the speech of Tiberinus divides itself into four heads or topics: first, the exordium or address to Aeneas, vv. 36-41; second, the omen and prophecy, vv. 42-49; third, instructions to Aeneas what he was to do, vv. 49-62; and last, the short statement concerning the person who thus took upon himself to advise and instruct Aeneas, viz., that he was Tiberinus, the divinity of the river Aeneas saw before him, a river flowing

through a great country full of flourishing cities. **And** (4), that the structure being not DOMUS EXIT, but DOMUS EST, the comma should be removed from URBIBUS, and a semicolon placed, instead of the comma, at DOMUS. Thus :

HIC MIHI MAGNA DOMUS ; CELSIS CAPUT URBIBUS EXIT.

74-89.

QUO—ABESSET

QUO TE CUNQUE LACUS FONTE TENET (vv. 74, 75), theme ; QUOCUNQUE SOLO PULCHERRIMUS EXIS, variation.

LACUS.—“LACUS pro ipso amne,” Heyne, Forbiger. “LACUS, quia putabant fontes ex lacubus subterraneis provenire,” Wagner (*Praest.*). I think not, but specially the pool, pond, or basin of water, which the spring forms exactly where it rises, and the overflow of which constitutes the river. See Rem. on l. 249. QUO TE CUNQUE LACUS FONTE TENET, *wherever is the original basin of thy spring, the basin formed by thy spring ; QUOCUNQUE SOLO PULCHERRIMUS EXIS, wherever thou issuest out of the ground, the latter sentence being explanatory of the former.* From the great stress (as shown by the repetition of the word QUOCUNQUE) which Aeneas puts upon these words, it is plain, if from nothing else, that they contain a reference to something which had preceded, viz., to the last words of Tiber’s address, and that therefore the interpretation which I have above given of those words, Rem. on vs. 65, is correct. “No matter where your source is,” says Aeneas, “whether in a great country or not, no matter whether there are great cities on your banks or not, I will always be grateful to you, always honour you with presents on account of your tender sympathy with my sufferings.” Observe how parallel the train of thought runs to the train of thought in his thanks to Dido, l. 613 :

“semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt,
quae me cunque vocant terrae ;”

the very same "honos," the very same "quocunque." If there are no "dona" in the case of Dido, it is only because "dona" were then out of the question, Aeneas being then a shipwrecked sailor—"grates persolvere dignas non opis nostrae."

EXIS.—This is the appropriate word for the *issuing* (exire) of a spring out of the ground. So Ovid, *Met.* 11. 140 (Bacchus to Midas):

"spumiferoque tuum fonti, qua plurimus exit,
subde caput."

SEMPER HONORE MEO (*celebraberis*), (vs. 76), theme; SEMPER CELEBRABERE DONIS, variation. See Rem. on vs. 74.

CORNIGER HESPERIDUM FLUVIUS REGNATOR AQUARUM (vs. 77).—Cynthius Cenetensis is here, a rare thing for him, up in open rebellion against his prophet and master. "'Cornigeri dicuntur fluvii,' ut inquit Maurus, 'quod mugiant tanquam boves, vel cornutas habeant ripas ad similitudinem cornuum,' quod non placet, nam fluvii habent cornos, i. e. ramos." I own that I am up too, but if I am, it is not with Cynthius against Servius, but it is against both grammarians alike. The horns of rivers are I think mere emblems of their strength like the horns of Jupiter, of Moses, of the Egyptian gods, of the visioned beasts of the prophet Daniel, and Hannah's horn which "is exalted in the Lord."

ADSIS O TANTUM, ET PROPIUS TUA NUMINA FIRMES (vs. 78).—"FIRMES novo aliquo omine et certiore signo," Forbiger, Thiel, Wagner (*Praest.*). I think not; first, because such demand for a second omen had been an insult to the deity, inasmuch as tantamount to a declaration that he could not trust the promise already received; and secondly, because no second omen is given, the appearance of the sow (vs. 81) being not a new omen, but to all intents and purposes part and parcel of the omen already given. In the words of our text, Aeneas, instead of asking for a new omen, accepts that already vouchsafed. It is as if he said, *I thank thee for thy omen, and beg thee to make it good*—FIRMES, not confirm it by another, but by its own fulfilment.

[*Aliter*]. TUA NUMINA FIRMES.—Confirm, not thy divinity, but thy will and pleasure, i. e., the expression thou hast just given

of thy will and pleasure, exactly as 2. 691 : "Haec omina firma." See Rem. on "numen," 1. 12; and on "numen Iunonis," 1. 52.

REMIGIO (vs. 80).—Not *rowers*, but *oars*. So 1. 305, "remigio alarum," i. e., *remis alarum*; and compare Ovid, *Met.* 5. 558 : "alarum insistere remis."

CONSPICITUR SUS (vs. 83).—CONSPICITUR, according to the usual intensive force of *con*, is *seen plainly*, *comes full into view*. Compare *Georg.* 3. 17 : "Tyrio conspectus in ostro;" *Aen.* 1. 156 :

"tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere;"

and see Rem. on "conspectus," 8. 588.

TIBI ENIM TIBI (vs. 84).—"Vacat ENIM et tantum ad ornatum pertinet. Integrum est ergo TIBI, ut ex iteratione crescat augmentum," Servius. Most undoubtedly incorrect, and of a piece with the annotations of Servius generally. No word of Virgil's ever "vacat." It is the commentator always, never Virgil, who writes nonsense, and here especially where there is no doubt of the reading, and where the words used are repeated by Silius, 13. 135 :

"exceptam laeto iuvenum certamine ductor
mactat, diva, tibi, tibi enim haec gratissima sacra,
Fulvius, atque adsis, orat, Latonia, coeptis."

TIBI ENIM. — TIBI *quidem* (cui hoc debetur ex praecepto Heleni, 3. 437) *non alii numini*," Ferhiger, Thiel, Wagner (*Praest.*). Plausible as this explanation seems, it can hardly be correct, *enim* being used in the same manner where there is not the same special reason for its use, Silius just quoted :

"mactat, diva, tibi, tibi enim haec gratissima sacra;"

Ovid, *Met.* 15. 581 :

"'Rex,' ait, 'o salve; tibi enim, tibi, Cipe, tuisque
hic locus et Latiae parebunt cornibus arces.'"

From this frequent, or, if I may so say, stereotyped use of *enim* in conjunction with a repeated *tibi*, it seems that there is no reference in our text to the special instructions given by Helenus

in the third Book, but that on the contrary *tibi enim tibi* was the ordinary formula on such occasions.

TIBI ENIM TIBI, more probably than TIBI ENIM, TIBI—first, because the emphasis is more likely to be on the repeated word, as 5. 80 :

“ *salve, sancto parens, iterum salve, recepti
nequicquam cineres,*”

where the similar mistake has been made, viz., that of joining “*iterum*” to the first, not to the repeated “*salvete*” (see Rem.); and secondly, because it is with the second “*tibi*” the particle is joined by Silius (see above) in a passage where there can be no ambiguity, inasmuch as the “*enim*” does not come till after the second “*tibi*.”

SACRA FERENS (vs. 85).—See Rem. on 6. 809.

TYBRIS EA FLUVIUM, &c., . . . ABESSET (vv. 86-89).—Compare Hom. *Od.* 5. 451 :

ως φάθ', ο δ' αὐτίκα πᾶσεν εὐν ῥοον, ἐσχέ δὲ κύμα,
προσθε δὲ οἱ ποίησε γαλήνην, τὸν δ' ἐσάωσεν
ἐς ποταμοῦ προχόας.

TYBRIS EA FLUVIUM, QUAM LONGA EST, NOCTE TUMENTEM LENIIT (vv. 86, 87), theme ; TACITA REFLUENS SUBSTITIT UNDA, variation.

STERNERET AEQUOR AQUIS (vs. 89).—Compare Mosch. *Europ.* 116 :

καὶ δ' αὐτὸς βαράδουπος ὑκίρ αἶλος ἔννοσιγμος
κύμα κατιθύνων, αἰὲς ἡγεῖτο κελευθὺ
αὐτοκασίγνητω.

90-96.

ERGO ITER INCEPTUM CELERANT RUMORE SECUNDO
 LABITUR UNCTA VADIS ABIES MIRANTUR ET UNDAE
 MIRATUR NEMUS INSUETUM FULGENTIA LONGE
 SCUTA VIRUM FLUVIO PICTASQUE INNARE CARINAS
 OLLI REMIGIO NOCTEMQUE DIEMQUE FATIGANT
 ET LONGOS SUPERANT FLEXUS VARIISQUE TEGUNTUR
 ARBORIBUS VIRIDESQUE SECANT PLACIDO AEQUORE SILVAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 90).

CELERANT RUMORE ■ *Med.* ('R et linea expungens N recentioris sunt manus,' Foggini). ■■■ "Aut RUMORE pro *Rumone* posuit, nam ut supra diximus Rumon est dictus [Tybris]," Serv. (cod. Dresd.), referring to his comment on verse 63 above, viz.: "'stringentem ripas'; *radentem, imminuentem*. Nam hoc est Tiberini fluminis proprium, adeo ut ab antiquis *Rumon** dictus, quasi ripas ruminans, id est exedens, et in sacris Serra dicebatur" (cod. Dresd.).

PERAGUNT RUMORE ■ (*Rom.*).

CELERANT RUMORE ■■†.

CELEBRANT CLAMORE ■■ cod. Canon. (Butler).

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*, &c.]

CELERANT; RUMORE SECUNDO LABITUR ■■■ Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.

CELERANT RUMORE SECUNDO - ■ *Vat.*; "In plerisque codd. antiquis PERAGUNT legitur. Utrumque placet, sed melius CELEBRANT. In Mediceo CELEBRANT†, quod cum eo quadraret, quod sequitur RUMORE SECUNDO," Pierius. ■■■ *Rom.* 1473; G. Fabricius; La Cerda; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

CELERANT - RUMORE SECUNDO - ■ *Pal.*

RUMORE SECUNDO is the reading preferred by F. Ursinus.

* In the Vossiana and Regia MSS. *Rumor*: in the Wolfenbüttel, 1 and 2, *Romon* (Lion).

† (CELERANT is the reading in Foggini's fac-simile of the Medicean.—J. F. D.)

VAR. LECT. (vs. 93) [*punct.*]

VIRUM FLUVIO • PICTAS ■ *Med.* * (SPICTAS). ■■■ P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.) ; Haupt.

VIRUM • FLUVIO PICTAS ■ *Pal.* ■■■ Phil. ; Heyne ; Brunck.

VIRUM FLUVIO PICTAS ■■■ D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Lad. ; Wagn. (*Praest.*) ; Ribb.

Ver. exhibits FVVIOPICTASQ.

RUMORE SECUNDO.—In separating these words from CELERANT, and throwing them to LABITUR, Heyne has performed the part of a true critic—first, because they harmonize badly as part of the consequence of the smoothness of the water ; in other words, ITER INCEPTUM CELERANT is the logical consequence of the smoothness of the water, but ITER INCEPTUM CELERANT RUMORE SECUNDO is illogical, does not follow as a consequence at all. Secondly, because they not only harmonize well with LABITUR UNCTA VADIS ABIES, but are necessary to take away, to clothe with hair as one might say, the baldness of the expression LABITUR UNCTA VADIS ABIES. Thirdly, because “labitur” is similarly eked out, 10. 687 :

“labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo.”

Fourthly, because “rumore” is actually joined with “interlabi” by Ausonius, *Mosell.* 22 :

† “interlabentis tacito rumore Mosellae.”

Fifthly, because separated from RUMORE SECUNDO, the sentence ERGO ITER INCEPTUM CELERANT not only strongly resembles in cast “ergo iussa parat,” 4. 503, but has an exact parallel in —nay, seems to be a repetition of “ergo iter inceptum peragunt,” 6. 384. Wagner, undoing as usual the work of Heyne, restores (ed. Heyn.) the two words to CELERANT, and to make them as easy as he can in the bad company, understands them to signify the *celeusma* ! In his ed. of 1861 he renounces the interpretation, but still insists on forbidding the banns between the parties Heyne had pointed out as made for each other.

* (‘Litera 8 ferme abrasa est,’ Foggini.—J. F. D.)

† (It is *subterlabentis*, with no variant, in Lemaire’s edition of ‘Poetae Latini Minores.’—J. F. D.)

RUMORE is not the κελευσμα or shouts of the sailors ("‘Rumor’ hic pro plausu ponitur," Pierius (Wagn., ed. Heyn.)), for the sailors are—as might be expected in those who are exploring an unknown region—quite silent (compare verse 108: "tacitis incumbere remis"); but (with Wagner in his *Praest.*) the noise made by the ripple of the water on the bows of the vessels. It is with this RUMORE the vessels "labuntur," exactly as it is with the similar "rumore," the ripple of the stream along its banks, the Moselle of Ausonius "interlabitur."

[*Aliter*].—RUMONE, not RUMORE—first, because RUMONE is the reading of the Medicean, and although altered into RUMORE, the alteration is by a modern hand. Secondly, because RUMONE is confirmed by Servius's gloss (see *Var. Lect.* above). Thirdly, because RUMORE was likely to be substituted for RUMONE. Fourthly, because "rumore secundo," where it is used by Claud. *Epith. Pallad. et Celerin.* 62 :

. . . "quae sic impervia famae
secessit regio, quo non *rumore secundo*
Palladii penetravit amor?"

can only mean *favouring report*, one of the two meanings assigned by Servius to the reading RUMORE SECUNDO in this place ("bona fama, quum neminem laederent"), but which, like its fellow, "aut certe dicit eos ante venisse quam fama nuntiaret venturos," is wholly incongruous with the context.

MIRANTUR ET UNDAE, MIRATUR NEMUS. — "Secundum Pythagorae disciplinam dictum, qui putabat omnia spiritum vegetationis habentia posse mirari," Pierius. The old fault, the inveterate error of taking that literally which is meant figuratively; an error which more than any other has perverted the sense of Virgil in almost every line of his work from the beginning to the end, exactly as it has perverted the meaning of Christ in every sentence of his teaching from the day of his baptism to the day of his death. Alas! alas! is there no fate for pearls but to be trampled under the feet of swine?

SCUTA VIRUM FLUVIO PICTASQUE INNARE CARINAS.—Heyne is wrong in placing a comma at VIRUM, because the wonder was SCUTA VIRUM FLUVIO, and Wagner is wrong in placing a comma

at FLUVIO, because FLUVIO belongs even more closely to INNARE than to SCUTA. The structure is SCUTA VIRUM PICTASQUE CARINAS INNARE FLUVIO. The SCUTA are said to float or swim on the water, according to the ordinary mode of thought that whatever is in the ship is on the water. Compare l. 542 (where see Rem.) “*huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris*” [not literally *have swum to your shores*, but *have floated* (viz., in our ships) *to your shores*].

PICTAS.—*I.e.*, painted red with minium. So Hom. *Il.* 2. 637 (of the ships of Ulysses):

τῷ δ' ἅμα νῆες ἐποντο δυνάεκα μιλτοπαρηοί.

OLLI REMIGIO NOCTEMQUE DIEMQUE FATIGANT.—*Weary the day and night with their rowing; row so incessantly all day and all night, that both day and night are tired of their rowing, and wish for quiet.* That this is the precise meaning is demonstrated by Silius's variation or paraphrase of the formula “*nocstemque diemque fatigare*,” where, speaking of the supplications of the gods by the Roman women, when the news arrived of the battle of Thrasymenus, he says (6. 562):

“*ast aliae, laceris canentes orinibus, alta
verrunt tecta deum, et seris post fata suorum
sollicitant precibus; requiem tenebraeque diisque
amisere*,”

for the concluding words of which sentence you may, without altering the sense one iota, substitute “*nocstemque diemque fatigant*.” Nonius, therefore, is wrong, where, quoting this passage, he says, “*fatigare positum pro fatigari*,” meaning that the sense is the same as if Virgil had written NOCTEMQUE DIEMQUE *fatigantur*, a bad sense which must not be palmed on our author. See Rem. on l. 284.

VARIISQUE TEGUNTUR ARBORIBUS.—“*Satis otiosa haec*,” Wagner. On the contrary, take these words away and the whole picture is changed. You have, indeed, still the Trojans rowing up the wooded river, but you no longer have them embowered by the trees, neither have you any longer the trees of various species. Nay, you have no longer individual trees at

all, but only woods which may be mere copse or brushwood. ARBORIBUS, necessary to inform you that the SILVAS are not copse but trees, informs you further by its emphatic position, last word of its own clause and first word of a line, from the sequel of which it is separated by a pause, that the trees are trees, *par excellence*, large full-grown trees, VARIIS informs you that these large full-grown trees are of different species, and TEGUNTUR that they overhang and embower the vessels as they row up the river. Thus, not only is the whole sentence not "otiosa," but there is not in it one single word which is so.

SECANT PLACIDO AEQUORE SILVAS.—"Ostendit adeo perspicuam fuisse naturam fluminis, ut in eo apparerent imagines nemorum quas Troianae naves secabant," Servius, La Cerda, Voss, Peerlkamp. I think not—first, because the idea, however suitable for a *petit-maitre* laureate, or laureate's ode (compare Tennyson's

. . . "my shallop clove
the citron shadows in the blue")

were wholly beneath the dignity of a poet, especially of Virgil, and wholly unsuitable to a great epic. Secondly, because the river, although described as placid, is not described as clear; on the contrary, is described as very muddy, 7. 31: "multa flavus arena;" and see Rem. on 8. 64. Thirdly, because the voyage was performed by night no less than by day, and by night at least the citron shadows would vanish from the blue. I agree, therefore, with Heyne, that these words are to be taken in their more obvious sense, viz., as descriptive of the passage of the Trojans up the river between the woods. Nay, more, I think we may recognize our author's own reference to and exposition of these words in the words ATQUE INTER OPACUM ALLABI NEMUS, vs. 107. Scaliger, whether misled by the authority of Servius, or erring of his own judgment, saw only the so-called "exquisite" sense in this passage, and thus somewhat roundly rates our author for it (ad *Eleg. in Maecen. Obit.*: "sane non minus ambitiose hic de aqua, quam de aëre apud Aristophanem Ορνισι:

αλιμενον αιθερος αυλακι τεμνων."

The censure falls harmless to the ground along with the interpretation on which it rests.

Should the reader still hesitate to receive the words in their simple unambitious sense, he will find, at verse 62 above, a passage sufficient in my mind, alone and of itself, to decide a question which should never have been raised. Exactly as here the Trojans SECANT AEQUORE SILVAS the Tiberinus there "secat flumine culta":

. . . "ego sum, pleno quem *fluminis* cernis
stringentem ripas, et pinguis *culta secantem*."

The "cultā" are not, cannot by possibility be, reflected in the water, yet Tiberinus cuts them with his stream. Even if they are reflected in the water, who will venture to allege that it is their reflexion the Tiberinus cuts and not themselves? Why more Aeneas and the Trojans cut the reflexion of the woods which they SECANT AEQUORE? AEQUORE is the instrument by means of which Aeneas and his companions cut the woods, as "flumine" is the instrument by means of which Tiberinus cuts the "cultā." To carry out the view of Servius and his followers, and convict Virgil of the clap-trap, the word *in* is wanting, a very little word, indeed, but here sufficient by its absence or presence to acquit or condemn a great poet, to discharge him out of court with green and flourishing laurels, or send him to keep company for ever with felon Serviuses and Laureates. Compare Manil. 4. 610:

. . . "*secat aequore laevum*
Illyricum, Epirumque lavat, claramque Corinthum,
et Peloponnesi patulas circumvolat oras,"

where few will maintain that the structure is "secat laevum Illyricum in aequore," and the meaning *cuts the shadow of Illyricum in the water*, and not, on the contrary, "secat (*cum*) aequore (i. e., *viam faciens aequore*) laevum Illyricum," *coasts Illyricum on the left hand, sails by Illyricum on the left*. Far be it from our author to have used in one and the same verse ARBORIBUS for real trees, and SILVAS for shadows of trees! ARBORIBUS and SILVAS are the same trees, described in the

beginning of the verse as forming a varied roof or bower over Aeneas and his companions, and described in the latter part of the verse as being passed-by by Aeneas and his companions as they row up the placid water. The two clauses stand to each other in the relation of theme and variation, and are used by the author according to his habit, instead of one long sentence of more complicated structure in order to express with that ease, clearness, terseness, and at the same time connexion, which is indispensable to good poetry, not only that the water of the river up which Aeneas and his companions rowed was placid, and its banks wooded, but that the trees with which its banks were wooded were of various kinds and spread so far over the water as to form a bower over the rowers. Let the reader well observe that this full and picturesque description of the scene is not given as an author of the present day would give it, viz., if I may so say, at the expense of his travellers. The poet does not leave Aeneas and his companions rowing up the river, and come and tell you how the river was placid, its banks wooded, the wood of various kinds and widely embowering the water, but he tells you that Aeneas and his companions already described as rowing up the river, pursue their way through the green woods on the placid water, and are covered as they proceed by overbowering trees of various species. It is not the woods which *are* green and overbowering and the water which *is* placid, but it is Aeneas and his companions who pursue their way up the placid water under the green overbowering woods, just as in the preceding clause it is not the river which *has* long windings, but Aeneas and his companions who clear the long windings of the river. In the whole description you never for an instant lose sight of the busily rowing Trojans, while at the same time you never for a moment lose sight of the river: now they are rowing, now they are conquering, now they are covered, now they are cutting, making way, as we say; but it is (of course) on the river they are rowing; it is its long winds or reaches they are conquering; it is with its bordering trees they are covered; it is on its placid water they are making way through the green woods. Compare Claudian's description of the Nar, no less full than our author's

of the Tiber, and, except that it wants the rowing boats, no less lively; the same specification of the windings of the stream, of the wooded banks, of the overbowering trees; and their kind, with the addition of the colour of the water, omitted by our author because already described in the beginning of the previous book, and the narrowing of the stream by the approximation to each other of the mountains on the sides, 6 *Cons. Honor.* 516 :

. . . "rarique coloris
non procul amnis abest, urbi qui nominis auctor,
ilice sub densa silvis arctatus opacis,
inter utrumque iugum tortis anfractibus albet."

98-153.

MUROS—LUMINE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 108).

TACITOS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med., Ver.*; "In Rom. cod. et aliquot aliis TACITOS legitur. Non tamen displicet TACITIS," Pierius. ■■ †. ■■■ Lad.; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.*, with qu. ? subjoined).

TACITIS ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 147.)

INSEQUITUR . ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

MUROS, ARCEM, TECTA DOMORUM (vs. 98).—*Walls, citadel, and houses*, three parts which taken together constitute the city, URBI, vs. 101. More generally, however, the city is described as consisting of two essential parts, the walls or fortifications and the houses; no special notice being taken of the *arx*. See Rem. on "tectis . . . moenibus," 11. 567.

AMPHITRYONIADAE MAGNO DIVISQUE (vs. 103). — “Nam cuivis deo sacrificaretur, necesse erat post ipsum, reliquos invocari,” Servius. The usual error, viz., that of too literal interpretation. It is hendiadys: *to heaven and the great Amphitryonides*, i. e., *to the great divus (saint) Amphitryonides*, exactly as 3. 148:

“effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique Penates,”

where the “divi” spoken of are and can only be the “Phrygii Penates” themselves. Further on in this same episode, where the priests and worshippers are carousing in honour of the same Amphitryonides, we have the object of worship characterised by the self-same plural:

. . . “ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant *divosque* precantur.”

The same formula is to be understood in the same way, 3. 19:

“sacra Dionaeae matri *divisque* ferebam,”

i. e., *divae matri, Veneri*.

UT CELSAS VIDERE RATES (vs. 107), theme; INTER OPACUM ALLABI NEMUS, first variation; TACITUS INCUMBERE REMIS, second variation. Our author, according to his habit, expresses by three short and simple sentences, having three several objects, the thought which another author would have expressed in the longer compound sentence, UT VIDERE CELSAS RATES ALLABI TACITIS REMIS INTER OPACUM NEMUS.

TACITIS INCUMBERE REMIS (vs. 108).—See Rem. on 4. 363.

QUOS ILLI BELLO PROFUGOS EGERE SUPERBO (vs. 118).—The wolf and the lamb! Is it not, reader?

EXCEPITQUE MANU (vs. 124), theme; DEXTRAMQUE AMPLEXUS INHAESIT, variation.

SED MEA ME VIRTUS, &c. (vs. 131).—Compare Soph. *Oed. Col.* 7 (Oedipus speaking):

στεργειν γαρ αι παλαι με χῶ χρόνος ξυνων
μακρος διδασκει, και το γενναιον τριτον.

[“tertioque loco generosa animi indoles”]; Sall. *Hist.* 2. 41 (ed. Dietsch), Cotta speaking: “Quirites, multa mihi pericula domi

militiaeque, multa adversa fuere, quorum alia toleravi, partim reppuli deorum auxiliis et *virtute mea*."

FATIS EGERE VOLENTEM (vs. 133).—"Dubia verborum constructio, quae mea quidem sententia expediri nequit, nisi ut FATIS dativus putetur, ab EGERE VOLENTEM, quod in eo insit obedientiae atque obsequii notio suspensus. Nam pro ablativo haberi vel illud vetat quod virtus certe non fatis ad agendum uti dici potest," Dietsch, *Theolog.*, p. 32. The objection is naught. Aeneas's virtue does not use the fates, but is used by the fates for their purposes, the meaning being: *My virtue, &c., have moved (driven) me hither with the fates*, i.e., *the fates commanding, ordaining*; in other words, *in obedience to, or at least in conformity and harmony with, the fates*.

FATIS (ablative) *with the fates*, exactly as 5. 656: "*fatisque vocantia regna*," *calling*, not *to*, but *with the fates*, i.e., *according to the fates*; and so precisely Dietsch himself, in his comment on this latter passage: "Ablativus 'fatis' illud significare non potest quo ad vocandum utantur, sed quod in. vocando sequantur (ut *monitu, iussu*, sim.)," thus recognising in the "fatis" of the parallel not merely the same grammatical case, but the same sense which I claim for the FATIS of our text.

HIS FRETUS NON LEGATOS, NEQUE PRIMA PER ARTEM TENTAMENTA TUI PEPIGI (vv. 143-4).—Theme and variation embodied in one, the verb of the theme being omitted, as inferrible from the variation.

ME ME IPSE MEUMQUE OBIECI CAPUT (vv. 144-5), theme; ET SUPPLEX AD LIMINA VENI, variation.

GENS EADEM QUAE TE CRUDELI, DAUNIA, BELLO INSEQUITUR (vv. 146-7).—Still the wolf and the lamb, much-injured invader!

ET MARE QUOD SUPRA TENEANT, QUODQUE ALLUIT INFRA (vs. 149).—"Haec plane sapiunt glossam geographicam. 'Omnis Hesperia' satis est," Peerlkamp; and the opinion has been followed by Ribbeck, who encloses the line between brackets. I have no doubt of the genuineness of the line, and the less because it occurs, *Georg.* 2. 158. It is the variation of the theme OMNEM HESPERIAM, sufficient, indeed, for the prose sense, but

leaving the passage scalled and bare, and wholly without the poetry. If the verse is superfluous, and to be omitted because OMNEM HESPERIAM is sufficient, then OMNEM itself is superfluous and to be omitted, because HESPERIAM is sufficient. Precisely in the same way in which the mind of the reader is pleased with OMNEM, and would not readily part with it, it is pleased with

ET MARE QUOD SUPRA TENEANT, QUODQUE ALLUIT INFRA,

and would part with it even less readily.

ILLE OS OCULOSQUE LOQUENTIS IAMDUDUM, ET TOTUM LUSTRABAT LUMINE CORPUS (vv. 152-3).—Here, as at 4. 363 (where see Rem.), the distinction is well observed between oculus, *the organ, the ball of the eye*, and lumen, *the sight of the eye, the vision*. With the sight of his eye he scanned the eyes of Aeneas.

162-202.

SED—SUPERBUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 167).

INTERTEXTO ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* (INTERTEXTO^{AM}, with the O crossed out, the alteration being modern. ■■ †. ■■■ “Legitur et INTERTEXTO,” Serv. (ed. Lion); Wakef.

INTERTEXTAM ■ *Med.*; Pierius. ■■ ‡. ■■■ Serv.; Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 169).

MIHI ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 183).

PERPETUI ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■ †. ■■■ Serv.; Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb.
PERPETUO ■■■ Lad.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 185).

EVANDER ■■ §.

EVANDRUS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "Panci admodum codices sunt in quibus EVANDER legatur, sed in quamplurimis EVANDRUS," Pierius. ■■ §. ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. [*punct., &c.*] (vs. 194).

CACI - FACIES ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.

CACI FACIES; QUAM DIRA TEGEBAT ■■■ D. Heins.

CACI FACIES QUAM DIRA TENEBAT ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

N

TEGEBAT ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* (TEGEBAT). ■■ †. ■■■ D. Heins.

TENEBAT ■ "In Rom. cod. et aliquot aliis pervetustis, TEGEBAT legitur. Sed TENEBAT receptum magis," Pierius. ■■■ P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 202).

IS

GERYONAE ■ *Pal., Med.* (GERYONE, the IS modern). ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

Geryonis or gerionis ■■ †. ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.

GERYONI ■ *Rom.* (GERYONISPOLIIS, and this MS. does not make the final S serve for the commencement of following word).

SED CUNCTIS ALTIOR IBAT ANCHISES (vv. 162-3).—The respect commanded everywhere and in all ages by mere superiority of stature has not escaped—how could it, or why should it?—the wide-sweeping satire of our Irish Menippus, *Gulliver's Voyage*

to *Lilliput*: "The empress and young princes of the blood-royal sat on chairs near the emperor, who was taller than anyone present by half the breadth of my nail."

ERGO ET, QUAM PETITIS, IUNCTA EST MIHI FOEDERE DEXTRA (vs. 169).—"Antiquis amicitiiis et per Anchisae hospitium," Sêrvius. To which interpretation Peerlkamp objects: "Minus recte; neque hoc erat foedus . . . Aeneas petiit dextram Evandri, non Evandrus Aeneae. (Evandrus) dedit suam dextram Aeneae, et iunxit, dum haec ipsa verba loquitur. Scribendum est: IUNCTA EST TIBI FOEDERE DEXTRA." Peerlkamp's objection is good; not so the emendation. The sense sought by Peerlkamp is obtainable from the received text, merely by understanding MIHI, not as connected with IUNCTA in the sense DEXTRA QUAM PETITIS IUNCTA EST MIHI, but as the ethical dative, in the sense MIHI *quidem* (i.e., *quoad me*) DEXTRA QUAM PETITIS IUNCTA EST (*tibi*). "Quaerenti," verse 212, is a dative of a similar kind.

AUXILIO LAETOS DIMITTAM (vs. 171), theme; OPIBUSQUE IUVABO, variation.

DONA LABORATAE CERERIS, BACCHUMQUE MINISTRANT (vs. 181).—I take notice of these words only for the sake of explaining through their means the words of Christ, *Ev. S. Johann. 4. 10*: Εἰ ᾗδεις τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τις ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοὶ· δός μοι πίνειν· σὺ αὖν ᾗτησας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐ σοὶ ὕδωρ ζῶν. As DONA LABORATAE CERERIS is *bread*, so δωρεάν τοῦ Θεοῦ is *water*; and Christ's meaning is: "If thou hadst known that there was another water, still better deserving the name of God's gift, than the water of this well, and if thou hadst known who I am that ask thee for water to drink, thou wouldst have asked Me for that other and better water, and I would have given it to thee." That this is the real meaning of the passage will hardly be doubted by anyone who is aware that even at this day the water-carriers who carry about water in the streets of eastern cities (Cairo, *ex. gr.*) cry out, not "water," but "the gift of God" ("Ya, aatee Allah!") see Whately's *Ragged Life in Egypt*; to the amiable author of which work I am indebted, no less than my reader, for this illustration not merely of our text

but of those eastern manners, without a knowledge of which Christ's preaching is so often worse than unintelligible.

PERPETUI TERGO BOVIS, ET LUSTRALIBUS EXTIS (vs. 183).—Theme and variation embodied in one. PERPETUI, *in one piece, of the entire length of the ox*. See Rem. on "perpetuis mensis," 7. 176.

EXEMPTA FAMES (vs. 184), theme; AMOR COMPRESSUS EDENDI, variation.

HAEC SOLENNIA NOBIS, HAS EX MORE DAPES, HANC TANTI NUMINIS ARAM . . . IMPOSUIT (vv. 185-188), theme and two variations embodied.

MERITOSQUE NOVAMUS HONORES (vs. 189).—"Dictum de sacro anniversario," Heyne, Peerlkamp. No; Wagner (ed. Heyn.) is right: "Facimus nova hæc et insolita sacra;" this being, first, the very sense in which our author has used the word, 5. 604:

"hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit;"

4. 290:

"arma parent, et quæ sit rebus causa novandis
dissimulent;"

and secondly, because, as observed by Wagner (*ubi supra*): "Neque excusatione opus esset Evandro, si non esset nova atque insolita hæc superstitio."

SAXIS SUSPENSAM HANC ASPICE RUPEM (vs. 190).—*This steep mountain, this crag suspended with rocks, i. e., the rocks of which hang* (SAXIS SUSPENSAM = *saxis suspensis*, as 3. 271, "*ardua saxis*" = *arduis saxis*), SUSPENSAM indicating that the rocks are unsupported underneath, *i. e.*, form the still remaining part of the roof of Cacus's cave. That this is the meaning is sufficiently clear from the immediately following lines, which inform us that Evander pointed out to Aeneas not merely the scopuli or *silex* torn up by Hercules from the roof and now lying prostrate on the ground, but the still standing residence—DESERTA STAT DOMUS—viz., the place where Cacus lived in the "*rupes*," and which was still partially covered over head (SUSPENSAM SAXIS) by that part of the "*rupes*" which Hercules had not torn up and precipitated to the ground. Servius, followed by Wagner

(*Praest.*), interprets SUSPENSAM, "iam iamque lapsuram," I think incorrectly. The notion is simply that of *suspended* or *hanging*, not at all that of *likely to fall*. See Rem. on l. 170.

The ruined cave of Cacus as described by Virgil was surely present to the mind of Lucan when he described in the following words (l. 24) the state of ruin to which the cities of Italy had been reduced by the civil war:

"at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
urbibus Italiae, lapsisque ingentia muris
saxa iacent; nulloque domus custode tenetur,
rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat."

Nothing can be more exact than the parallelism of the two passages, tallying with each other clause for clause; the "semirutis pendent moenia tectis" of Lucan being Virgil's SAXIS SUSPENSAM RUPEM, the "lapis ingentia muris saxa iacent" of Lucan being Virgil's DISIECTAE PROCUL UT MOLES, ET SCOPULI INGENTEM TRAXERE RUINAM, and the "nullo domus custode tenetur" of Lucan being Virgil's DESERTA MONTIS STAT DOMUS.

HIC SPELUNCA FUT, VASTO SUBMOTA RECESSU (vs. 193).—No comment can explain VASTO SUBMOTA RECESSU better than Ovid's description of this same cave, *Fasti*, l. 555:

"proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens."

FUT, *was, but is no longer*, having been destroyed by Hercules, who broke into it from above, in consequence of which the cavity, being open above, has no longer the character of a SPELUNCA.

CACI FACIES (vs. 194).—Not *the face*, but *the form, figure, whole appearance*. See Rem. on "tantaque se facies aperit," 7. 448.

INACCESSAM (vs. 195).—See Rem. on "inaccessos," 7. 11.

SEMPERQUE RECENTI CAEDE TEPEBAT HUMUS (vv. 195-6).—RECENTI, Fr. *fraiche*, less in the sense of *fresh* or *recent* than in that of *wet*, because recently spilled blood or other fluid is always wet. Compare Champfleury, *Grandeur et décadence d'une serinette*: "'La musique est *fraiche*', s'écria-t-elle. 'Qui est-ce qui l'a trempée dans l'eau?'" Inasmuch as in our text it is the HUMUS which TEPEBAT, and the "caedes" which was "recens,"

we are authorized to conclude that, 9. 455, it is not the "caedes," but the "locus" which was "tepidus," and not the "locus" but the "caedes" which was "recens;" in other words, that the true reading of that passage is not "tepidaque recentem," but "tepidumque recenti."

AUXILIUM ADVENTUMQUE DEI (vs. 201).—See Rem. on "munera laetitiamque dei," l. 640.

205-208.

AT FURIS CACI MENS EFFERA NE QUID IN AUSUM
AUT INTRACTATUM SCALERISVE DOLIVE FUISSET
QUATUOR A STABULIS PRAESTANTI CORPORE TAUROS
AVERTIT TOTIDEM FORMA SUPERANTE IUVENCAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 205).

FURIS ■ *Med.*; * "Exemplaria pleraque vetusta cum Mediceo et Portio FURIS habent, quo vocabulo quam maxime exprimitur ignominia," Pierius. ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ "AUT FURIS CACI MENS: pro ingenti scelere FURIS nomen posuit," Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470; Fabric.; Burm.; Wakef.

FURIIS ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Donatus (whose gloss is: "morem proprii furoris arripiens"); Rom. 1469, 1473; Ascens.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.; Ribb.

FURI ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$.

AT FURIS CACI MENS EFFERA.—FURIS, not FURIIS, because FURIIS EFFERA expresses a state of mind, a degree of transport of passion, not only unsuitable to the act, viz., that of stealing

* Incorrectly quoted FVRIIS by Foggini, the reading of the MS. being certainly FVRIS. The error has arisen from the S of FVRIS having been taken for I, and an I appearing through the parchment from the other side, in the interspace between FVRIS and CACI, for S.

eight oxen, but incongruous with the immediately succeeding NE QUID IN AUSUM . . . FUISSET, for, once the mind is EFFERA FURIIS, it does not stop at any act whatever. The words NE QUID IN AUSUM . . . FUISSET, after FURIIS, are therefore, to say the least, unnecessary, explain the act no further than it was already explained by the words FURIIS EFFERA. On the other hand, (1) the word FURIS assigns a reason for the theft, and renders it more probable; the act was exactly such as might be expected from a robber by profession [Mythograph. Primus (ap. Maium) 1. 66: "Cacus . . . secundum veritatem fuit Evandri servus pessimus et fur." Tzetzes, *Chil.* 5, Hist. 21:

οὗτος ο Κακος ἦν ληστής, κλεπτής τῶν εὐμηχανῶν]

whose mind was so EFFERA as not to leave any act, no matter how daring, unattempted; (2) FURIS CACI MENS EFFERA corresponds exactly to SEMIHOMINIS CACI FACIES DIRA, vs. 194, and so has a fine effect: "SEMIHOMINIS CACI—AT FURIS CACI, the reader being reminded by the latter expression of the former, and the horror and abomination for the scarcely-human villain and robber being increased to the utmost. There is besides a peculiar appropriateness in the words FURIS MENS EFFERA, as applied to Cacus, Cacus being by profession a robber, while the words FURIIS MENS EFFERA are no more appropriate to Cacus than to Hercules, to whom, indeed, the very similar expression "furiis exarserat atro felle dolor" is actually applied only a few lines further on. The peculiar propriety of the application of the term "fur" to Cacus is also shown by the emphatically repeated application of the term to him by Propert. 4. 9. 11:

"hic, ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae,
aversos cauda traxit in antra boves.
nec sine teste deo; furem sonuere iuveni,
furis et implacidas diruit ira fores."

FURIS is, as I have satisfied myself by a very careful personal examination, the reading of the Medicean. Foggini, indeed, represents that MS. as reading FURIIS; but this is an error of that generally faithful copyist, easy to be accounted for by the indistinctness which time, aided by a local defect, in the

perchment has produced in this particular word. It is less remarkable that Heyne and Wagner, who knew the Medicean only through Foggini's copy of it, should have been influenced by the alleged authority of that MS. to read *FURIIS*, contrary to plain common sense and the point-blank testimony of Servius; but it is very remarkable and to me wholly unaccountable, that Ribbeck, who made a personal examination of the Medicean, should neither have quoted that MS. at all with respect to this word, nor assigned any authority whatsoever for *FURIIS*, the reading which he has adopted. Nor does it seem to me much less surprising that the same so often to be praised and admired critic should at verse 211 have ejected the unanimous reading of the codices, *RAPTOS*—though supported by the parallel, l. 532: "*raptas ad littora vertere praedas*"—to make way for "*raptor*," the mere conjecture of so reckless an innovator as Wakefield. No other reading than *FURIS* was known to Servius, proof, almost alone, that *FURIIS* is a mere error of the copyists.

EFFERA.—The term "*efferus*," simply and without further explanation, is with the greatest propriety applied to *Cacus*—the "*fur*" and cannibal *Cacus*—exactly as it is applied simply and without further explanation by Ovid to *Diomedes*, who fed his mares on human flesh, *Epist.* 9. 67:

" non tibi succurrit crudi Diomedis imago,
efferus humana qui dape pavit equas?"

CACI MENS AVERTIT, as verse 194, **CACI FACIES TENEBAT**. Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 85 (ed. Porson) (*Hecuba* speaking):

που ποτε θειαν Ἐλεγον ψυχαν,
ἡ Κασανδραν εἰδὼ, Τρωάδες,
ὡς μοι κρινῶσιν ονειρούς;

Auson. Epigr. 129:

" *Mædam vellet quum pingere Timomachi mens*"

[*i.e.*, *Timomachus*]; **Gratius, Cyneq.** 96:

. . . " deus ille, an proxima divis
mens fuit, in caecas aciem quae magna tenebras
egit, et ignarum perfudit lumine vulgus."

FORMA SUPERANTE.—“Quæ TAUROS, quanquam PRÆSTANTI CORPORE essent, forma superabant,” Peerlkamp. I think not, but with Wagner and Forbiger, “egregias, excellentes.”

213-221.

INTEREA QUUM IAM STABULIS SATURATA MOVERET
 AMPHITRYONIADES ARMENTA ABITUMQUE PARARET
 DISCESSU MUGIRE BOVES ATQUE OMNE QUERELIS
 IMPLERI NEMUS ET COLLES CLAMORE RELINQUI
 REDDIDIT UNA BOUM VOCEM VASTOQUE SUB ANTRO
 MUGIIT ET CACI SDEM CUSTODITA FEFELLIT
 HIC VERO ALCIDAE FURIIS EXARSERAT ATRO
 FELLE DOLOR RAPIT ARMA MANU NODISQUE GRAVATUM
 ROBUR

CUM IAM STABULIS SATURATA MOVERET AMPHITRYONIADES ARMENTA, theme; ABITUMQUE PARARET, variation. Peerlkamp, unable as usual to recognize the intentional dwelling on the object, in the form of theme and variation, makes for the thousandth time the objection: “Et sane idem sæpius est repetitum. Boves discedentes *mugiunt*, boves implent NEMUS QUERELIS, boves relinquunt COLLES CLAMORE.” The passage affords a good example of that peculiarity of structure which I have had so frequently occasion to point out, viz., the presentation of one event or one picture under three different points of view; in other words, the description of one event in three short separate sentences or statements, each sentence or statement having its own separate verb, separate subject, and separate accidental circumstance, and the *ensemble* of all these sentences representing exactly what would be represented by a prose writer in one long complicated sentence, with one principal verb and principal subject, with the help of adjectives, and predicates, and adverbs, and participles, and conjunctions. This long complicated sentence of the prose writer would be nearly this: *discedentes implent*

bant mugitu et clamore et querelis totum collem nemorosum quem relinquebant. Such precisely is the complex thought which our author has divided into three simple thoughts, of which the two latter are varieties of the first: DISCESSU MUGIRE BOVES, the main thought or theme, *the oxen depart bellowing*; OMNE QUERELIS IMPLERI NEMUS, first variation, *the departing oxen fill the whole grove with their complaints*; COLLES CLAMORE RELINQUI, second variation, *the departing oxen leave the hills with clamor.* DISCESSU is repeated in RELINQUI; MUGITU is repeated in QUERELIS and CLAMORE; NEMUS is repeated in COLLES, the same place, *i. e.*, the place where the oxen had been and which they are now leaving (DISCESSU . . . RELINQUI) being in the one clause denominated NEMUS, because covered with wood, and in the other clause COLLES, because hilly. Commentators, deceived by the expression of the thought in three distinct sentences, have supposed that different places and different actions were described—"Die aus dem thal abgehenden kühe steigen über die hügel mit gebrüll," Voss. "Processerant boves ex valle in proximos colles eosque iam relinquere incipiebant," Wagner (1861). "Die 3 sätze in diesen versen enthalten einen fortschritt in der erzählung: die kühe brüllen beim ausbruch (DISCESSU, vgl. *Aen.* 10. 445); brüllen, während sie durch den wald in der niederung (VALLIS, v. 204) ziehen; brüllen, als sie die nächsten höhen erreichen."* See for a similar instance of one and the same act taken by commentators for substantially different acts, because described in different sentences under different points of view, 8. 505:

" ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam
cum sceptro misit, mandatque insignia Tarchon."

NEMUS, COLLES.—The same place described in the one word as woody, in the other as hilly, the precise place meant being the wooded Aventine hill (7. 659: "collis Aventini silva"). The cave of Cacus being in this Aventine Hill, the lowing of the oxen as they departed was, of course, heard by their comrades within the cave. Virgil's *nemora* and *silvae* being almost without exception on *colles*, and Virgil's *colles* being,

[* The MS. does not state from whom this is quoted.—J. F. D.]

unless when it is expressly otherwise stated, covered with *nemora* or *silvae*, *nemora* (or *silvae*) and *colles* (or *montes*) are words on which we find him perpetually ringing the changes, as 5. 148:

“tum plausu fremituque virum, studiisque faventum
consonat omne *nemus*, vocemque inclusa volutant
littora, pulsati *colles* clamore resultant;”

5. 827:

“quem *collibus* undique curvis
cingebant *silvae*;”

8. 351:

“hoc *nemus*, hunc’ inquit ‘frondoso vertice *collem*
(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus;”

8. 598:

“undique *colles*
inclusere cavi, et nigra *nemus* abiete cingit;”

11. 902:

“deserit obsessos *colles*, *nemora* aspera linquit;”

Ecl. 7. 58:

“Liber pampineas invidit *collibus* umbras;
Phyllidis adventu nostrae *nemus* omne virebit;”

in every one of which instances (besides innumerable others in which *iuga* or *mons* performs the part of *colles*) it is, as in our text, a single locality only which is spoken of; that single locality being regarded under the two different views—of its conformation and its clothing.

COLLES RELINQUI.—The oxen leave the hills (*viz.*, the Aventine Hill) where they have been feeding, exactly as the deer leave the mountains where they have been browsing, 4. 155: “*montesque relinquunt.*” As the deer hunted by the dogs leave their wonted pastures, so the oxen driven away by Hercules, **QUUM STABULIS SATURATA MOVERET, ABITUMQUE PARARET.**

REDDIDIT UNA BOUM VOCEM, theme; VASTOQUE SUB ANTRO MUGIIT, variation.

HIC VERO ALCIDAE FURIIS EXARSERAT ATRO FELLE DOLOR.—“*Furiis: per furias, iram,*” Heyne. “Non autem haerendum est in duplici ablativo *FURIIS, FELLE.* Nam (id quod etiam Jahn verissime docet) *FURIIS* est ablat. causalis (instrumenti), *FELLE* autem ablat. loci (ubi *DOLOR* exarsit; nam *felle*, inquit Servius, *irascimur* secundum physicos, ut splene ridemus,” Forbiger. But

why not FURIIS in the dative, as if Virgil had written *Alcidae furenti*? Compare 10. 694: "obvia ventorum furiis" [i. e., *ventis furentibus*]. ALCIDAE FURIIS, so understood, is an expression exactly of the same kind as "Caci mens," vs. 205.

RAPIT ARMA MANU NODISQUE GRAVATUM ROBUR.—Not (with Servius and Thiel) *seizes arms (his arrows) and his club*, but (with Forbiger) *seizes arms, viz., his club; arms himself with his club*. So vs. 249, "telis" and "arma" are not his arrows and his club, but the arms specially mentioned, "ramis, vastisque molaribus." See Rem. on "os habitumque," 1. 319.

222-224.

TUM PRIMUM NOSTRI CACUM VIDERE TIMENTEM
TURBATUMQUE OCULI FUGIT ILICET OCIOR EURO
SPELUNCAMQUE PETIT PEDIBUS TIMOR ADDIDIT ALAS

VAR. LECT.

OCULI ■■■ Serv. ed. Lion ("Alii OCULI legunt et accipiunt a superioribus: VIDERE TURBATUM OCULI*"); Burm.; Wakef.; Lad.; Haupt.

OCULIS ■ Rom., Pal., Med. ■■ 1^o. ■■■ Donat.; Serv. ed. Lion ("TURBATUMQUE OCULIS: ea parte TURBATUM, quae proditrix mentis est. Alii OCULI legunt et accipiunt a superioribus: VIDERE TURBATUM OCULI*"); Rom. 1469, 1473; Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); Fabric.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

OCULI not OCULIS; (■), because there is no example of nostri used thus absolutely by Virgil; while, on the contrary, the junction of nostri with oculi, and of oculi with videre, is of frequent occurrence [as *Bucol. 6. 57*:

"si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris
errabunda bovis vestigia."

* OCULIS, cod. Dresd.

Aen. 2. 740: "neo post oculis est reddita nostris." Ovid, *Met.* 5. 504 (Alpheus to Ceres):

"ergo dum Stygio sub terris gurgite labor,
visa tua est oculis illic Proserpina nostris."

Ibid. 7. 679:

. . . "sed non formosius isto
viderunt oculi telum iaculabile nostri [my eyes]."

Eurip. *Hipp.* 1207 (Valck.):

. . . ὥστ' ἀφηρεθῇ
Ἀκείρωνος ἀκτὰς ὁρμα τοῦμον εἰσοράν·

Luc. *Evang.* 2. 30: οὗτοι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ μου τὸ σωτηρίου σου. Lucret. 4. 284:

. . . "sed ubi in speculum quoque sensimus ipsum
continuo a nobis in eum, quæ fertur, imago
pervenit, ac nostros oculos reiecta revisit."

Plin. *Paneg.* 71: "Contigit ergo oculis nostris insolita facies, Princeps candidatus æquitus et simul stantes" [*al.* "principis æquati candidatis et simul stantis," which is the reading of Lemaire's ed.]. *Bibl. Sacr.*, *Prov.* 25. 8: "Quæ viderunt oculi tui, ne proferas in iurgio cito." *Reg.* 3. 1: "videntibus oculis meis." Coripp. *de Laud. Justin.* 4. 275:

. . . "via lucida nostris
nunc facta est oculis."

Compare Hom. *Il.* 1. 587:

μη σε, φίλην περ εἶσαν, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδῶμαι
θεινομένην.

Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 1. 30: ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε συνεβη παραλαβεῖν. Soph. *Philoct.* 1352 (Philoctetes, reluctant to yield to the pressure put on him by Ulysses and Neoptolemus to accompany them to Troy):

ἀλλ' εἰκαθὼ δῆτ'· εἴτα πως ὁ δυσμῶρος
εἰς φῶς, ταδ' ἐρξας, εἰμι; τῷ προσηγῶρος;
πως, ὦ τα πάντ' ἰδόντες ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ κυκλοῖ,
ταυτ' ἐξανασχησέσθαι, τοῖσιν Ἀτρεΰς
ἐμὲ ξυνοῦντα παισιν, οἱ μ' ἀπώλεσαν;
πως τῷ πανώλει παιδί τῳ Λαερτίῳ;

[“sed cedam igitur? tum qua fronte prodibo in lucem infelix, hoc quum fecero? quorum communicans alloquia? O qui omnia, quae in me commissa sunt, *ridistis, oculi*, quomodo fere-tis me cum Atridis conversantem, qui me perdiderunt? Quo-modo cum sceleratissimo Laertae filio”?]. Aesch. *Prom.* 69 :

ορας θεαμα δυσθεατον ομρασιν

[viz., Prometh. pinned to the rock]. And, above all, Virg. *Ciris*, 510 :

“numquam illam posthac *oculi videre suorum*
purpureas flavo retinentem vertice vittas,”

where we have not only the very OCULI VIDERE of our text, but “suorum” corresponding to NOSTRI]. Nay, oculi occurs even at end of a sentence, Senec. *ad Marc.* 12 : “Ne illud quidem dicere potes, electam te a diis, cui frui non liceret filio. Circui per omnem notorum et ignotorum frequentiam *oculis*; occurrent tibi passi ubique maiora.” (2), because **not only** has Virgil frequently employed turbatus in the sense of *disturbed, con-fused, discomposed*, without the addition of a word to point out in what respect disturbed, confused, or discomposed, as 2. 67 (of Sinon): “turbatus, inermis;” 8. 435: “turbatae Palladis arma;” 7. 767: “turbatis distractis equis;” 9. 13: “turbata arripe castra;” 9. 122: “turbatis Messapus equis;” **but** tur-batus is the very word used by the author of the *Epitome Iliados* (vs. 975) to express not merely the confusion and dismay, but the rout and discomfiture of Hector pursued by Achilles:

. . . “instat Nereius heros
turbatumque premit procul undique”

(where we have in “turbatum” the very TURBATUM of our text, and in “premit” the very “premit” of verse 249), with which compare Virgil’s own (*Aen.* 1. 397):

“aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto
turbabat caelo;”

and 9. 406: “hunc sine me *turbare* globum;” Florus, 1. 18, “[pugna] tam atrox fuit, ut Frentanae turmae praefectus Ob-sidius, invectus in regem, *turbaverit*, coegeritque, proiectis insig-

nibus, praelio excedere;” in all which places “turbare” is, as in our text, *to discomfit and put into confusion*, a meaning as suitable for our text as *looking wildly*, if the words were capable of such meaning, is unsuitable. (3), because *ταρασσειν* (turbare) is the very word with which Theocritus expresses the confusion into which Amycus in his boxing match with Pollux was put by the feints of his adversary, *Idyll. 22. 102*:

τον [Amycum] μεν αναξ [Pollux] εταραξεν ετωσια χερσι προδεικνυς.
 παρτοθεν· αλλ’ οτε δη μιν αμηχανεοντ’ εροησεν,
 μεσσας ρινος υπερθε κατ’ οφρυος ηλασε πυγμην,
 παν δ’ απεσυρε μετωπον εξ οσσεων. αυταρ ο πλαγεις
 νητιος εν φυλλοισι τεθαλοσιν εξεταυσθη.

(4), because where Virgil has elsewhere joined *turbatus* with an object he has put the object in the accusative case, as 8. 29: “*tristi turbatus pectora bello*.” And (5), because *TURBATUM OCULIS* would not mean, as assumed by Donatus, Servius, Heyne, Wagner, and the other editors who adopt that reading, *betraying by his eyes the confusion of his mind* (“*Turbatus, inquit, oculis fuit, nec immerito, quum videret tantam potentiam dei*,” Donat. “*Ea parte TURBATUM quae proditrix mentis est*,” Servius. “*TURBATUM OCULIS i.e., turbationem indicantibus*,” Ascens.), but *seeing confusedly, with impaired vision*. That this would be the meaning of *TURBATUM OCULIS*, appears from a comparison of that expression with *turbatum mente*. As the latter means *disturbed in his mind, thinking confusedly*, so the former must mean *disturbed in his sight, seeing confusedly*, and such exactly is the meaning of the phrase in Livy (7. 26), where the Gaul is described as disturbed both in his mind and in his vision, by the raven “*os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetiit: donec territum prodigii talis visu, oculisque simul ac mente turbatum, Valerius obtruncat*,” where it is impossible that “*oculisque simul ac mente turbatum*” can mean anything else than *disturbed in his eyes, and disturbed in his mind, i. e., seeing badly, and thinking confusedly; blinded and bewildered*. And so precisely S. Ambros. *Concio 4*: “*Tunc, inquam, apud vos turbatur carminibus globus lunae, quando calicibus turbantur et oculi*” [*when your eyes are blinded with drink; or, as we*

say: *when you are blind drunk*]; Celsus, *Medicina*, 6. 8 (of diseases of the eyes): “sed si quis in balneo sensit maiorem *oculorum perturbationem* quam attulerat; . . . *quamprimum discedere debet*.” Compare Senec. *Ep.* 85: “*quomodo oculos maior et perfecta suffusio excaecat, sic modica turbat*” [great suffusion renders quite blind; slight suffusion confuses the vision]. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 27. 23: “*Alectorolophos . . . utilis . . . caligini oculorum. Solidum semen coniicitur in oculum nec turbat, sed in se caliginem contrahit. Mutat colorem, sed ex nigro albicare incipit et intumescit, ac per se exit*” [does not inflame the eye]. Apul. *De Dogm. Platon.* 1. 15: “*At superciliorum sepes praemuniunt oculos, ne desuper proruat quod teneras visiones mollesque perturbet*.” Also Scribonius Largus, c. 3: “*Ad conturbationes et epiphoras oculorum scio multa collyria, etsi tarde, magnos tamen effectus habere*,” exactly corresponding to which “*conturbatio oculorum*” (disorder or disease of the eyes or eyesight) of the Romans is the *ραπαζις* of the Greeks, Paulus Aegineta, 3. 22; Galen, *τῶν ἐπιδημίων* 6, comm. 5. Also Du Cange, *in voc.* *turbare*: “*turbare oculum, excutere, pro exturbare. Charta Alfonsi VI., Imperat. Hispaniar., ann. 1086, apud Anton. de Yopez, tom. 6: ‘qui oculum turbaverit, aut dentem exousserit, aut membrum secaverit, seu damnaverit, 60 solidos dabit Abbati.*’ ”

Turbare applied to the eyes signifying thus invariably not the disturbed expression of the eyes, but the disturbed faculty of vision, *TURBATUM OCULIS* is an expression of the same kind and nearly of the same meaning as *captum oculis*, and altogether inapplicable to *Cacus*, whose vision was not impaired at all. The reading, therefore, is not *OCULIS*, but as quoted by Servius from manuscripts now no longer existing, *OCULI*, and our author instead of representing *Cacus* either, contrary to the myth, *TURBATUM OCULIS*, disturbed in his faculty of vision, unable to see clearly, or, as the commentators perverting the meaning of the phrase will have it, betraying his fear by the expression of his eyes (“*Ea parte TURBATUM quae proditrix mentis est*,” Servius; “*Turbatus, inquit, OCULIS fuit, nec immerito, quum videret tantam potentiam dei*,” Donatus), speaks not of the

eyes of Cacus at all, but of the eyes of the beholders, and instead of requiring us to imagine the timid and terrified Arcadians so close to the object of their terror as to be able to see, and so cool besides and *nonchalant* as to note the expression of his eyes, requires us only to imagine them observing from safe distance the disturbed (TURBATUM) attitude and demeanour of him whom they had never before seen discomposed.

NOSTRI OCULI VIDERE TURBATUM.—Compare Goldoni, *La Scozzese*, 3. 8: “Pare dunque a vostre occhi che io sia oltremodo *agitata* ;” “Non sarebbe fuor di proposito la mia confusione, veggendo voi estremamente *turbata*.”

FUGIT ILCET OCIOR EURO SPELUNCAMQUE PETIT ; PEDIBUS TIMOR ADDIDIT ALAS. UT SESE INCLUSIT, &c. Those who love farce after tragedy may compare Dr. Sheridan's escape out of the dock, and precipitate retreat to his bedroom, when he was pronounced guilty on his mock trial at Ardsalla, and the rope produced with which he was to be hanged (Theophilus Swift's Narrative, quoted by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Life of Swift*, p. 423, n.): “Out of the dock he springs, and flies up stairs, the whole court in full cry after him. But *fear having added wings to his feet, he had sufficient time to bolt his chamber door, which he barricadoed as well as he could with what furniture was in the room.* Here for two hours he remained besieged; at length he capitulated, on a solemn assurance that he should not be hanged.”

231-240.

TER SAXEA TENTAT

LIMINA NEQUIDQUAM TER FESSUS VALLE RESEDIT
 STABAT ACUTA SILEX PRAECISIS UNDIQUE SAXIS
 SPELUNCAE DORSO INSURGENS ALTISSIMA VISU
 DIRARUM NIDIS DOMUS OPPORTUNA VOLUCRUM.
 HANC UT PRONA IUGO LAEVUM INCUMBEBAT AD AMNEM
 DEXTER IN ADVERSUM NITENS CONCUSSIT ET IMIS
 AVOLSAM SOLVIT RADICIBUS INDE REPENTE
 INPULIT IMPULSU QUO MAXIMUS INSONAT AETHER
 DISSULTANT RIPAE REFLUITQUE EXTERRITUS AMNIS

LIMINA (vs. 232).—*The entrance, the door itself*, properly denominated SAXEA, inasmuch as not only in the solid rock, but now blocked up by a solid rock.

ACUTA SILEX.—The “scopuli,” pointed out above (vs. 192) by Evander to Aeneas, lying prostrate at the bottom of the “iugum.”

PRAECISIS.—*Cut short, cut off in front, i. e., praecipitous, perpendicular.* Compare Sil. 13. 336 (of Pan):

“nulla in praeruptum tam prona et inhospita cautes,
 in quam non, librans corpus, similisque volanti
 cornipedem tulerit *praecisa* per avia plantam,”

where we have the exact equivalent of “*praecisa avia*” in “*in praeruptum prona et inhospita cautes.*”

SAXIS.—The SAXA of the SILEX, i. e., the SILEX itself. SILEX PRAECISIS SAXIS = *silex perpendicularis*.

UNDIQUE.—The SILEX was praecipitous or pendicular, not merely on one side, but all round, on every side. There is no difference whatever between Virgil’s PRAECISIS UNDIQUE SAXIS, and Cicero’s “*circumciso saxo*,” *De Republ.* 2. 6 (of the Capitol): “*Ut ita munita arx circumiectu arduo et quasi circumciso saxo*

niteretur," with which compare Pausanias, in *Atticis* (of the Acropolis of Athens): Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀκροπόλιν ἐστὶν εἰσόδος μὴ ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρεχεται, πᾶσα ἀποτομός οὖσα, where *πᾶσα ἀποτομός* is precisely the "circumciso" of Cicero and the *PRAECISIS UNDIQUE* of our text.

STABAT ACUTA SILEX, PRAECISIS UNDIQUE SAXIS is thus equivalent to *stabat acuta et undique perpendicularis silex*, the formula *PRAECISIS SAXIS* being used in place of the simple adjective *perpendicularis*, partly for variety's sake, partly for the ease of the versification, and partly because so conveniently adapting itself to *UNDIQUE*.

SPELUNCAE DORSO INSURGENS.—The *SILEX* was the sole prominence on the top of the cave, rising high above all the other rocks which formed the roof of the cave.

DORSO.—Not *the back* (*hinder or posterior part*) of the cave, but *the hump* (i. e., *the humped roof*) of the cave, first, because *dorsum* is not properly *the back*, but *the hump of the back*, and therefore, by extension, *a hump of anything* (see Rem. on "*dorsum immane mari summo*," l. 114); secondly, because the *SILEX* is described as *INSURGENS DORSO*, i. e., *surging in dorso*; thirdly, because the *SILEX* being thrown down, there was still no outlet to the cave by which Cacus could escape (v. 248, "*inclusum cavo saxo*"), as there would have been had the situation of the *SILEX* been upright along the back of the cave; and fourthly, because Hercules having first pressed Cacus hard with stocks and stones thrown down at him "*desuper*" (vs. 249) actually leaped down himself into the cave through the opening which the overturn of the *SILEX* had made in the "*dorsum*":

. . . "seque ipse per ignem
praecipiti iecit salta, qua plurimus undam
fumus agit, nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra."

Compare l. 114: "*Dorsum immane mari summo*;" Stat. *Theb.* 3. 460:

"mons erat audaci seductus in aethera dorso;"

Val. Flacc. 4. 177:

"littore in extremo spelunca apparuit ingens,
arboribus super et dorso contexta minanti;"

Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 7: "Constabat inter omnes, quod iam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, *dorsum* esse eius ingi prope aequum." Sil. 7. 692: "Circaeio Tuscula *dorso* moenia;" Petron. *Troi. Halos.* (*Satyr.* 89):

. . . "celsa qua Tenedos mare
dorso repellit,"

where "*dorso*" is the hump or boss which the island forms on the even surface of the sea, precisely the sense in which the word is used *Aen.* 1. 114, quoted above.

NIDIS DOMUS.—*A home or situation, not for the nest* (for, *nidis* in the sense of *nest* being itself a *domus*, NIDIS DOMUS would then be equivalent to *domui domus*, quod absurdum), but *for the young brood*. See Rem. on 5. 214.

IUGO (vs. 236).—The ridge of the Aventine.

PRONA IUGO.—Not *prone* (or *sloping*) on the "*iugum*," but *prone or sloping by means of the "iugum"*; the slope was in the "*iugum*," not in the *SILEX*; this was perpendicular on the "*iugum*," and the "*iugum*" having a slope toward the river the *SILEX* if pushed from its foundation would fall in that direction.

LAEVUM AD AMNEM.—The river was on the left of what? not of Hercules, for he pushed the stone straight forward, right before him, IN ADVERSUM NITENS, and could only have pushed it in the direction in which it was inclined, and its inclination was downwards towards the river (INCUMBEBAT AD AMNEM). The river, therefore, must have been on the left of something else, and there was nothing else on whose left it could have been, but either the cave (*i. e.*, on your left hand as you looked out from the cave), or of the spectator (*i. e.*, on your left hand as you stood in front of the cave, and looking towards it). In the former case the cave must have looked up the river (the Aventine mount being on the left bank of the river); in the latter case the cave must have looked down the river. It is more probable that LAEVUM means *on your left hand*, *i. e.*, on the left hand of the spectator, looking towards the opening of the cave, because vs. 190 we have Evander calling the attention of Aeneas to the cave, with the word "*aspice*," &c. Aeneas, therefore,

and Evander are to be considered as standing in front of the cave, looking at it, or, indeed, rather at the site, where the cave once was, and therefore (as they were standing on the left bank of the river, and had the river on their left hand) as looking up the river. In front of them was the "iugum" of the Aventine crossing their field of view from right to left, and in the "iugum" the site of the cave, now open above (the *SILEX* which had stood on the top of it having been torn up and pushed down the "iugum" by *Hercules*, and so a great chasm made in the roof) and open below on the level, the stone having been removed from the door or opening of the cave, in order to take out the oxen (vs. 262).

DEXTER IN ADVERSUM, &c., . . . AMNIS (v. 237-240).—"Rem naturae vertit in fabulam, cum ruina rupis in se recurrere necesse sit impetum fluminis," *Servius*. "Stetit *Hercules*, et saxum labefactavit, ita ut illud in amnem prolaberetur," *Heyne*, *Forbiger*. I find no such meaning in the words. I find only that the aether thundered with the fall of the stone, the banks of the river started from each other, and the river was so terrified that it flowed backward. These were the metaphorical, not the physical effects of the fall of the stone on the bank, of the concussion produced by the fall of the stone. For, first, if the stone had fallen into the river, there would have been some account of the splash, and the foam, and the stopping up of the watercourse. Secondly, the stone in its original position is described not as hanging over the river, but only as inclining towards the river, in the direction of the river, toward that side on which the river was, *LAEVUM INCUMBEBAT AD AMNEM*. Thirdly, still further, the stone either was the "scopuli" pointed out to *Aeneas* by *Evander* (vs. 192), or amongst those "scopuli," and therefore certainly not in the river when *Aeneas* and *Evander* contemplated it, but lying prostrate on the level ground at the bottom of the "iugum," and between the "iugum" and the river. Fourthly, the effect on the river is plainly indicated by *EXTERRITUS* to have been a moral and metaphorical, not a literal and physical effect. Fifthly, if, nevertheless, the effect on the river is to be understood literally and physically, then the

effect on the banks (DISSULTANT RIPAE) is also to be understood literally and physically; *quod absurdum*. And sixthly, Ovid, in his account of the fall of the rock, not only makes no mention whatever of the river, but informs us in explicit terms that the rock fell on the ground, *Fast. 1. 567*:

“quod simul evulsum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum;
ictaque subsedit pondere molis *humus*.”

See 9. 123 for a precisely similar effect of fear and astonishment on the selfsame river:

“obstupere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse
turbatis Messapus equis, *cunctatur et amnis*
rauca sonans, *revocatque pedem Tiberinus* ab alto;”

and Sil. 3. 463, for the effect of the Rhone's fear and astonishment at the sight of the elephants transported across it on rafts by Hannibal:

“at gregis illapsu fremebundo *territus acris*
expavit moles *Rhodanus*, stagnisque refusis
torsit arenoso minitantia murmura fundo;”

and compare Claud. *Eutr. 2. 162* (of the effect produced on nature by Mars rattling his spear on his shield):

. . . “respondat Athos, Haemusque remugit:
ingeminat raucum Rhodope concussa fragorem.
cornua cana gelu mirantibus extulit undis
Hebrus, et exsanguem glacie timor adligat Histrum;”

also Sil. 4. 444:

. . . “quatitur Saturnia sedes
ingressu tremefacta Dei [Martis] *ripasque relinquit*
audito curru, *fontique relabitur amnis*;”

and Claud. in *Rufin. 1. 131* (of the effects produced by the howl of Megaera):

. . . “sensit feral Britannia murmur,
et Senonum quatit arma fragor, *revolutaque Tethys*
substitit, et *Rhenus* proiecta torpuit urna;”

and *Psaln 113*: “Mare vidit et fugit; Jordanis conversus est retrorsum.”

DEXTER (vs. 237).—*Standing towards the right hand, viz., of the spectator as he looks up the river towards the cave. IN ADVERSUM NITENS, pushing straight forward, or before him (Hercules), and therefore towards the river.*

IMPULIT (vs. 239).—*Not merely pushed, but pushed so as to throw down; overthrew with a push. Compare 2. 460: "Turrim . . . convellimus altis sedibus impulimusque" [not merely pushed, but pushed so that it fell over]; Lucan. 1. 159 (of Caesar):*

" successus urgere suos, instare favori
numinis, *impellens* quicquid sibi summa petenti
obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina "

[not merely *pushing* or *impelling*, but *pushing out of his way*].
See Rem. on 2. 460.

241-261.

AT SPECUS—GUTTUR

VAR. LECT. (vs. 246).

TREPIDENT **I** *Med.** (Fogg.) **IIII** Ven. 1470;* Aldus (1514);* Wakef.*; Ribb.

TREPIDENTQUE **IIII** P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.

AT SPECUS ET CACI DETECTA APPARUIT INGENS REGIA (vv. 241-2), theme; ET UMBROSÆ PENITUS PATUERE CAVERNÆ, variation.

INFERNAS RESERAT SEDES (vs. 244), theme; REGNA RECLUDAT PALLIDA, variation.

SUPERQUE IMMANE BARATHRUM CERNATUR (vv. 245-6), theme; TREPIDENTQUE IMMISSO LUMINE MANES, variation.

* With no interpunction between TREPIDENT and IMMISSO.

SUPER and CERNATUR are to be joined: SUPERCERNATUR, is looked down upon from above. The active form, super-prospecto is used at 9. 168:

“haec *super* e vallo prospectant Troes, et armis.”

DESUPER ALCIDES TELIS PREMIT (vs. 249), theme; OMNIAQUE ARMA ADVOCAT, first variation; ET RAMIS VASTISQUE MOLARIBUS INSTAT, second variation. In other words OMNIA ARMA repeats TELIS, and RAMIS VASTISQUE MOLARIBUS explains both; as if he had said: “presses him with missiles, and the missiles with which he presses him are not ordinary military weapons but branches of trees and stones as big as millstones.” Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 603 (of Apollo):

“arma assueta rapit; flexumque a cornibus arcum
tendit; et illa suo toties cum pectore iuncta
indevitato traiecit pectora telo,”

where we have the similar theme and variation, but where the “arma” and “tela” not being “omnia” but only “assueta” are not branches of trees and stones, but bow and arrows.

FAUCIBUS INGENTEM FUMUM EVOMIT (vv. 252-3), theme; INVOLVITQUE DOMUM CALIGINE CAECA, first variation; GLOMERATQUE SUB ANTRO FUMIFERAM NOCTEM, second variation.

QUA PLURIMUS UNDAM FUMUS AGIT (vv. 257-8), theme; NEBULAQUE INGENS SPECUS AESTUAT ATRA, variation.

HIC CACUM IN TENEBRIS INCENDIA VANA VOMENTEM CORRIPIT IN NODUM COMPLEXUS (vv. 259-60).—IN NODUM.—“Doctius quam nodo, *per nodum* . . . arto brachiorum nodo,” Heyne, the latter words being put forward by Wagner (1861) as his own interpretation: but neither commentator even so much as attempting to show how it happens that IN NODUM is equivalent to “nodo,” still less how it happens that it is more *élite*. Nor is it not without good reason that neither commentator has attempted. IN NODUM is neither equivalent to, nor more *élite* than, “nodo.” “Nodo” is one thing, IN NODUM is another. “Nodo,” had our author used that form of the word, had been the nodus itself, the instrument with which the strangling was effected; IN NODUM is the fashion according to which it was

effected. Hercules seized him in his embrace (COMPLEXUS), after the fashion of a nodus (IN NODUM). The picture is of Hercules leaping on Caous, and clinging round him, not with his arms alone, but with himself, with his whole body, as if he Hercules had been a nodus, IN NODUM.

ET ANGIT INHAERENS ELISOS OCULOS (vv. 260-61).—ANGIT, ἀγγειν, suffocates, strangulates, garottes, viz., by narrowing; to narrow being the primitive meaning of angere, or anquere, as shown by the derivative angustus, and the compound angiportus.

ELISOS.—Squeezed out, made to start out of their sockets, by the “angere,” the throttling, the garotting, in the same way as the juice is squeezed out of the grape by the pressure of the feet, or by the winepress, as Propert. 4. 6:

“vinaque fundantur prelis elisa Falernis.”

ET SICCU M SANGUINE GUTTUR (vs. 261).—“Per hoc iam exanime cadaver ostenditur,” Servius. “Blutlos ächzende gurgel,” Voss. “ELISOS und SANGUINE SICCU M sind als prolepsis, als die eigentliche folge des angere zu nehmen,” Thiel. All erroneously, as I think, notwithstanding the appropriation of the words in the same sense by Paulinus, *de Vita S. Martini*, 1. 375:

“unus enim laqueo fauces stringente minister
ruperat extortae demens confinia vitae.
accurrit propere complexus triste cadaver,
elisos oculos et siccas sanguine fauces,
lumina torva nimis vultumque in morte minacem.”

SICCU M SANGUINE is not, and never could be, anything else than *dry of blood*, i. e., *dry from not having been, for some time past, wet with blood*. Compare Propert. 4. 10. 11:

“hic spolia ex humeris ausus sperare Quirinis
ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo”

(where “non sicca sanguine” is, and never was understood by any commentator to be anything else than, *not dry of blood*, i. e., *wet with blood*); and, still more parallel to our text; Virgil himself, *Aen.* 9. 64: “siccae sanguine fauces” (where the selfsame epithet is applied to the throat of the hungry wolf, and where

no one ever doubted the meaning to be *dry of blood*, i. e., *not wet with blood*), also Ovid's exactly opposite picture of the throat *wet with blood*, *Met. 14. 194* (Polyphemus speaking):

“viscera cuius edam, cuius viventia dextra
membra mea laniem, cuius mihi *sanguis inundet*
guttur;”

also *Sil. 8. 19*: “*siccasque cruore hebescere dextras*” [hands for a long time not wet with gore]; *Id. 7. 212*:

“haec tum vasta dabat, terrisque infestus agebat
Hannibal, et *sicci* stimulabant *sanguinis* enses,
ludificante ducem Fabio;”

Lucan. 6. 550 (of the witch Erechtio):

“et quodcunque iacet nuda tellure cadaver,
ante feras, volucresque sedet; nec carpere membra
vult ferro, manibusque suis, morsusque luporum
expectat, *siccis* raptura a faucibus artus”

[i. e., *siccis sanguine*]; *Id. 7. 853* (apostrophizing the plains of Pharsalia):

“ante novae venient acies, scelerique secundo
praestabis, nondum *siccis* hoc *sanguine* campos”

[on which this blood has not yet become dry]; *Id. 1. 327* (Jul. Caesar apostrophizing Pompey):

“utque ferae tigres nunquam posuere furem,
quas nemore Hyrcano, matrum dum lustra sequuntur,
altus caesorum pavit cruor armentorum;
sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum
durat, Magne, *sitis*; *nullus* semel ore receptus
pollutas *patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces*;”

Claud. in Rufin. 2. 7 (of Rufinus):

. . . “neque enim patiuntur saeva quietem
crimina, pollutaeque negant *arescere fauces*;”

also *Epitom. Iliados 905* (of Achilles): “*sanguinis Hectorei sitiens;*” *Mart. Capella de Nupt. Philol. 1. 82* (ed. Kopp) (of Mars): “*Dehinc admissi Tonantis ipsius filii. Inter quos primus quidem ruber iuvenis, ac vorax omnium sititorque etiam sanguinis gradiebatur.*”

But we have as yet advanced no more than half way to the meaning of the words. It remains yet to be determined whether they are to be understood literally or metaphorically, the examples just adduced not deciding that question but showing some of them a literal, some a metaphorical use of the identical or corresponding terms. That a literal sense is intended, and that the blood for which Cacus thirsted was real blood, and that real blood not merely the blood of sheep or oxen, but the blood of his fellowmen, seems to be placed beyond doubt, ~~as~~ well by the horror with which he was regarded by the whole country, a horror not to be accounted for by his mere exercise of the profession of a robber, and equalled only by the horror excited by the cannibal Polyphemus (see Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 551 :

. . . "Aventinae timor atque infamia silvae
non leve finitimis hospitibusque malum ;"

Aen. 8. 265 :

. . . "nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
terribiles oculos, vultum villosaque setis
pectora semiferi, atque extinctos faucibus ignes"),

~~as~~ by the fresh carnage with which the ground was always warm and moist—

. . . "semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus ;"

the *sanies*-dripping men's heads and arms hanging up about his door—

. . . "foribusque affixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo ;"

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 557 :

"ora super postes affixaque brachia pendent ;"

and the bleaching human bones which strewed the bottom of his cave—*ibid.* 1. 558 :

"squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus."

Without SANGUINE added to it, SICCUUM would be *dry*, i. e., *not having drunk wine*, as Cic. in *Lucull.* : "Dormientium, et vinolentorum, et furiosorum visa imbecilliora esse dicebas, quam

vigilantium, *siccorum*, sanorum," where "*siccorum*" is the opposite of "*vinolentorum*." In our text SANGUINE is added to *siccum* because blood was the ordinary repast of *Cæus*.

263-294.

ABSTRACTÆQUE—MANU

VAR. LECT. (vv. 271-2).

HANC—SEMPER **¶** *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* **¶¶** $\frac{1}{2}$. **¶¶¶** *Serv.*; *Ven.* 1470; *Rom.* 1473; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.*; *Brunck*; *Wakef.*; *Pott.*; *Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Lad.*; *Haupt*; *Ribb.*
HANC—SEMPER OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED. **¶¶¶** *Heyne*.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 277).

INMISSA **¶¶¶** *Probus*, (*Keil's* ed., p. 46. l. 19).
INNEXA **¶¶¶** *P. Manut.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 279).

IN MENSAM **¶** *Rom.*, *Med.* **¶¶** $\frac{1}{2}$. **¶¶¶** *Serv.*; *Ven.* 1470; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.*; *Heyne*; *Brunck*; *Wakef.*; *Pott.*; *Wagn.* (*Praest.*, ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Lad.*; *Haupt*; *Ribb.*
IMMENSAM **¶** *Pal.* **¶¶¶** *Rom.* 1473.

VAR. LECT. (vv. 283-4).

INSTAURANT—ARAS **¶** *Rom.*, *Pul.*, *Med.* **¶¶** $\frac{1}{2}$. **¶¶¶** *Serv.*; *Ven.* 1470; *Rom.* 1473; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.*; *Brunck*; *Wakef.*; *Pott.*; *Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Lad.*; *Haupt*.
INSTAURANT—ARAS OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED **¶¶¶** *Heyne*; *Ribb.*

ABSTRACTÆQUE BOVES ABIURATÆQUE RAPINÆ CAELO OSTENDUNTUR (vv. 263-4).—Theme and variation embodied in one.

VILLOSAQUE SETIS PECTORA (vv. 266-7).—PECTORA, not *the breast* (for what had there been of extraordinary in a male breast covered with long hair?), but as pectus is so often elsewhere *the body, the carcass*.

EXTINCTOS FAUCIBUS IGNES (vs. 267).—See Rem. on “instare iugis.

EX ILLO CELEBRATUS HONOS (vs. 278), *theme*; LAETIQUE MINORES SERVAVERE DIEM, *variation*.

ET ERIT QUAE MAXIMA SEMPER (vs. 272).—The reader will observe that his own altar is not the first or only altar which has been deemed *a parte ante* to be everlasting *a parte post*.

QUARE AGITE, &c., . . . VOLENTES (vv. 273-5).—“Hip! hip! hurra!”

POCULA PORGITE DEXTRIS (vs. 274).—*Hold out your hands with the cups in them*; no doubt towards the god, i. e., towards heaven, saluting Hercules with the cup held towards him in their outstretched hands, as we hold out the hand with the glass in it, toward each other when we drink.

COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM (vs. 275).—Not only was Hercules invited, by the stretching out of their hands with the cups in them, to take part in their rejoicings, but he was called upon *vivâ voce* to do so. He does not come, of course, and his share of the wine is poured out on the dish or table (IN MENSAM LAETI LIBANT, vs. 279).

If anyone doubts that this *mutatis mutandis* is the very rite, the very communion of wine, which we celebrate at the present day, let him compare the preceding COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM, and DATE VINA VOLENTES and the succeeding ET SACER IMPLEVIT DEXTRAM SCYPHUS, with *Evang. Matth. 26. 27*: *καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτηριον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων· πιετέ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*.

HERCULEA BICOLOR CUM POPULUS UMBRA VELAVITQUE COMAS, FOLIISQUE INNEXA PEPENDIT (vv. 276-7).—The structure is not INNEXA FOLIIS, but PEPENDIT FOLIIS. INNEXA, *bound about his head*; PEPENDIT, *hung down with its leaves*. This is an exact description of the Herculean poplar garland, which not merely formed a binding or circle round the head, but having gone

round the head hung down over each cheek in the form of a free floating string or ribbon, a shape easily given to the garland, provided care were taken to have it long enough to hang down at each extremity after going round the head. That this was the shape of the Herculean poplar garland appears probable from its comparison by Ovid to the Maeonian mitra, which, as we are informed not merely by Servius but by Virgil himself, had dependent ears or strings—Servius: “de quo [pileo] *pendebat etiam buccarum tegimen* ;” Virgil, *Aen.* 9. 616: “et habent redimicula mitrae. Ovid’s comparison of the two kinds of head-dress will be found in the *Epistle of Dejanira to Hercules*, 63:

ausus es hirsutos *mitra* redimire capillos :
aptior Herculeae *populus alba comae*.”

For FOLIISQUE INNEXA PENDIT, compare 7. 351 :

. . . “fit tortile collo
aurum ingens coluber, fit *longae taenia vittae*
innectiturq; comas,”

where there is not only the same binding of the hair expressed by the same word, but the same loose dependent fillet also.

FOLIIS PENDIT, precisely as *Georg.* 4. 374, “*pendentia pumice*,” it being in the one case the leaves which are described as hanging, in the other case the travertine. INNEXUS, *bound round, twined round, tied round anything* ; in this place round the head. Compare 5. 510 :

. . . “*nodos et vincula rupit*
queis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto ;”

8. 661: “*tum lactea collo auro innectuntur* ;” Ovid, *Met.* 10. 378 : “*Laqueoq; innectere fauces destinat*.” Voss, confounding innexus with nexus, and not aware that the former never has the signification of *intertwined, interwoven, plaited into*, but always of *tied round, bound round*, has rendered FOLIISQUE INNEXA PENDIT “und durch flochts [viz., das haar] mit schwebendem laube.”

DIVOS (vs. 279).—*I. e.*, Herculem. See Rem. on “*Amphitryoniadae magno divisque*,” vs. 103.

DEVEXO INTEREA PROPIOR FIT VESPER OLYMPO (vs. 280).—PROPIOR, not in time, but *in place*: nearer to the ground.—Compare Lucan, 6. 505 (of the moon drawn down, *deducta*, towards the earth by incantation):

“et patitur tantos cantu depressa labores,
donec subpositas *propior* despumet in herbas.”

UT PRIMA NOVERCAE MONSTRA MANU GEMINOSQUE PREMENS ELISERIT ANGUES (vs. 289-90), theme and variation embodied in one.

MILLE LABORES (vs. 291).—“MILLE pro multis,” Servius. Servius would have been nearer the truth if he had said *pro duodecim*. No flattery is ever hyperbolic either to the flattered (whether god or man) or to the flatterer.

TU NUBIGENAS, INVICTE, BIMEMBRES HYLAEUMQUE, PHOLUMQUE MANU (vv. 293-4).—Compare this singing of the praises of Hercules, and the whole of this fine picture of a religious festival, with the corresponding and scarcely less fine picture by Ovid of the singing of the praises of Theseus, and the festival in his honour, *Met.* 7. 433:

. . . “te, maxime Theseu,
mirata est Marathon Cretaei sanguine Tauri”;

and, inferior to neither, chaunted in full choir, our own most admirable *Te Deum laudamus*.

297-301.

OSSA SUPER RECUBANS ANTRO SEMESA CRUENTO
NEC TE ULLAE FACIES NON TERRUIT IPSE TYPHOEUS
ARDUUS ARMA TENENS NON TE RATIONIS EGENTEM
LERNÆUS TURBA CAPITUM CIRCUMSTETIT ANGUIS
SALVE VERA IOVIS PROLES DECUS ADDITE DIVIS

OSSA SUPER RECUBANS.—Where did he get the bones in that region of shadows? Who catered for him and brought him his

provender across the Styx? for that he was himself substantial and required substantial food, no one can doubt, and he devoured with great gusto the cake the Sibyl was so thoughtful as to bring with her. That cake, and unfortunate Pirithous, are the only food I ever heard from any reliable authority of his getting; and even if he did now and then at intervals of years or ages come in for the god-send of an odd Pirithous or an odd Sibyllic "offa," his diet must have been of the lenten. Besides, the "offa" had no bones. So that to explain the ossa we have as yet only Pirithous and the Pirithoi. Is the omission Virgil's, or of Virgil's religion? I am inclined to think, of the latter; it being a common character of religions to have such blanks, and instead of being ashamed of, or embarrassed by them, to be proud of them. See Rem. on "discite iustitiam moniti," &c., 6. 620.

NEC TE ULLAE FACIES, NON TERRUIT IPSE TYPHOEUS, ARDUUS, ARMA TENENS, theme and variation embodied in one. Wagner has removed from his edition of Heyne the comma placed by preceding editors at ARDUUS, and joining ARDUUS ARMA TENENS into one notion, observes "Segnis est oratio TYPHOEUS, ARDUUS, ARMA TENENS. Non est quod quis terreat virum fortem arma tenens." The example of Wagner has been followed by succeeding editors, Ribbeck included, and Peerlkamp and Forbiger, the last-mentioned of whom thus interprets the compound sentence ARDUUS ARMA TENENS: "Hoch über ihm die waffen schwingend." For my part, I do not deny that the ARDUUS may grammatically be so joined with the ARMA TENENS. I only deny that the picture gains by the junction. On the contrary, the image of the erect towering giant is wholly lost, and we have instead a description which is equally applicable to the meanest dwarf; for what dwarf could not swing his weapon high above his head? ARDUUS followed immediately by the comma presents to the mind emphatically the erect giant (see Rem. on 2. 247), and the meaning is, Typhoeus, enough even when unexcited and unarmed to terrify an ordinary man, did not, even although erect to his full height and armed, terrify Hercules. In other words: not even when threatening and

assuming the offensive was tall Typhoeus himself a terror to Hercules. Compare vs. 682, Agrippa represented on the Vulcanian shield of Aeneas "*arduus agmen agens*," where, if ARDUUS in our text is spoken not of the tall figure and erect attitude of Typhoeus, but of the height at which he holds his arms above his head, "*arduus*" must be spoken not of the tall figure and erect attitude of Agrippa on the poop or quarter-deck of his vessel giving orders to his soldiers, but of the height at which those soldiers are commanded or marshalled above his head, *quod absurdum*. ARDUUS, therefore, is spoken of the height and attitude of Typhoeus, and the comma removed by Wagner should be replaced, and so the climax, IPSE TYPHOEUS—ARDUUS—ARMA TENENS—restored.

Arduus is very commonly used elsewhere by Virgil to express erect attitude or tall stature, or both together, *ex. gr.* 3. 619 (of Polyphemus): "*ipse arduus, altaque pulsat sidera*," the parallelism of which passage with our text IPSE TYPHOEUS ARDUUS is of the closest kind, Polyphemus and Typhoeus both being giants; 5. 479 (of Dares, also *giganticus*):

"libravit dextra media inter cornua cestus,
arduus, effractoque illisit in ossa cerebro,"

where "*arduus*" is, as in our text, *tall and erect*, and, as in our text, in the emphatic position, being at one and the same time placed first word in the verse, and referring to a preceding subject, and separated by a pause from the sequel. If Wagner informs us as above, that IPSE TYPHOEUS, ARDUUS, ARMA TENENS need not terrify a brave man even although no Hercules ("*non est quod quis terreat virum fortem arma tenens*"), a greater than even Virgil himself thought otherwise; for what does Milton say of the second, the imitated Typhoeus? (*Par. Lost.* 4. 985):

. . . "on the other side Satan alarmed,
collecting all his might, dilated stood,
like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved;
his stature reached the sky, and on his crest
sat horror plumed; nor wanted in his grasp
what seemed both spear and shield."

ARMA TENENS.—*Armed; with arms in his hands.* Compare

Lucan, l. 348 (*Caesar of himself*) "*Arma tenenti omnia dat qui iusta negat.*"

NON TE RATIONIS EGENTEM LERNAEUS TURBA CAPITUM CIRCUMSTETIT ANGUIS.—The heads were so numerous that they met him in all directions, surrounded him like a crowd. Compare 7. 658 :

"centum angues cinctamque gerit serpentibus hydram,"

where the picture is that of the hydra with its "(centum) serpentibus" (in our text, TURBA CAPITUM) surrounding it on all sides, whereas in our text the picture is that of the hydra with its TURBA CAPITUM the (centum "serpentibus" of 7. 658) surrounding Hercules on all sides.

VERA IOVIS PROLES.—VERA is not said indifferently. Hercules was considered *par excellence* the true or genuine offspring of Jove, and—as we say vulgarly—*no mistake*. Compare Eurip. *Fragm. Pirithous*, 5 :

εμοι πατρὶς μὲν Ἀργός, ὄνομα δ' Ἡρακλῆς,
θεοῦ δὲ πάντων πατρὸς ἐξεφύν Διός·
ἐμὴ γὰρ ἦλθε μητρὶ κέδνῃ πρὸς Λέχου
Ζεὺς ὡς λελεῖται τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπο,
ἦκω δὲ δευρὸ πρὸς βίαν Εὐρυσθεως·

also *Aen.* 6. 322 :

"Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles."

The reason why Hercules was thus especially considered as the VERA IOVIS PROLES, that son of Jove concerning whom there could be no mistake, was, no doubt, that his exploits were such as could be performed by none but the Son of the Most High. Accordingly, the epithet is applied to him in our text immediately after the enumeration of his exploits, as if the words of the priests had been : "thou who performedst these wonders art truly the offspring of Jove ; canst not have been begotten by less than the Divine Majesty, the Omnipotent Himself." The conclusion of the verse is the amplification, summing up, and climax of the same argument, DECUS ADDITE DIVIS—"thou, the performer of these exploits, being thyself now translated to heaven, addest to its glory ; the gods themselves were never so much gods as now that thou art reckoned among them." Com-

pare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 42 (Apollo to Phaethon, who had required a voucher from him that he was his son):

. . . “ ‘nec tu meus esse negari
dignus es; et Clymene veros,’ ait ‘edidit ortus’ ”;

and *Aen.* 4. 11 (Dido, judging from Aeneas's words and looks that his origin could be nothing less than divine):

“quem sese ore ferens! quam forti pectore et armis!
credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.”

It is perhaps no more than was to be expected that the argument used by the Salian priests to satisfy themselves and their disciples that the object of their worship was verily and indeed the son of Jupiter should be found in most other cultuses whether ancient or modern; but it is certainly a most extraordinary and not to be expected coincidence, that a wife of Hercules, hapless Dejanira herself, should in an apostrophe to her reputed mother, Althaea, prove herself by a like argument to be verily and indeed the daughter of that impious woman: “Nobody but the daughter of Althaea could be guilty of the crime of which I am guilty; therefore, I am the daughter of Althaea.” Nobody but the son of Jupiter could perform the wonders which Hercules has performed; therefore Hercules is the son of Jupiter. See Senec. *Herc. Oet.* 945 (Dejanira speaking):

“merui manus præbere turbinibus tuis
quaecunque regem Thessalum torques rota.
effodiat avidus hinc et hinc vultur fibras.
vacet una Danaïs; has ego explebo vices.
laxate manes. recipe me comitem tui,
Phasiaca coniux. peior haec, peior tuo
utroque dextra est scelere, seu mater nocens,
seu dira soror es. adde me comitem tuis,
Threicia coniux, sceleribus. gnatam tuam,
Althaea mater, recipe; nunc veram tuam
agnosce prolem. quid tamen tantum manus
vestrae abstulerunt.”

DECUS ADDITE DIVIS.—*Ornament of the gods, thou that ornamentest the gods, ornamentest the society of heaven.* The notion is not of an additional person in heaven, but of a person whose presence in heaven is an ornament to heaven. The addition to

heaven is not that of a new person or new god, but of DECUS, *i. e.*, grace and beauty. Compare 1. 596: "quale manus addunt ebori *decus*," where grace and beauty (polish) are added to ivory by the hands of the workman, just as in our text grace and beauty are added to the society of heaven by the presence of Hercules; Manil. 3. 25:

. . . "facile est ventis dare vela secundis,
fecundumque solum varias agitare per artes,
auroque atque ebori decus addere, cum rudis ipsa
materies niteat,"

where we have the similar addition by workmanship of grace and beauty to the already handsome gold and ivory. Exactly similar to the compliment here paid to Hercules, *viz.*, that his presence in heaven is an ornament to it, is the compliment paid by Manilius to Augustus, *viz.*, that heaven would increase and flourish and become greater when it came to be governed by him; *Astron.* 4. 934:

"iam facit ipse [homo] deos, mittitque ad sidera numen,
maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum."

305-351.

CONSONAT—COLLEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 338).

ROMANO ■ *Rom.* ■■ 1^o. ■■■ *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Burm.; Heyne; Brunek; Wakef.; Pott.

ROMANI ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ 1^o. ■■■ Voss; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Peerlk.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

The same locality being spoken of in COLLES, with respect to its conformation, and in NEMUS with respect to its clothing (see Rem. on vs. 215), the sentence

CONSONAT OMNE NEMUS STREPITU, COLLESQUE RESULTANT

is to be regarded as theme and variation.

CAPITURQUE LOCIS (vs. 311).—Exactly as we say in English: *Is taken with the places, i. e., is captivated, or charmed, with them.* Compare *Prov. 6. 25*: “Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her *take* thee with her eyelids.”

PRIMUS AB AETHERIO VENIT SATURNUS OLYMPO, arma Iovis fugiens, et regnis exul adeptis; is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis composuit (vv. 319-322).—To be understood exactly as if PRIMUS were *primum* or *primo* and is, *et*. First came Saturn from aethereal Olympus . . . and made amenable, and introduced order amongst the intractable crew. That this is the true interpretation appears clearly from TUM (vs. 328), which in plain prose would have been preceded not by PRIMUS but *primum*. The difficulty of the English reader both here and at verse 5 of the first book, where also “*primus*” is used in the sense of *primum*, arises from the circumstance that in English the adjective *first* cannot even in poetry be used for the adverb *first*.

ET CARMENTALEM ROMANO NOMINE PORTAM, QUAM MEMORANT, NYMPHAE PRISCUM CARMENTIS HONOREM (vv. 338-9).—PRISCUM, not merely *ancient*, but *very ancient, aboriginal, primitive, old-fashioned*; a proper epithet for a building the existence of which dated from before the foundation of Rome, the meaning being that Evander pointed out to Aeneas a gate of Pallanteum which had received its name from his (Evander’s) mother, and which in later times became a Roman celebrity, under the name of Carmentalis, Carmenta being the name by which the Romans thought proper to call Nicostrata, the mother of Evander.

ROMANO NOMINE is the reading of all the editors down to Wagner. Wagner, in his edition of Heyne, has turned ROMANO into ROMANI, partly on the authority of the Medicean, and partly “ne haec ET CARMENTALEM—PORTAM e verbo MONSTRAT suspensa faciant legentes, sed proximo demum versu absolvi orationem sentiant.” How little the authority of the Medicean *per se* is to be depended on these commentaries have afforded sufficient proof, and the second argument, if of any weight at all, should be equally applicable to the exactly corresponding passage,

Georg. 3. 146 :

“ est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
pluribus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo,”

where readers are in precisely the same danger of supposing the sense to close with the close of the verse as they are with respect to our text, and where it is nevertheless impossible by any change of the reading, any helping hand of grammarian, any breaking up of the peccant line into as many segments as it has words, to obviate the danger, and force the reader, will he nil he, to judge aright. Ah! naughty Virgil, so to insist on writing poetry and not prose, even at the risk that your reader may suppose himself come to the end of a sentence while he is yet distant from it by the length of two entire words, and this not once nor twice, but one hundred times in the course of your work; just as if you took a pleasure in disappointing and annoying us; first leading us wrong, and then laughing at our error! There is only one excuse for you, and that is, that other poets just as good as you, or better, have done the same thing.

HINC (vs. 342).—Εκ τούτου, Angl. *next*.

LUCUM INGENTEM, QUEM ROMULUS ACER ASYLUM RETTULIT (vv. 342-3).—“RETTULIT est *appellavit*,” Heyne. No; Servius is right: “Fecit ad imitationem Atheniensis Asyli.” Compare 5. 596 :

“ hunc morem, hos cursus, atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris quum cingeret Albam,
rettulit,”

where there is no word about the name. *Referre* is to repeat in any manner, either by name, or by representation of the thing itself. When it is the former, it must be so specially stated, as 12. 348 :

“ nomine avum *referens*, animo manibusque parentem,”

where we have in the former part of the line the repetition of the name, in the latter that of the disposition and the deeds. In our text, there being no mention of any specialty in respect of which the repetition is made, we must conclude that the repeti-

tion is general, *i. e.*, that it is the thing itself, the Asylum, which, like the *Ludus Troiae*, is repeated, *i. e.*, imitated from a previous example.

PARRHASIO DICTUM PANOS DE MORE LYCAEI (VV. 343-4).—“Nomen gerens Panos Lycaei,” Heyne. “Id Lupercal a lupis appellasse Romani dicuntur, eo *more* in hoc nomine usi, quo Graeci, qui Panem Lycaëum a vocabulo *λυκος* (non a cognomini monte) nomen habuisse ferebant,” Wagner (*Praest.*). No, I know of no instance in which there is a “*mos nominis*.” If one name is taken from another, it is always from the name or *nomen* itself it is taken, not from any *mos* of the name. The name is accordingly here taken not from the *mos* of the name, but from that Arcadian *mos*, that popular custom from which the Arcadians gave the name Lycaeus to Pan. From that custom, continued among themselves, the Romans gave the similar name lupercal (*λυκος* and *lupus* being only different forms of the same word) to the place in which the ancient Arcadian *mos* was celebrated among them.

TESTATURQUE LOCUM ET LETHUM DOCET HOSPITIS ARGİ (VS. 346).—How has it happened that neither Heyne nor Wagner—how has it happened, still more strange, that not even Servius in his long philological mythological diatribe on Argiletum, has taken notice of this line in its philological character, that not one of the three usually so minutely observant, so unreservedly communicative critics, has thought proper to inform his anxious and inquisitive reader that one good half of this line is purely etymological? How has it happened that Wagner has contented himself respecting the etymology of the word about which Servius has so much queried, with the mere *ipse dixit* “Argiletum (Argi-lethum),” that Servius has not been eager to show either that Virgil’s derivation of the word was right, or that Virgil’s derivation of the word was wrong, or at least what Virgil’s derivation of the word was, and that Heyne has absolutely taken no manner of notice either of Virgil’s derivation of the word or of the word itself at all? No matter, after all, how it has happened, for the lacuna has been well filled up by that perhaps best of all Virgil’s commentators, La Cerda: “Coniunxit

carmine superiore 'Argilethum,' dissolvit in hoc, *LETHŪM* DOCET HOSPITIS *ARGI*. Ita dissolvit Mart. 1. 118 :

'*Argi* nempe soles subire *lethum* ;'

et 2. 17 :

'*Argique lethum* multus obsidet sutor.'

TESTATURQUE LOCUM.—"Iurat non sua culpa iura hospitii esse violata; vel in testimonium ducit nomen loci, vel detestatur," Servius. "TESTATUR, simpliciter pro *monstrat*," Heyne. Not one of the whole four interpretations is the right one. Evander calls the place to witness that the story he has told Aeneas is true; in other words, says to the place: "Thou, O place, which sawest the thing happen, knowest that I say true; and if thou hadst a tongue wouldst say so." The place where a thing has happened is naturally, not to say poetically, called to bear witness as to what happened, 5. 803 :

"nec minor in terris, *Xanthum Simoentaque testor*,
Aeneae mihi cura tui ;"

Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame*, 11. 1: "'Si ces pierres pouvaient parler,' murmura-t-il, 'oui, elles diraient que voilà un homme bien malheureux'" ["These walls, if they could speak, would tell thee so"]; just as the sun, or the moon, or the God which sees all things, is appealed to, to give similar evidence, Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 365 :

οὗτος αὐτος ἐστὶν αἰθὴρ ὃς τὰδ' ἤκουσεν σέθεν.

TESTATUR ET DOCET (instead of *docet et testatur*) is our author's usual ὑστερον προτερον.

CAPITOLIA . . . AUREA NUNC, OLIM SYLVESTREBUS HORRIDA DUMIS (vv. 347-8).—"AUREA simpliciter esse *multo auro ornata*, nemo dubitet." No, it would then be *aurata*. AUREA is here entirely metaphorical, as "*aurea aetas*," "*aureus sol*," "*aurea Phoebe*," "*aureus Saturnus*," "*aurea Venus*," "*aurea saecula*," "*aurea Roma*;" and as in English "*golden hopes*," "*golden promises*," &c.

IAM TUM RELIGIO PAVIDOS TERREBAT AGRESTES DIRA LOCI

(vv. 349-50), theme ; IAM TUM SILVAM SAXUMQUE TREMEBANT, variation.

HOC NEMUS, HUNC, INQUIT, FRONDOSO VERTICE COLLEM (vs. 351).—The same locality being spoken of, first as NEMUS, and then as FRONDOSO VERTICE COLLEM (see Rem. on vs. 215), the sentence is to be regarded as theme and variation embodied in one.

354.

AEGIDA CONCUTERET DEXTRA NIMBOSQUE CIERET

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*]

CONCUTERET · DEXTRA NIMBOS ■■■ Serv.; P. Manut.; Heyne; Brunck.

CONCUTERET DEXTRA · NIMBOS ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Burm.; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.

CONCUTERET DEXTRA NIMBOS ■■■ Haupt; Ribb.

The picture is of Jupiter shaking his aegis, and so producing the thunder-storm—NIMBOS, thunder, lightning, and rain. It is a copy of the picture in the Iliad (4. 166):

*Zeus δὲ σφιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθερὶ ναιῶν,
αὐτὸς ἐπισσειήσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πασιν,
τῆσδ' ἀπατὴς κοτεῶν'*

where Eustathius: Το δὲ ἐπισείη, σειστον Διὸς σπλον τὴν αἰγίδα εἶναι ὄηλοι. οὐ μὴν βλητικόν. οὐ γὰρ βάλλει. σειομένη δὲ ἐκφοβεῖ. Ἐρεμνὴν δὲ λέγει τὴν σκοτεινὴν ἀπο τοῦ ἐρεβός. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀπο τοῦ σεβῶ γίνεται τὸ σεμνον, τροπὴ τοῦ β εἰς μ. περὶ δὲ τῆς αἰγίδος, προγεγραπταὶ μὲν ὀλίγον τι ἐν τῇ ἀλφά ραψῳδίᾳ. ἐτερωθὶ δὲ γραφήσεται καλλίον. εὐταυθα δὲ τοσούτων καὶ μόνων ρητέον. ὅτι τὸ ἐρεμνον τῆς αἰγίδος νεφὸς ὑπεμφαίνει αὐτὴν εἶναι πυκνὸν καὶ

καταιγιδωδες. Angry Jupiter, shaking his aegis, and his aegis vomiting forth lightnings, clouds, and tempests, is at once a personification and an etiology of the thunderstorm. Partial sketches of this personification and etiology occur every now and then among the writers of antiquity, as Sil. 12. 334:

“ ille [Iupiter] trucem belli nubem saevasque procellas
in Libyam violenter aget. spectabit is ipsi
aegida turbato *quatientem* in praelia mundo.”

Id. 8. 652:

“ axe super medio, Libyes a parte, *coruscas*
in Latium venere *faces*, ruptusque fragore
horrisono polus, et *vultus* patuere *Tonantis*.”

Id. 1. 252:

“ spectarunt Poeni, tremuitque exercitus Astur
torquentem quum *tela Iovem*, *permixtaque nimbis*
fulmina, et excussos ventorum flatibus ignes
turbato transiret equo.”

Id. 12. 720:

. . . “ quantus
aegida commoveat nimbos flammisque vomentem
Iupiter.”

Val. Flacc. 3. 91:

“ caeruleo veluti cum *Iuppiter* agmine *nubem*
constituit; certant Zephyri, frustra que rigentem
pulsat utrimque Notus: pendent mortalia longo
corda metu, quibus illa fretis, quibus incidat arvis.”

Claud. in *Eutrop.* 2. 160 (of Mars):

“ sic fatus, *clipeo*, quantum vix ipse deorum
arbiter, infesto cum *percutit aethera* [*aegida*, Heins.] *nimbo*
intonuit.”

Id. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 60 (Jupiter threatening any god who might dare to dispute his will):

“ sentiet *iratam* procul *aegida*, sentiet *ictum*
fulminis, et genitum divina sorte pigebit
optabitque mori.”

Sil. 1. 134:

“heu! quænam subitis horrescit turbida nimbis
tempestas, ruptoque polo micat igneus aether!
magna parant Superi. Tonat alti regia caeli,
bellantemque Iovem cerno.”

Ioannes Lydus *de Ostentis*, 44: Αιγίδες γε μὴν λεγόνται οἱ [κεραυνοὶ] ἐν συστρόφῃ πυρός φερομένοι. Ταύτῃ αἰγίδα Διὶ περιτιθῆσιν ὁ λόγος, οἰοῦναι τὸν αἶρα καταγίδος καὶ συσσεισμοῦ αἰτίον παραινιττομένους.

As here Jupiter, with his aegis, so Ovid, *Met.* 1. 268, Notus, with the mere squeeze of his hand, presses the thunder and rain out of the clouds:

“utque manu lata pendentia nubila pressit,
fit fragor, hinc densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi.”

The same subject, viz., Jupiter thundering from the bare Tarpeian rock before he had a temple on it, treated by Propertius, 4. 1:

“Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat,”

fails to produce the lively impression produced by our text, mainly, as I think, on account of the total omission by Propertius of the image of the aegis. It is not the thundering god who makes the great impression on the imagination—thundering gods are common-place enough and belong to all religions—but it is the god thundering with his aegis (AEGIDA CONCUTERET DEXTRA).

CONCUTERET.—*Shake violently, concuss.* Hegesippus, 5. 37 (quoted by Vales. ad Ammian. 21. 2): “Namque is successu laetus certaminis dum tripudiat atque exsultat, *concussoque clypeo* simul ac gladio proludit.” The shield was used not merely as a defensive but an offensive weapon also, was rotated and moved about in every direction; antagonists were struck and thrown down with it, and the use of it was taught and practised like the sword exercise, Veget. 2. 14: “Qui dimicare gladio, et *scutum rotare* doctissime noverit, qui omnem artem didicerit armaturæ;” Id. 4. 1: “Norit *iactare scutum*, et obli-

quis ictibus venientia tela deflectere;" Sidon. *Panegy. ad Maximian. Aug. 5. 248*:

. . . " *clypeumque rotare*
ludus, et intortas præcedere saltibus hastas ;"

Ammian. 21. 2: "Cum apud Parisios adhuc Caesar Iulianus *quatiens scutum* variis motibus exerceretur in campo, axiculis, queis orbis erat compaginatus, in vanum excussis, ansa remanserat sola."

CONCUTERET DEXTRA, not CIERET DEXTRA; no less on account of the reasons assigned by Wagner, than (a) on account of the better rhythmus, the ictus of the voice falling on the first syllable of DEXTRA, not on the last of CONCUTERET; (b) in order to avoid the *ομοιοτελευτον* ERET, ERET; and (c) in order that the raising of the thunder-storm (NIMBOS CIERET) may be assigned to its acknowledged cause, the shaking of the aegis (AEGIDA CONCUTERET), not to Jupiter's right hand (DEXTRA) operating in some unexplained way.

CONCUTERET, CIERET, describe not two distinct actions of Jupiter, but one single action, the production of the thunder-storm, this being the consequence of the shaking of the aegis; as if Virgil had said NIMBOS CIERET *concutiendo* AEGIDA DEXTRA. Ciere nimbos is simply *to raise, make, produce nimbi* (i.e., *to thunder, lighten, and rain*), as 12. 103, "ciere mugitus" is *to raise bellowings*, i.e., *to bellow*; and 6. 468, "lacrymas ciere," *to raise tears*, i.e., *to weep*; and as "ciere minas," of the aegis itself by Seneca, *Herc. Fur. 901*:

" *belligera Pallas, cuius in laeva ciet*
aegis feroces ore saxifico minas,"

is *to threaten*. See Rem. on "lacrymas ciebat," 6. 468.

NIGRANTEM.—The *ερεμνην* of Homer, *Il. 4. 167*, quoted above.

362-383

HAEC—ROGO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 369).

NOX—ALIS connected with the preceding ■■■ by La Cerdá; Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

NOX—ALIS connected with the following, and made to begin a new paragraph ■■■ by Lad.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1849, and 1861); Ribb.

P. Manutius places a period both at URSAE and ALIS, and so leaves the reader to connect NOX RUIT either with the preceding or the succeeding as he likes best.

HAEC LIMINA VICTOR ALCIDES SUBIIT (vv. 362-3), theme; HAEC ILLUM REGIA CEPIT, variation.

AUDE, HOSPES, CONTEMNERE OPES (vs. 364).—Compare Juvenal, 11. 60:

“nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis
Evandrum, venies Tyrrhinus.”

TE QUOQUE DIGNUM FINGE DEO (vv. 364-5).—“Compone te [et forma] in similitudinem numinis . . . sane quidam deo pro immortalitate dictum volunt,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Compone te, mentemque informa, ad similitudinem numinis,” Heyne, followed by Forbiger. Both interpretations quite wide of the mark, the meaning being very plainly “worthy of the god from whom you, no less than Alcides, are derived,” the god meant being Jupiter, the father of Alcides, and grandfather of Aeneas; in other words, “show yourself no less worthy than Alcides of the blood of Jupiter which runs in your veins as it did in those of Alcides.” So Sil. 6. 536:

“tu quoque, care puer, dignum te sanguine tanto
fingere ne cessu, atque humentes comprime fletus.”

REBUSQUE VENI NON ASPER EGENIS (vs. 365).—As a German would say: “Nimm mit unserer bescheidenen bewirthung vorlieb.”

STRATISQUE LOCAVIT EFFULTUM FOLIIS ET PELLE LIBYSTIDIS URSÆ (vv. 367-8).—Not LOCAVIT EFFULTUM STRATIS FOLIIS, but STRATIS LOCAVIT EFFULTUM FOLIIS—he placed him on a mattress, where he rested on or was supported by leaves (viz., the leaves with which the mattress was stuffed), and by a bear’s skin, viz., a bear’s skin which was thrown over the mattress; and so Voss.

The verse NOX RUIT, ET FUSCIS TELLUREM AMPLECTITUR ALIS (369) belongs most undoubtedly to the preceding, not to the succeeding; winds up, not opens. Aeneas is laid upon his mattress: night falls and envelopes the world: we leave Aeneas sleeping, enveloped in the darkness, and go off to another scene, where other events are going on on the same night.

VOLCANUM ALLOQUITUR, THALAMOQUE HAEC CONIUGIS AUREO INCIPIT, ET DICTIS DIVINUM ASPIRAT AMOREM (vv. 372, 373).—One single act regarded under three different aspects; therefore theme, and two variations.

DUM BELLO ARGOLICI VASTABANT PERGAMA REGES DEBITA, CASURASQUE INIMICIS IGNIBUS ARCES (vv. 374, 375).—Theme and variation embodied in one, PERGAMA DEBITA, and CASURAS INIMICIS IGNIBUS ARCES being only different views of the one single object.

NON ULLUM AUXILIUM MISERIS, NON ARMA ROGAVI ARTIS OPISQUE TUAE; NEC TE, CARISSIME CONIUX, INCASSUMVE TUOS VOLUI EXERCERE LABORES.—AUXILIUM and ARMA being only different views of one and the same thing, NON ULLUM AUXILIUM MISERIS, and NON ARMA ROGAVI ARTIS OPISQUE TUAE, are to be regarded as theme and variation embodied in one. In the same manner, TE and TUOS LABORES being virtually one and the same, NEC TE, INCASSUMVE TUOS VOLUI EXERCERE LABORES are also to be regarded as embodied theme and variation. For the same reason the former embodied theme and variation stands to the latter embodied theme and variation in the relation of theme and variation.

NEC TE, &c., . . . ORIS (vv. 377-381).—As it seems to me, a very ill-elaborated passage, both in respect of sound and sense. In respect of sound, first, because of the pause uniformly occurring at the end of the verse, and nowhere else, for the space of four consecutive verses; and secondly, because of the occurrence within the space of the same four consecutive verses of three so similar verse-endings as -ORES, -OREM, and -ORIS: and in respect of sense, first, because two of those three verse-endings, viz., -ORES and -OREM, are at the same time the endings of different inflexions of one and the same word, viz., *labor*, used in senses neither sufficiently one and the same to please by their oneness, nor sufficiently different to please by their contrast; and secondly, because the subject of the verse

NUNC IÓVIS IMPERIIS RUTULORUM CONSTITIT ORIS,

in other words, the nominative to the verb CONSTITIT is by no possibility to be made out from the construction or grammatical connexion of the words, but is left to be inferred as best it may from the previous or subsequent history.

SUPPLEX VENIO (vs. 382), theme; SANCTUM MIHI NUMEN ARMA ROGO, variation.

NUMEN, not deity or divinity, but self-originating, independent will and pleasure; that will or pleasure whether of man or god which grants or refuses, and to which accordingly all prayer is specially addressed. See Rem. on “*numine laeso*,” l. 12, and “*numen Iunonis*,” l. 52. Therefore Venus asks arms for her son, not from Vulcan, not from Mulciber, not from the Ignipotent, but from a NUMEN which is to her holy, SANCTUM MIHI NUMEN ROGO. Nothing can be more proper, nothing more enhance the beauty of the scene, than this throwing off of the wife and assumption of the worshipper. At verse 668 of the first book we find the same wily goddess using similar tactics, for the attainment of similar purpose. Here the worshipper of her husband, she is there the worshipper of her son, whose “*numina*” she coaxes as lovingly as ever even in the most approved system of religious polity, goddess mamma coaxed *numina* of little,

spoiled pet of god-son :

“ nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia, solus
nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoia temnis,
ad te confugio et supplex tua *numina* posco.”

383-402.

TE—ELECTRO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 402).

POTEST ELECTRO ■ *Rom., Pal.*, Pierius. ■■■■ Probus (Keil's ed., p. 11, l. 16); Politian; G. Fabric.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Müller (ad Fest. Fragm. e cod. Farn., p. 240); Ribb.

POTESTUR ■ Pierius (“ POTESTUR omnino in codd. aliquot antiquis reperitur, in Romano tamen et in quibusdam aliis codd. ipsa vetustate venerabilibus POTEST habetur”).

FILIA NEREI and TITHONIA CONIUX being one and the same person, TE FILIA NEREI, TE POTUIT LACRYMIS TITHONIA FLECTERE CONIUX (vv. 383-4), is to be considered as embodied theme and variation.

QUI COEANT POPULI (vs. 385), theme; QUAE MOENIA CLAUSIS FERRUM ACUANT PORTIS, variation.

ASPICE QUI COEANT POPULI, QUAE MOENIA CLAUSIS FERRUM ACUANT PORTIS, IN ME EXCIDIUMQUE MEORUM (vv. 385-386).— Sadly aggrieved goddess! Did ever anyone hear of such barbarous treatment? Yes, I once heard of something similar. The people of Japan are said to have acted pretty much in the same way towards a nation which came to them across five thousand miles of sea for the sole purpose of benefiting them. They shut their gates, vowed they would have nothing to do with them, and when their visitors would not be put off, coolly set themselves down to manufacture Armstrong guns and Con-

greve rockets and turn them against the friends who had come from the farthest end of the earth solely to oblige and do them good, and teach them the arts of civilization, especially to drink rum, read the Bible, and take English calicoes in exchange for golden ingots. Except this Japanese brutality and the savage reception the American Indians gave Pizarro and his followers, I certainly never heard of conduct to be compared with this of the Latins towards people who unasked had brought them new gods and required nothing from them in return except an equitable share of their lands and properties for themselves, and the hand of the king's only daughter for their chief.

CLAUSIS PORTIS, FERRUM ACUANT IN ME.—The two things, closed gates, and sharpening of swords and spears, are not connected together any more than as being both of them consequences of a state of war, just as the two things, open gates and sharpening of scythes and pruning-hooks, Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 2. 192 :

. . . "clausa tot annis
oppida laxatis ausus [poter Savi] iam pandere portis
rursum cote novat nigras rubigine falces,"

are not connected together any more than as being both of them consequences of a state of peace.

ILLE REPENTE ACCEPIT SOLITAM FLAMMAM (vv. 388-9), theme, of which NOTUSQUE MEDULLAS INTRAVIT CALOR, and LABEFACTA PER OSSA CUCURRIT are two variations embodied into one.

NEC PATER OMNIPOTENS TROIAM NEC FATA VETABANT STARE, DECEMQUE ALIOS PRIAMUM SUPERESSE PER ANNOS (vv. 398, 399).—Viz., according to the religious dogma that the fates might be thwarted, and the execution of their decrees delayed, though not ultimately frustrated. See 7. 315, and 1. 33, and Remm.

QUICQUID IN ARTE MRA POSSUM PROMITTERE CURAE (vs. 401), theme; QUOD FIERI FERRO LIQUIDOVE POTEST ELECTRO, first variation; QUANTUM IGNES ANIMAEQUE VALENT, second variation. The *ανακολουθον* at VALENT is thus explained by Wagner: "Id debebat dicere: 'QUIDQUID CURAE POSSUM PROMITTERE . . . *id precari* ABSISTE,' i. e. *id promitto*;" as if, forsooth, Venus had

been praying for the utmost exertion of Vulcan's skill, for everything which fire and bellows and metal could do! Nothing could be farther from our author's thought. Venus had been asking Vulcan in the most simple, modest terms to make a suit of armour for her son: *SANCTUM MIHI NUMEN ARMA ROGO, GENETRIX NATO*. This was the utmost extent of her prayer; not one word more. The uxorious god is ready to grant her not only this, but a thousand times more. Nor only arms, but the very best arms he with all his skill can make; the very best that can be made with all the appliances of metal, fire, and bellows; for in those days men had not yet invented steam, and gods, as my readers well know, never forestall the inventions of men, but in the midst of his protestation, and just as he was going to say, "All this and more I promise you," or "all this and more I swear to you," he stops short, breaks off, and laying down the armourer and husband, and assuming the lover and bridegroom, throws his arms round her waist and simpers: "Demand no more as a favour what you have the right and the power to command," exactly as Chremes in the *Andrian*, 3. 3. 11:

. . . "ah, ne me obsecra;
quasi hoc te orando a me impetrare oporteat"

[“don't affront my love for you by begging for that which my love grants you at once and without entreaty”].

LIQUIDO ELECTRO (vs. 402).—Not *liquid*, but *clear, transparent, pellucid electrum*; and so Probus (Keil's ed., p. 11, l. 17): “puri coloris.” See Rem. on “liquidis in nubibus,” 5. 525.

407-417.

INDE UBI PRIMA QUIES MEDIO IAM NOCTIS ABACTAE
 CURRICULO EXPULERAT SOMNUM CUM FEMINA PRIMUM
 CUI TOLERARE COLO VITAM TENUIQUE MINERVA
 IMPOSITUM CINEREM ET SOPITOS SUSCITAT IGNES
 NOCTEM ADDENS OPERI FAMULASQUE AD LUMINA LONGO
 EXERCET PENSO CASTUM UT SERVARE CUBILE
 CONIUGIS ET POSSIT PARVOS EDUCERE NATOS
 HAUD SECUS IGNIPOTENS NEC TEMPORE SEGNIOR ILLO
 MOLLIBUS E STRATIS OPERA AD FABRILIA SURGIT
 INSULA SICANIUM IUXTA LATUS AEOLIAMQUE
 ERIGITUR LIPAREN

There are two breaks in the structure of this long passage, the first being at SOMNUM, and the second at NATOS. The commencing clause, consisting of the words:

INDE UBI PRIMA QUIES MEDIO IAM NOCTIS ABACTAE
 CURRICULO EXPULERAT SOMNUM,

is entirely concerning Vulcan, and must be completed in the mind of the reader by the word *Vulcano* or *Ignipotenti* supplied to EXPULERAT. This clause is suddenly broken off and left incomplete at SOMNUM, in order that the reader may be informed in the words CUM FEMINA PRIMUM . . . NATOS that the time at which Vulcan awoke was the same time at which the poor woman awakes who has to support her children by rising and labouring for them before the night is more than half spent. The clause conveying this information being completed at NATOS, the poet in the third clause, HAUD SECUS . . . SURGIT, returns to the subject of the first, *i. e.*, to Vulcan, and informs you that like the poor woman just described he (Vulcan) arose at that early hour to his work. That this is the *rationale* of the passage, and that the QUIES and the "somnus" spoken of in the first clause are to be understood neither of first sleep in general, *i. e.*, of that

first sleep which is common to all mankind, nor of the first sleep of the poor working woman, is shown by the difference of tense in the two verbs *EXPULERAT*, and *SUSCITAT*—*EXPULERAT* being spoken of the time when the *PRIMA QUIES* had expelled the *SOMNUM* of Vulcan, and *SUSCITAT* of the time at which the poor woman habitually rises and stirs her slumbering fire, the word *CUM* informing us that the time at which the waking of Vulcan actually *took place* on this occasion was the same time (at the same hour) at which the rising of the poor woman *usually takes place*. The structure no less than the sense of the passage will appear still more clearly on striking out the unessential and supererogatory words *HAUD SECUS* and *NEC TEMPORE SEGNIOR ILLO* and enclosing *CUM FEMINA . . . NATOS* in a parenthesis, thus:

INDE UBI PRIMA QUIES MEDIO IAM NOCTIS ABACTÆ
CURRICULO EXPULERAT SOMNUM (CUM FEMINA PRIMUM,
CUI TOLERARE COLO VITAM TENUIQUE MINERVA
IMPOSITUM, CINEREM ET SOPITOS SUSCITAT IGNES,
NOCTEM ADDENS OPERI, FAMULASQUE AD LUMINA LONGO
EXERCET PENSO, CASTUM UT SERVARE CUBILE
CONIUGIS ET POSSIT PARVOS EDUCERE NATOS)
IGNIPOTENS
MOLLIBUS E STRATIS OPERA AD FABRILIA SURGIT.

Nay, even without a parenthesis the structure and sense stand forth apparent, the following arrangement being adopted:

INDE UBI PRIMA QUIES MEDIO IAM NOCTIS ABACTÆ
CURRICULO EXPULERAT SOMNUM
IGNIPOTENS
MOLLIBUS E STRATIS OPERA AD FABRILIA SURGIT
NEC TEMPORE SEGNIOR ILLO
CUM FEMINA PRIMUM
CUI TOLERARE COLO VITAM TENUIQUE MINERVA
IMPOSITUM, CINEREM ET SOPITOS SUSCITAT IGNES
NOCTEM ADDENS OPERI, FAMULASQUE AD LUMINA LONGO
EXERCET PENSO, CASTUM UT SERVARE CUBILE
CONIUGIS ET POSSIT PARVOS EDUCERE NATOS.

UBI PRIMA QUIES.—“Ubi a prima quiete evigilans circa mediam noctem,” Heyne. No, but *UBI primum QUIES EXPULERAT*, etc. Compare next line, *QUUM FEMINA PRIMUM*

SUSCITAT; and l. 727, where “postquam prima quies epulis” is not *after the first rest or pause*, as contradistinguished from a second or subsequent rest or pause, but *after there was a rest or pause, as soon as ever there was a rest or pause*. See Rem. on l. 474.

MEDIO IAM NOCTIS ABACTAE.—“ABACTAE ab ascensu et conversae ad descensum.” No; this might be a pretty good definition of MEDIO, the middle point of the night, the top of her ascent, and commencement of her descent, but it is not the meaning of ABACTAE, which is *driven away, driven off, routed, i.e. spent*. Compare Stat. *Theb.* l. 231:

. . . “vix lucis spatio, vix noctis abactae
enumerare queam mores, gentemque profanam.”

In both places “noctis abactae” is spoken of the *whole night*, the night, driven away, spent, as we say—a space of time left unlimited by Statius (“spatio noctis abactae”), but in our text limited to one half by the word MEDIO, the meaning being precisely the same as if the words had been *dimidio iam noctis abacto*.

FEMINA (vs. 408).—Peerlkamp understands by FEMINA, *femina vidua*: “Vulcanus tanta cura urguetur, ut Veneris mandata perficiat, quanta mulier vidua, ut proli egenae sua diligentia prospiciat.” And the words in which S. Ambrose, *de Viduis*, 5, praises the widow who labours day and night in order to provide support for her children, without sacrificing her own chastity, are in part borrowed from this passage of our author: “Bona illa et plane laboriosa stipendia castitatis, quae de suo opere quotidianoque penso conferat vidua, nocturnis pariter ac diurnis iugi exercens labore pensa temporibus, et pudicitiae quaestuosae pervigili opere mercedem congregans, ut intemeratum defuncti coniugis cubile custodiat, alere dulces liberos possit, ministrare pauperibus.” I cannot, however, agree with Peerlkamp either that Virgil’s FEMINA is to be understood to mean “vidua,” or that St. Ambrose so understood it. **First**, that Virgil’s FEMINA is not to be understood in this restricted sense, appears from there being not so much as one single word in the whole passage so restricting it, not even where we would

surely have found the restriction, if it had been intended, viz., in the shape of an adjunct to *CONIUGIS*, informing us that the “*coniux*” spoken of was no longer living. On the contrary, *FEMINA* and “*coniux*,” being both of them wholly unrestricted, and there being no restriction or limitation elsewhere in the sentence, the plain conclusion is that no restriction is meant, that *FEMINA* is not to be understood as meaning *vidua*, nor *CONIUGIS* as meaning *coniugis defuncti*, but *FEMINA* as meaning *femina* only, and *CONIUGIS* as meaning *coniugis* only, and that the *FEMINA* spoken of is a woman separated by some chance (*ex. gr.*, of war, or travel, or desertion), from her husband, and on whom, therefore, their common children have become a charge. **And secondly**, in what sense St. Ambrose understood our author to have used either the word *FEMINA* or the word *CONIUGIS* in this passage does not appear, all we know being that St. Ambrose in the panegyric he bestows on his chaste and industrious “*vidua*” has drawn part of his materials from the praise here bestowed by Virgil on his chaste and industrious *FEMINA*. Of the temptations to which a woman long separated from her husband may be subjected, Penelope affords perhaps the most famous example, and the sweet, simple, and touching sketch Terence (*Andria*, 42) has given us of a young, unmarried, innocent, and virtuous woman, driven by the pressure of want to support herself and sister by prostitution, may well be placed beside the Virgilian picture :

“*interea mulier quaedam abhinc triennium
ex Andro commigravit huic viciniæ,
inopia et cognatorum negligentia
coacta, egregia forma, atque ætate integra.
.
primum hæc pudice vitam, parce, ac duriter
agebat, lana ac tela victum quaeritans;
sed postquam amans accessit, pretium pollicens,
unus, et item alter; ita ut ingenium est omnium
hominum a labore proclive ad lubidinem;
accepit conditionem, dein quaestum occipit.*”

But the decisive proof that not a widow is here meant, but a woman separated from, or deserted by, her husband, is afforded

by the imitation of Valerius Flaccus, whose Eurynome, not a widow but only separated from her husband, is described (2. 137) almost in our author's very words :

... "exesam curis, castumque cubile
servantem ; manet illa viro, famulasque fatigat
littoribus, tarde reputant quae tempora belli
ante torum, et longo mulcent insomnia penso,"

where I may observe *en passant*, "littoribus" should make way for Peerlkamp's very happy conjecture : "velleribus." Compare Megara keeping faithfully and chastely Hercules' marriage bed and children during the hero's absence in Hades (Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 300, Amphitryon, addressing Megara) :

"o socia nostri sanguinis, casta fide
servans torum natosque magnanimi Heroulis ;"

also, "Epigr. Antipatri," *Anthol. Pal.* 6. 174 :

Παλλαδι ται τρισσαι θεσαν αλικες, ισον αραχνα
τευξαι λεπταλεον σταμον' επισταμεναι,
Δημω μεν ταλαρισκον ευπλοκον, Αρσινοα δε
εργατιν ευκλωστου νηματος ηλακαταν'
κερκιδα δ' ευποιητον, αηδονα ταν εν εριβοις,
Βακχυλις, ευκρεκτους α διεκρινε μιτους'
ζωειν γαρ διχα παντος ονειδεος ηθελ' εκαστα,
ζεινε, τον εκ χειρων αρνυμενα βιοτον,

where of the whole three women earning a hard and honest livelihood by spinning and weaving there is no hint of even so much as one being a widow.

Inasmuch as the exception proves the rule, we may infer from this Virgilian picture that chastity was as rare a virtue among married woman of the lower class in Rome in the time of Virgil as it is described by Acton (*Prostitution*, p. 91) to be among the same class of persons in Rome at present : "Among the lower orders, save perhaps among the Transteverini, where virtue is the rule, misery operates as elsewhere. So little work is there to be found in a country with neither manufactures nor agriculture, so potent is the love of the *far niente* among the modern Romans, that the poor man's wife is too often welcome to his bed if she only bring the spoil of the travelling or the

native *debauché*, for which she has bartered her adulterous embraces."

CINEREM ET SOPITOS IGNES.—Expressed in English by the one word *embers*.

LUMINA (vs. 411).—The light of the stirred-up fire of the preceding line. Compare Circe weaving by the firelight, 7. 13.

HAUD SECUS IGNIPOTENS NEC TEMPORE SEGNIOR ILLO MOLIBUS E STRATIS OPERA AD FABRILIA SURGIT.—The shield of Aeneas, itself modelled on the shield of Achilles, has afforded the model to Alexander Ross (b. 11, verse 1, of his *Christiad*) of the manufacture and chasings of the emblematical cup out of which Christ drank in the garden of Gethsemane :

"interea Genitor potum miscebat amarum,
lethalemque parat calicem demittere ab astris
ad natum, ut meritam pro nobis hauriat iram.
Nimborum in patria fumantibus ardua muris
est domus : horrificis furi intus flamma caminis ;
quae, quoties turris perrumpit caerulea claustra,
cum tonitru horrendo fremit indignata per auras.
His Pater omnipotens fornacibus ignea dextra
fulmina molitur, toto quae plurima caelo
deiecit in terras ; animarum alata caterva
hic exercebat densa inter nubila tela
fulminis, et lentam properabat fingere massam.
His informatum manibus, iam parte polita
fulmen erat, sed adhuc pars imperfecta manebat.
Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutili tres ignis, et alitis austri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.
Hic nunc Ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto :
'Tollite cuncta,' inquit, 'coeptosque auferte labores,
alati iuvenes, atque huc advertite mentem ;
desine iam, Brontes, Steropesque et nude Pyracmon,
nam nato facienda meo est cratera ; capacem
reddite Lenaei laticis quem rite paravi ;
illam pro miseris mortalibus hauriet, ergo
praecipitate moras ; totis nunc viribus usus,
nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
Quantum ignes animaeque valent ostendite, quantum
iam fieri ferro liquidove potest electro.'

.

At Christus, tristes oculos per singula volvens,
 miraturque interque manus et brachia versat
 fatiferam ex auro calicem longeque micantem.
 Hic vaturn gnari aligeri sortisque futurae
 annales venturorum finxere laborum :
 namque oras circum calicis caelantur in auro
 fortia Christi adum facta et de morte triumphi.
 hic sese in ligno pendentem agnovit Iesus.
 tendentemque manum, et Genitorem voce vocantem.
 stant maestae circum matres, crinemque solutae
 pectora percutiunt, oculis argentea manant
 flumina ; tum Mariam pallentem morte futura
 insontis nati caelavit spiritus ales.
 conspicit haud procul hinc excisum in rupe sepulchrum,
 et matres sibi defuncto suprema ferentes.
 Tum descendentem manes se cernit ad imos,
 atque reportantem de Dite et morte trophaea,
 moxque resurgentem, et super omnia sidera caeli
 evectum, et patria sublimem in sede locatum."

LATUS (vs. 416).—*Coast.* See Rem. on "Euboicae latus rupis," 6. 42.

419-439.

ANTRA—LABORES

ANTRA AETNAEA TONANT, VALIDIQUE INCUDIBUS ICTUS AUDITI REFERUNT GEMITUM, STRIDUNTQUE CAVERNIS STRICTURAE CHALYBUM, ET FORNACIBUS IGNIS ANHELAT (vv. 419-421).—Not four coordinate sentences, but two themes, viz., ANTRA AETNAEA TONANT and STRIDUNTQUE CAVERNIS STRICTURAE CHALYBUM, to the former of which, VALIDIQUE INCUDIBUS ICTUS AUDITI REFERUNT GEMITUM, and to the latter of which ET FORNACIBUS IGNIS ANHELAT, belongs as a variation.

FERRUM EXERCEBANT (vs. 424).—The English make a similar use of this verb *to work*. EXERCEBANT FERRUM, *worked the iron*. So 7. 748, "exercet terram," *work the ground*; 8. 412, "exercet famulas," *works her maid servants*; 10. 808, "exercere

diem," *work the day*, i. e., *employ the day in work*; "exercoete tauros," *work your bulls*, &c.

BRONTESQUE STEROPESQUE ET NUDUS MEMBRA PYRACMON (vs. 425).—Although the term NUDUS is applied to Pyracmon only, one can hardly doubt that it is the intention of the poet to present all the Cyclops to his reader, naked. For why should one be naked and not all? The sentence is of that kind in which many objects being mentioned the descriptive adjective or other adjunct, intended to apply to all alike, is yet in the actual grammatical structure applied to one only, that one being generally (though not always) the last mentioned. Compare 9. 429: "caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor," where the force of "conscia" extends to "caelum," *this conscious heaven and stars*; also 7. 15:

"hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
vincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum,
setigerique sues atque in praesepibus ursi
saevire, ac formae magnorum ululare luporum,"

where "praesepibus" is applied to the bears only, although it is quite plain that the picture intended to be presented to the reader is that of all the animals alike in "praesepibus."

FULGORES NUNC TERRIFICOS, SONITUMQUE, METUMQUE MISCEBANT OPERI, FLAMMISQUE SEQUACIBUS IRAS (vv. 431, 432).—Compare Sidon. Apoll. 15. 30:

"nec species solas monstria, dedit arte furorem
Muciber, atque ipsas timuit quas finxerat iras."

This very strong metaphorical language, this putting not merely of flames and terrific flashes, but of noise and fear, and even of anger, into the thunderbolts of Jove, may be excused, when we find that Hannibal's soldiers, not gods at all, but mere mortal men, were able to infuse anger into their weapons, and that too not originally or at the first making, but at the mere whetting of them, Sil. 7. 343:

"at socii renovant tela, arentemque cruorem
ferro detergunt, et dant mucronibus iras."

MISCEBANT (vs. 432).—ADDIDERANT (vs. 430), they *had pre-*

viously added the TRES IMBRIS TORTI RADIOS, TRES NUBIS AQUOSAE, RUTILI TRES IGNIS, ET ALITIS AUSTRI, and they *were now mixing* in the FULGORES TERRIFICOS, SONITUMQUE METUMQUE, FLAMMISQUE SEQUACIBUS IRAS. See Rem. on 1. 487; 2. 273.

ÆGIDAQUE HORRIFICAM, TURBATAE PALLADIS ARMA (vs. 435).
—TURBATAE, "*Iratae*, ut saepe. Silius, 9. 463 :

. . . 'obliqua retorquens
lumina turbato superavit Gorgona vultu,' "

Heyne. "TURBATAE, für *iratae*, *terribilis*," Thiel. "Beleidigten," J. H. Voss. "*Iratae*," Wagner (1861). "*Iratae et propterea terribilis*," Forbiger. "TURBATAE here seems to mean *wrathful*," Conington. Do not believe it, reader. Neither here, nor anywhere else is *turbatus* either "*iratus*," or "*terribilis*," or "*beleidigt*," or "*wrathful*." **Since** you know as well as I know that everywhere else *turbatus* is *disturbed*, *discomposed*, *agitated*, no matter of what kind, or by what cause produced, the disturbance, discomposure, or agitation [compare Tacit. Ann. 15. 7: "Nam in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte trans mittebat [Paetus], nulla palam caussa *turbatus* equus, qui consularia insignia gestabat, retro evasit;" Aen. 2. 67 (of Sinon):

"namque ut conspectu in medio, *turbatus*, inermis
constitit;"

ibid. 3. 314: "*raris turbatus* vocibus hisco;" *ibid.* 8. 4: "

"extemplo *turbati* animi; simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium, saevitque iuventus
effera;"

Ovid, *Heroid*, 3. 87:

"arma cape, Aeacida, sed me tamen ante recepta;
et preme *turbatos*, Marte favente, viros;"

Tacit. Ann. 14. 32: "Inter quae, nullâ palam causâ, delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae, ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus, et feminae in furore *turbatae* adesse exitium caneant"] **why** should it be anything else here? What objection to the meaning: arms not used habitually or continually by Pallas, as sword and spear, chariot and horses by the god

of war, but to which the usually quiet, composed, and peaceful goddess has recourse when "turbata," i.e., when something has occurred to discompose or alarm her? Hor. *Od.* 1. 15. 5 (Nereus, warning Paris on his way from Sparta to Troy):

. . . "mala ducis avi domum
quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
et regnum Priami vetus.

eheu! quantus equis, quantus adest viris
sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanae
genti! iam *galeam Pallas et aegida,*
currusque et rabiem parat."

Compare Ovid, *Fusti*, 3. 1, where the poet begs Mars not to be eternally fighting, but to lay by his shield and spear for a while and, like Pallas, cultivate some peaceful art:

"bellice, depositis clypeo paullisper et hasta,
Mars, ades; et nitidas casside solve comas.
.
ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervae.
num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat?
Palladis exemplo ponendae tempora sume
cuspidis; invenies et quod inermis agas;"

and contrast *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner, 11. 189):

πεντ' αβολων πεπρακεν Απολλοφανης ο τραγωδος
πεντε θεων σκευην, Ηρακλεους ροπαλον,
Τισιφονης τα φοβητρα, Ποσειδωνος τριποντα,
οπλον Αθηναϊης, Αρτεμιδος φαρετρην,

where the matter-of-fact epigrammatist designates the aegis of Pallas simply by the Greek equivalent for Virgil's *ARMA*, viz., *οπλον*, without troubling himself at all to explain how it happened that so wise a goddess, the sedate patroness of the peaceful arts, ever came to wield so terrible a weapon.

Not convinced yet, reader? Then what sayest to Silius, 2. 529 (of Juno):

... "*ira turbata* gradum ciet oculus atram
Tisiphonen"?

Is "*ira turbata gradum*" = *ira irata gradum*?

CERTATIM SQUAMIS SERPENTUM AUROQUE POLIBANT (VS. 436). —How has it happened that the commentators have let this verse slip almost without observation—this verse which really so little means what it seems so surely and unequivocally to mean: viz., *were polishing with*, or *by means of a composition of, serpents' scales and gold*; i. e., *were rubbing with a polishing or burnishing powder of serpents' scales and gold*?—"Alii volunt, revera de corio SERPENTUM dicere eum ARMA esse levigata," Servius. Yet this observation of Servius, and this interpretation have been passed over in dead silence by Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger, Thiel, and Peerlkamp; not one of the whole five, except Wagner, noticing the passage at all, and Wagner himself taking the opposite and less obvious view of it "ornabant aegidem serpentibus squamarum aurearum qui inter se connexi extremam lorica caputque Medusae in media positum ambiebant"—a not very intelligible gloss indeed (for what in the name of the uninitiated, I ask, are *serpents of golden scales*?), but intended, as I believe, to mean: *were adorning with serpents' scales of gold or golden serpents' scales*, our author's true meaning. For, first, SQUAMIS AUROQUE is our author's usual hendiadys for *aureis squamis*. Secondly, cuirasses are commonly described as consisting of squamae and aurum, or other metal, as 9. 707:

"nec duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro
sustinuit;"

11. 487: "*thoraca indutus aënis horrebat squamis*;" and the very horse of Chloereus, priest of Cybele (11. 770) wears a "*pellis aënis squamis auro conserta*." Thirdly, an entire verse was more worthily devoted to the material and shape of the material, of which the cuirass consisted, than to the composition used for polishing it. And fourthly, it is according to Virgil's usual manner to divide his description of an object into a number of separate clauses, one clause having for its object the material, another the form, another the colour, or other striking quality or characteristic of the object described. POLIBANT AEGIDA SQUAMIS SERPENTUM AUROQUE, therefore, *were polishing the aegis with golden serpent scales*, i. e., *polishing it by furnishing it with,*

or making on it, polished serpent-scales of gold, golden scales which had the appearance of serpents' scales.

GORGONA DESECTO VERTENTEM LUMINA COLLO (vs. 438).—
 "Videntur 'versa LUMINA' melius accipi de inversis, deiectis et oclusis, quippe in capite reciso," Heyne, an interpretation on which, I think, I need make no observation. "Gorgo, cui collum erat desectum, et oculi in pectus Palladis conversi, tamquam minas ne in morte quidem remittat," Peerlkamp. "Oculos huc et illuc flectentem tanquam vivos; quae res et miraculi plena et terroris; cf. Hom. *Il.* 18. 417," Wagner (*Praest.*), Forbiger, Thiel. I dissent from both interpretations, if it were only because we never anywhere else hear of the eyes of the Gorgon on the shield, either being turned against Pallas herself, or moving as if they were still instinct with life. Both interpretations are in a high degree far-fetched and unnatural. All that is meant is that the eyes in the cut-off head retain the scowl, the terrifying expression, for which the Gorgon was so famous during life, and which it was so dangerous to behold that even Perseus dare not look directly in the Gorgon's face, but directed the aim of his sword by the image reflected in the shield of Minerva. Compare Sil. 9. 460 :

"tum virgo, ignescens penitus, violenta repente
 subfudit flammis ora, atque obliqua retorquens
 lumina, turbato superavit Gorgona vultu ;"

Id. 4. 232 :

"inferias caesis mactat Labarumque Padumque
 et Caunum, et multo vix fusum vulnere Breucum)
 Gorgoneoque Larum torquentem lumina vultu ;"

and Seneca, *Agam.* (chorus, speaking of Cassandra) :

"incerta nutant lumina ; et versi retro
 torquentur oculi ; rursus immites rigent."

VERTENTEM LUMINA, therefore, is neither more nor less than the "torquentem lumina" of Silius, just quoted, which if anyone doubts, let him refer to Ovid, *Met.* 2. 752 :

"vertit ad hanc torvi dea bellica luminis orbem,"

where is the author's precise expression in what other sense? *Turns her scowling eye upon her, scowls upon her*, and so in our text: *the eyes scowling in the lopped-off head*. The eyes although dead retained the look they had in life, just as "*spirantia signa*," *Georg. 3. 34*, not *actually breathing statues*, but *statues so like life that they seemed to breathe*.

Aliter. DESECTO VERTENTEM LUMINA COLLO.—"VERTENTEM LUMINA, de oculis torvis, obliquis, ex ira et furore . . . Videntur tamen h. l., 'versa lumina' melius accipi de inversis, deiectis et oclusis, quippe in capite reciso," Heyne; "oculos huc et illuc flectentem, tanquam vivos; quae res et miraculi plena et terroris," Wagner (*Praest.*)—all three meanings equally unsuitable. The picture is of the eyes turning up so as to show the whites only; *turning up the whites of the eyes*, as we say in English. The eyes are popularly supposed to turn up in this manner at the moment the head is cut off. A friend of mine, who once saw a man guillotined, assured me the eyeballs turned up in this manner. Whether the opinion be physiologically correct or not, I do not at all doubt that it is this picture our author has set before his readers, viz., that of the Gorgon's eyes turned up so as to show only the whites; the position assumed by the balls at the moment of the separation of the head from the body. Compare *Sil. 4. 232*:

"inferias caesis mactat Labarumque Padumque,
et Caenum, et multo vix fusum vulnere Breucum,
Gorgoneoque Larum torquentem lumina vultu."

TOLLITE CUNCTA (vs. 439), *thame*; COEPTOSQUE AUFERTE LABORES, *variation*.

445-462.

FLUIT—HERILEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 461).

ALTO ■■■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Jacob. *Quaest. Ep.*, p. 61 ("Id solum a poeta significatum esse volo, quod limen Evandri praestantiae causa prae caeteris Arcadum casis *altum* nominatum sit"); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ARTO ■■■ Wakef.; Markland ad Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 46.

APERTO ■■■ Peerlk.

FLUIT AES RIVIS, AURIQUE METALLUM; VULNIFICUSQUE CHALYBS VASTA FORNACE LIQUESCIT (vv. 445-446).—METALLUM, although connected in the structure with AURI only, belongs no less in the sense to AES and CHALYBS, the expression AURI METALLUM being used only for variety.

SEPTENOSQUE ORBIBUS ORBES IMPEDIUNT (vv. 448-9).—"Veluti septem scuta facta in unitatem connectunt," Servius. "IMPEDIUNT ornate pro *faciunt*; sed quinam illi orbis sunt? . . . laminae aereae aliae super aliam impactae, ut septemplex esset clypeus," Heyne. "Septem laminarum ORBES (πρυχας) ita inter se iungunt compinguntque, ut divelli non possint," Wagner (*Praest.*), Forbiger, Thiel. "Und scheid' um scheibe gedrängt siebenfach," Voss. But who ever until now heard of impeding meaning either "in unitatem connectere," or "facere," or "iungere compingereque"? Is not each of these an interpretation newly invented for the word, according to the individual commentator's notion of what Virgil was called on, by the circumstances of the case, to say? No, no; IMPEDIUNT has here its very usual meaning of *bind, invest, surround with, in the manner of a hoop or ring*; ORBES is the round layers of which the body of the shield consists, which are SEPTENOS,

seven in number; and ORBIBUS is the concentric rings or hoops (the number not being specified) which bound the body or ORBES of the shield all round the margin, like so many fellowes, one overlapping the other round the body (whether solid or spoked) of a cart-wheel. We have thus not only a precise but a usual meaning, assigned to every one of the words in the sentence, and a picture presented to the mind of the reader which he can have no difficulty in realizing if he has ever had the good fortune to see a smith put the fellowe on a cart-wheel, especially if the wheel has happened to be like the shield of Aeneas, a solid disk, or "orbis," not one with spokes. Nothing can be more manifest than the necessity of this outer ring, or fellowe, to keep the seven flat disks in their places, and from shifting or separating at their edges, nothing more happy than the use of the term IMPEDIUNT to express this effect, nothing more proper than that the putting this last hand to the work should close the account not, observe, of the shield which has yet after being finished to be described in full verse, but of its process of making, nothing more effective than that the last word of the account of the process of making should be the word IMPEDIUNT (expressing the firmness, solidity, and compactness conferred on the whole work by the fellowe) placed in the emphatic position, first word in a new verse, and followed by a period (see Rem. on 2. 247). Nor, full as this development of the poet's meaning seems, is it yet complete: we have also the usual *υστερον προτερον*. The shield is first described in the words INGENTEM CLYPEUM INFORMANT as thoroughly formed; nay is even presented to you in use in the actual battle, UNUM OMNIA CONTRA TELA LATINORUM, and only then are you told how it was "informatum," viz., out of seven flat disks, surrounded by a ring, ring-shaped disk, or fellowe, *αυτοξ*. Compare the shield made by the same Vulcan, and of course on the same pattern, for Achilles, Hom. *Il.* 18. 478:

ποιει δὲ πρωτιστὰ σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε
 πάντοσε διδάλων περὶ δ' αὐτοῦα βάλλε φάεινεν,
 τριπλάκα, μαρμαρεν,

where *αυτοῦα* is Virgil's ORBIBUS, and *περιβαλλε* Virgil's IM-

PEDIUNT, and where, as in Virgil, the addition of the *αντιξ* completes the work, literally "coronat opus." Compare also Hom. *Il.* 11. 32 (of the shield of Agamemnon):

αν δ' ελετ' αμφιβροτην πολυδαιδαλον ασπιδα θουριν,
καλην, ην περι μεν κυκλοι δεκα χαλκοι ησαν,

where there are so many as ten of these surrounding *κυκλοι*, "orbes."

ALII STRIDENTIA TINGUNT AERA LACU (vv. 450-1) corresponds to "striduntque cavernis strieturæ Chalybum," above; GEMIT IMPOSITIS INCUDIBUS ANTRUM (vs. 451) to "antra Aetnaeae tonant, validique incudibus ictus auditi referunt gemitum."

ILLI INTER SESE MULTA VI BRACHIA TOLLUNT IN NUMERUM (vs. 452-3).—IN NUMERUM, *εν ρυθμῳ*, so as to form a measure or time, viz., by striking, one party all at once, and another party all at once, and alternately with the former. Compare Lucil. *Aetn.* 38 (of the Cyclops):

"quum super incudem *numerosa* in verbera fortes
horrendum magno quaterent sub pondere fulmen;"

Schiller, *Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*, st. 12:

"die werke klappern nacht und tag,
im *takte* pocht der hämmer schlag."

ET MATUTINI VOLUCRUM SUB CULMINE CANTUS (vs. 456).—"Potest et generaliter accipi VOLUCRUM *quarumvis* [quæ matutino sonant]; potest et specialiter, ut hirundinum [potest et gallorum . . .]; Servius (ed. Lion), "suntne igitur galli gallinacei intelligendi? nam hirundines non facile e somno excitant dormientes, nec ad hunc usum a poetis advocantur;" Heyne, "Hirundinum"; Wagner (1861), who, in answer to Heyne, adds in his ed. Heyn.: "audivi tamen homines rusticanos affirmantes, saepe se hirundinum garrientium strepitu e somno excitari;" and so Voss, Forbiger, and Thiel. In this weighty controversy I am certainly on the side of Heyne, without however sharing in his uncertainty. Cock-crow, not swallow-crow, is meant, according to immemorial saws, and already indicated in the verse itself by SUB CULMINE, the culmen being

from all time the cock-roost (cock-loft), while the swallows were content to lodge under the eaves, as Coripp. *Laud. Justin.* 1. 198 :

“ omnia gallorum strepuerunt culmina cantu;”

and, as is placed beyond the possibility of doubt by Silius, 14. 20 (of the space which separates Sicily from Italy) :

“ sed spatium quod dissociat consortia terrae,
latratus fama est (sic arcta intervenit unda)
et matutinos volucrum transillere cantus,”

where he must be a very determined swallowite indeed who takes the meaning to be that the twittering of swallows is heard across the straits of Messina. The cock, not the swallow, is pre-eminently the morning bird, and the cock's song, not the swallow's, pre-eminently the morning song (“matutinos cantus”) with all poets, ancient as well as modern. See Soph. *El.* 18 :

ως ημιν ηδη λαμπρον ηλιου σελας
εωα κινει φθεγματ' ορνιθων σαφη

(where the schol. : ορθρινας των αλεκτορων ωδας); S. D. Ambros. *Hymn. ad prim. galli cantum* (Grimm, *Hymn. veteris eccles. xxvi. interpret. Theotistica*, 25, Göttingae, 1830) :

“ Praeco diei iam sonat,
noctis profundae pervigil,
.
hoc excitatus Lucifer
solvit polum caligine
.
surgamus ergo strenue;
gallus iacentes excitat
et somnolentos increpat,
gallus negantes arguit,”

(he who awakes Lucifer himself may well awake Evander); Prudent. *Cathem.* 1. 13. (*Hymnus ad Galli cantum*) :

“ vox ista, qua strepunt aves
stantes sub ipso culmine
paulo ante quam lux emicet,
nostri figura est iudicis”

(where the cock alone is meant, although, as in our text, the general term *birds* is used); Mart. 14. 223:

“*cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves*,”

Actt. SS. Bollandiana, tom. 2 Jun., in *Passione SS. Petri et Marcellini*: “Cum primo *pullorum cantu* sederet Serenus Vicarius, et iuberet audiendas intromitti personas,” &c.; Shakesp. *Hamlet*, 1. 1 (ed. Malone):

“the cock that is the trumpet to the morn,
doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
awake the god of day: and, at his warning,
whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
the extravagant and erring spirit hies
to his confine”;

and again, *ibid.*:

“some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
this bird of dawn singeth all night long.”

SUB CULMINE.—“*Casae Evandri*,” Heyne, Forbiger, Thiel. Here, however, I dissent from Heyne. CULMINE is by no means necessarily Evander's culmen; it is the culmen of the house where the cocks happened to be; the picture presented being not that of Evander's house, with cocks in the cock-loft, but of Evander rising when the cock crew from his roost.

CONSURGIT (vs. 457).—i. e. “*surgit cum*, volucris utique,” Wakefield, apparently ignorant how frequently *con* in composition, instead of signifying *in company with another*, merely adds force and dignity to the simple verb. Compare 9. 749:

“Sic ait, et sublatum alte *consurgit* in ensem,”

and see Remm. on 2. 1; 2. 52; 3. 561; 6. 634; 9. 375*b*.

LIMINE AB ALTO (vs. 461).—The commentators are embarrassed to reconcile these words with EX HUMILI TECTO only six lines previously. Their embarrassment is, as so often elsewhere, their own fault, arises from their too literal mode of interpretation—“ALTO perpetuo et proprio liminis epitheto; nam alioqui alienum erat a casa exigua altum limen,” Heyne. “Putabimus Evandrum a LIMINE descendisse per gradus ali-

quos, quanquam ea res videtur humilitati istius casae parum convenire," Wagner (*Praest.*). "Sed potuit, ni fallor, etiam humile tectum *regis* ALTO LIMINE prae caeteris insigne esse," Ribbeck. ALTO is not *lofty, high, or elevated* in the physical sense, which would indeed be a flat contradiction to HUMILI TECTO, but it is as so often elsewhere, *august, inspiring awe or reverence*. Compare 11. 482:

"et moestas alto fundunt de limine voces;"

6. 9 (where see Rem. on): "quibus *altus* Apollo praesidet; 11. 234:

. . . "primosque suorum
imperio accitos *alta* intra limina cogit.
olli convenere, fluuntque ad regia plenis
tecta viis."

So understood, ALTO LIMINE is in the very best harmony with HUMILI TECTO, inasmuch as in HUMILI TECTO the palace of Evander is spoken of according to the view which would have been taken of such palace by the contemporaries of Virgil, whilst in ALTO LIMINE it is spoken of according to the view which was actually taken of it by the Arcadians themselves, as the residence of their king. ALTO LIMINE is thus equivalent to *regio limine*, just as 11. 235 (quoted above), "*alta limina*" is actually repeated in "*regia tecta*," the words only being changed, and the sense remaining identical. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 6. 263:

"hic locus *exiguus*, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
tunc erat intonsi *regia magna* Numae,"

where in one and the same sentence, one and the same place is both "*locus exiguus*" and "*regia magna*," viz., according to the respective estimates formed of it at different epochs by different generations.

PROCEDUNT GRESSUMQUE CANES COMITANTUR HERILEM (v. 462).—I agree with the two Heinsii in preferring PROCEDUNT to PRAECEDUNT, not at all because PRAECEDUNT is contradicted by COMITANTUR, for I think with Burmann, Heyne, and Wagner, that the two expressions are quite consistent with each other; but, first, because the going before of the dogs is too minute a

circumstance to be noted in a grave, epic narration; and secondly, because PRAECEDUNT had been an innovation on the Homeric original, *Od. 2. 11* (of Telemachus): Ἀμα τῷ γε κυνέες ποδας ἀργοὶ ἔποντο.

472-517.

NOBIS—ANNIS

NOBIS AD BELLII AUXILIUM PRO NOMINE TANTO EXIGUAE VIRES (vv. 472-3).—"PRO NOMINE TANTO: *pro tui nominis gloria*," Servius, Cynth. *Cenet.*, La Cerda, Voss, and Wagner (1861). The latter, however, adding "Nisi forte: *pro mei nominis fama*," the explanation previously given by Heyne, and subsequently by Forbiger and Thiel, and to which the following passage of Cicero, *Somn. Scip.*, ed. Lamb. vol. 4, p. 318. 50: "Illo mari quod Atlanticum, quod Magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris; qui tamen *tanto nomine quam sit parvus*, vides," leaves me no choice but to give my unqualified adhesion, where the greatness of the name ("nomine tanto") is opposed to the smallness of the thing ("quam sit parvus"), exactly as in our text the greatness of the name (NOMINE TANTO) is opposed to the smallness of the help the possessor of the name could afford (AD BELLII AUXILIUM EXIGUAE VIRES). Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 1. 553 (of Cacus): "*vires pro corpore; corpus grande*;" Id. *Met.* 4. 412 (of the Minyeides turned into bats):

"conataeque loqui, *minimam pro corpore vocem*
emittunt;"

Tacit. *Ann.* 12. 21: "Traditus post haec Mithridates, vectusque Romam . . . *ferocius quam pro fortuna* disseruisse apud Caesarem ferebatur;" Ovid, *Met.* 13. 864 (Polyphemus, of Acis):

"sentiet esse mihi *tanto pro corpore vires*"

[he shall feel that my strength is in proportion to the great size of my body]; Sil. 12. 387:

“ non equidem innumeras caedes totque horrida facta
sperarim *tanto digne pro nomine rerum*
pandere, nec dictis bellantum aequare calorem;”

Liv. 7. 29: “Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum, quam vires, quum attulissent,” &c. (where there is the same opposition as in our text, between the help expected and the power to help); Liv. 25. 16: “Maior, quam pro numero hominum, editur pugna”; Ovid, *Amor.* 1. 12. 27 (punning on the duplicity or double nature of writing tablets which have brought him disagreeable news):

“ ergo ego vos rebus duplices *pro nomine sensi*?”

[Have I then found you to be in fact as double as your name imports?]; Sil. 13. 858 (ed. Rup.):

“ imperium hic primus rapiet; sed gloria culpa,
quod reddet solus; nec *tanto in nomine* quisquam
exsistet, Sullae qui se velit esse secundum;”

Sil 6. 462 (ed. Rup.):

“ . . . patriae ductorem *nomine tanto*
redderet, orabant ”

[a captain (viz., Regulus) of so great a name].

NOMINE TANTO.—*A name (fame) so great as you are pleased to ascribe to me*; referring, no doubt, as Forbiger has remarked, to “tua terris didita fama,” vs. 132.

HINC RUTULUS PREMIT (vs. 474), theme; ET MURUM CIRCUMSONAT ARMIS, variation.

DI CAPITI IPSIUS GENERIQUE RESERVENT (vs. 484). Compare Terent. *Hecyr.* 3. 1:

“ aliquid tulisse comminiscuntur mali,
capiti, atque aetati illorum, morbus qui auctus siet.”

TORMENTI GENUS (vs. 487).—“Exclamatio est inventi supplicii [et detestatio],” Servius. “Edendum erat TORMENTI GENUS!” Peerkamp. “Ha, der peiniger!” Voss. The words are not an exclamation, but a mere explanation, introduced in

the same manner as Silius has introduced his explanation or observation, "*solandi genus*," 4. 39:

"sed Libyae ductor tuto foetet agmina vallo,
fessa gradum, multoque gelu torpentia nervos;
solandique genus, laetis ostentat ad urbem
per campos superesse viam, Romamque sub ictu,"

by way of comforting them, as in our text, *TORMENTI GENUS*, by way of torturing them. Compare Ammian. 23. 4: "*Malleoli autem, teli genus*, figurantur hac specie"; Sil. 7. 151 (Hannibal speaking of Fabius Cunctator):

"inventum (dum se cohibet, terimurque sedendo)
vincendi genus;"

Juvenal 15. 169:

"aspicimus populos quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem, sed pectora, brachia, vultum
crediderunt *genus* esse cibi;"

Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 2. 51:

"nec letum timeo; *genus* est miserabile leti;"

and there could be no better paraphrase of our text. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 1. 58 (of Maximinus): *ξενὴν τινα κολασιν αὐτοῦ εφεύρων*. It is a curious coincidence that *tormentum*, in the sense of *machina bellica*, has been used in the selfsame construction not only by Festus: "*Cullus quoque masculine dixerunt, est enim genus tormenti e corio*," and by Ammian, 31. 15: "*Scorpio genus tormenti*, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat," but by the author of the *Diccion. de la lengua Castellana por la Academia Española*, 7ma ed., Paris, 1824, where I find the following definition of the word *verso*: "*Art. Especie de culebrina de muy poco calibre que ya no se usa en buenas fundiciones: Tormenti bellici genus*," whence an additional argument that the expression in our text is not exclamatory, but explanatory. If, however, the words have been really intended as an exclamation, the reader has, I think, a right to complain that the interjection which has been used by Silius on a similar occasion, 6. 203, "*Heu genus infandum leti*," . . . and which would have removed all doubt, has been omitted.

Q MAEONIAE DELECTA IUVENTUS (vs. 499), theme; FLOS VETERUM VIRTUSQUE VIRUM, variation.

QUOS IUSTUS IN HOSTEM FERT DOLOR (vv. 500-1), theme; ET MERITA ACCENDIT MEZENTIIUS IRA, variation.

IPSE ORATORES AD ME REGNIQUE CORONAM CUM SCEPTRO MISIT (vv. 505-6), theme; MANDATQUE INSIGNIA TARCHON, variation. Theme and variation taken together make up the sense IPSE TARCHON MANDAT *mihî* REGNI INSIGNIA, viz., CORONAM *et sceptrum*, *missa* AD ME *per* ORATORES; OR IPSE TARCHON MISIT AD ME ORATORES *qui mihî mandarent* REGNI INSIGNIA, viz., CORONAM *et sceptrum*. This is the simple meaning and structure, according to Virgil's usual habit. Compare 8. 683:

. . . "cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona,"

where "navali corona" and "insigne superbum belli" are one and the same thing under different points of view. Servius, ignorant as well of the structure in the particular instance, as of Virgil's usual habit, understands INSIGNIA to be either other ensigns of empire besides the crown and sceptre, "omnia ornamenta regalia," an interpretation in which he is followed by Ascensius, La Cerdà, and Voss, or to be equivalent to "magna," i.e. to mean: *gives me the great commission*, *ut* CASTRIS SUCCEDAM *et* CAPESSAM REGNA TYRRHENA. Peerlkamp, ignorant no less than Servius of Virgil's theme-and-variation method of writing, observes: "Putidum est simplex *mittendi* factum duobus verbis exprimere," an observation proving too much, and so confutes itself, such repetition being of so frequent occurrence in Virgil as to form a marked characteristic of his composition—nay so marked a characteristic that, take away the repetition, and you alter the entire character of the poem's composition. I will even go one step further, and say that it is precisely this mode of writing, by theme and variation, which has perhaps as much as any other peculiarity of his style pleased his readers, without, however, being until now ever analyzed by them, and without their even having had so much as a suspicion what it was which perhaps more than any other peculiarity in the mode of compo-

sition rendered his style so full, so round, so complete, so persuasive, so impressive, so charming; even at the end of nineteen centuries so universally admired by all who have any acquaintance with his language, and always most by those who have devoted most time and thought to the study of his writings.

In our text, as so often elsewhere, Heyne has shown not merely his better understanding of the particular passage, but his clearer insight into his author's manner of writing, and his superior knowledge of the poetical style in general, as distinguished from prose. His words are "*mittit* INSIGNIA REGNI: sc. ex Etruseorum more, illa scilicet ipsa quae memoravit." See for a similar instance of one and the same act described differently, or under different points of view, in different sentences, and similarly mistaken by the commentators for as many substantially different acts as there are unsubstantially different sentences, 8. 215 :

" discessu mugire boves, atque omne querelis
impleri nemus, et colles clamore relinqui."

SED MIHI TARDA GELU SAECLISQUE EFFOETA SENECTUS IN-
VIDET IMPERIUM (vv. 508-9), theme; SERAEQUE AD FORTIA
VIREs, variation.

PRIMIS ET TE MIRETUR AB ANNIS (vs. 517) is the variation of
TUA CERNERE FACTA ASSUESCAT, itself little more than a varia-
tion of SUB TE TOLERARE MAGISTRO MILITIAM ET GRAVE MARTIS
OPUS (*assuescat*).

523-529.

NI SIGNUM CAELO CYTHEREA DEDISSET APERTO
 NAMQUE IMPROVISO VIBRATUS AB AETHERE FULGOR
 CUM SONITU VENIT ET RUERE OMNIA VISA REPENTE
 TYRRHENUSQUE TUBAE MUGIRE PER AETHERA CLANGOR
 SUSPICIUNT ITERUM ATQUE ITERUM FRAGOR INCREPAT INGENS
 ARMA INTER NUBEM COELI IN REGIONE SERENA
 PER SUDUM RUTILARE VIDENT ET PULSA TONARE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 527).

INCREPAT ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.*; "Antique plerique codd. Vaticanique omnino cum Mediceo et Porcio INCREPAT legunt," Pierius. ■■†, ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.; Ribb.

INTONAT ■■‡. ■■■ Serv.; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.; Pott.

Ni has a different effect according as the verb after which it comes is in the subjunctive or in the indicative mood. If the verb is in the subjunctive mood, the effect of *ni* is to prevent the supposed or conditional action from taking place, to substitute for it the action expressed by its own verb, as 5. 232: "*cepissent praemia . . . ni Cloanthus fudisset preces*," where the conditional action expressed by "*cepissent*" does not take place at all, and the other action expressed by "*fudisset*" is substituted for it, just as if Virgil had said *they did not take the prizes, for Cloanthus prayed, or but Cloanthus prayed*; Claud. *Cons. Honor.* 99:

"Alpinae rubuere nives, et frigidus amnis
 mutatis fumavit aquis, turbaque cadentum
 stare, *ni* rapidus iuvisset flumina sanguis,"

when the standing-still of the river is—not stopped or discon-

tinued, for the river has not stood still at all—but is prevented from taking place, viz., by the accession of the blood to its stream. Compare Hom. *Il.* 23. 154 :

και νυ κ' οδυρομενοισιν εδν φας ηελιοιο,
ει μη Αχιλλευσ αιψ' Αγαμεμνονι ειπε παραστας,

where, *εδν* being rendered virtually conditional by the addition of *κε*, the meaning is, *they would have wept till night, had not Achilles . . .* On the other hand, if the verb after which *ni* is used is in the indicative mood, the effect of *ni* is not to prevent the action—the verb being in the indicative mood the action has already taken place more or less completely, according to the tense of the verb, and cannot by any possibility be prevented—but to put a stop to its continuance, or if that is impossible, the action having been already completed, the effect of *ni* is to annul it and make it of no avail, as 6. 358 :

. . . - "iam tuta tenebam,
ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum,
prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis,
ferro invasisset ;"

Stat. Theb. 5. 583 :

" ipsa etiam summa iam tela *poposcerat* aethra
Iuppiter, et dudum nimbiq[ue] hyemesq[ue] *coibant*,
ni minor ira deo, gravioraq[ue] tela mereri
servatus Capaneus. moti tamen aura cucurrit
fulminis, et summas libavit vertice cristas ;"

ibid. 2. 26, of Cerberus roused by the appearance of Mercury and the shade of Laius, leaving Hades :

" illos ut caeco recubans in limine sensit
Cerberus, atq[ue] omnes capitum subrexit hiatus,
saevus et intranti populo. iam nigra tumebat
colla minax, iam sparsa solo *turbat erat* ossa.
ni deus horrentem Lethaeo vimine mulcens
ferrea tergemino *domuisset* lumina somno ;"

in all which instances the verb preceding *ni* being in the indicative, the action is more or less complete, and no longer by any possibility to be prevented, and the effect of *ni* is limited to

interrupting or discontinuing, or at the very utmost to the annulling and rendering void and of no avail the action which has already taken place. And this is precisely what we observe in the case presented by our text, where Aeneas and Achates were, not *prevented* from thinking many hard things, for they were already thinking (*PUTABANT*), but were interrupted in their thoughts by the sigh from heaven, and had their melancholy turned into joy.

TROIUS HEROS

AGNOVIT SONITUM ET DIVAE PROMISSA PARENTIS

ET PRIMUM HERCULEM SOPITAS IGNIVUS ARAS

EXCITAT. HESTERNUMQUE LAREM, PARVOSQUE PENATES
LAETUS ADIT.

And so exactly Sil. 6. 113 :

. . . "testor mea numina, manes,
dignam me poenae tum nobilitate paternae
strage hostis *quaesivisse* necem, *ni* tristia letum,
ut quondam patri, nobis quoque fata *negassent*,"

where the action of seeking death having already taken place, neither can be nor is prevented by anything which happens after, is only annulled.

CUM SONITU (vs. 525).—"Tonitrus, scilicet. Et . . . ordinem tenuit qui nobis apparet, ut fulgetras dicat priores, cum sint ante tonitrua. . . Non autem mirum est, a Venere allatis armis inesse fulgorem, nam, &c. *Inter nubem, per nubem*. Et dicit, in SERENA parte CAELI fuisse NUBEM, per quam arma portata sunt," Servius. "FULGOR AB AETHERE, et ingens sonitus (istis describit fulgur et sonitum) quo puncto temporis VISA SUNT OMNIA RUERE. Nam una cum fulgure, et tonitru auditus quoque in aethere CLANGOR mugientis TUBAE. Pavementi omnes attollunt oculos, et tunc audita duo alia tonitrua, frangente se caelo. Ac iam in SERENA CAELI parte nubes coaluerat, in qua portata arma, quae intra ipsam NUBEM sudo aere rutilabant, et pulsa intonabant. His signat venientium armorum strepitum," La Cérda. "Clangor armorum, quae movebantur per aerem deportata a Venere, comparantur cum clangore TUBAE," Heyne. "Es blitzt und donnert. Zugleich

hört man in der luft den ton einer tuba, man sieht an einer erhellten stelle des himmels waffen blinken und hört sie klirren. Man denke, Venus trug jetzt eben die rüstung ihres sohnes in den Olymp," Thiel. "Die bedeutung der himmeler-scheinung erklärt, Aeneas dahin, dass die waffen, welche sich am himmel zeigen, die von Vulcan gefertigte rüstung sei," Ladewig (*Gratulationschrift*, 1853). I look upon the whole of this commentation as fundamentally erroneous. If it is the Vulcanian suit of armour carried by Venus through the air which makes this noise, such noise was never made by a suit of armour before or since, nor ever will be made again, even in the imagination of a poet much less discreet than Virgil. Even suppose the amount of noise not a thousand times, ten thousand times too great to be produced by a suit of armour, how was the suit of armour to produce it? By whom or by what machinery was one part clashed against another, the spear against the shield, the sword against the helmet or cuirass? Was it Venus clashed the several pieces together, or did the pieces clash together accidentally as she carried them? and how came it, in either case, that the clashing resembled the braying of a trumpet—nay, not merely of a trumpet, but of a Tyrrhene trumpet? Who ever heard of such a thing? the clashing of arms to seem to be the braying of a Tyrrhene trumpet! Is not the reader reminded of the blind man whose idea of the colour scarlet was that it resembled the sound of a trumpet? But let this pass; let the clanging of the pieces of a single suit of armour not only be so loud that everything around seemed to be falling (*RUERE OMNIA VISA REPENTE*), and but at the same time resemble the braying of a trumpet. Why don't the arms arrive? Whither is Venus carrying them? To Aeneas? No; they disappear from his view, like a paper kite, or balloon, or soaring eagle, and he hears no more of them until after he has left the court of Evander, despatched part of his forces in boats down the river, and, after a long and fatiguing march with the rest, reached the encampment of Tarchon. Is she bearing them to Olympus ("in den Olymp")? For what purpose? To exhibit them to the gods, and then bring them

back again to earth? No; no; Virgil is guilty of no such absurdities. It is a mere and total mistake of the author's meaning. The description is not of the carrying of the arms through the air, either to Aeneas or to Olympus, but of a sign or prodigy reminding Aeneas of Venus's promise to bring the arms, a pledge that the arms would surely be brought, vs. 523:

NI SIGNUM CAELO CYTHEREA DEDISSET APERTO;

vs. 534:

HOC SIGNUM CECINIT MISSURAM DIVA CREATRIX,
SI BELLUM INGRUERET.

Venus seeing Aeneas's trouble, vv. 520-523, gives the promised sign that she would come to his help in the approaching contest with a complete suit of Vulcanian armour, that he was now on the very eve of the contest, and that he might expect the fulfilment of her promise of the arms immediately. The sign consisted of the usual phenomena of a sign in the sky—a great light or flash from heaven, accompanied or instantaneously followed by a terrific noise as if everything was falling. The noise was repeated several times, and the intervals filled up with the loud braying of a trumpet. The persons present look up and see arms glancing in the sky, and hear them clashing. What reader does not see at once that all this was no more than the usual celestial prodigy of which we read in almost every Roman author, whether prose-writer or poet—sudden and bright light, crashing noise, trumpets braying, arms seen clashing and heard clanging in the sky? Compare Tibull. 2. 5. 71:

“haec fore dixerunt belli mala signa cometen,
multus ut in terras deplueretque lapis:
atque tubas, atque arma ferunt crepitantia caelo
audita;”

Ovid, *Met.* 15. 783:

“arma ferunt nigras inter crepitantia nubes,
terribilesque tubas, auditaque cornua caelo
praemonuisse nefas;”

Plin. *N. H.* 2. 57: “Armorum crepitus, et tubae sonitus

auditos e caelo Cimbricis bellis acceperimus; crebrosque et prius et postea. Tertio vero consulatu Marii ab Amerinis et Tuder-
tibus spectata arma caelestia, ab ortu occasuque inter se concurren-
tia, pulsus quæ ab occasu erant;" Jul. Obsequens, 76:
"Consae arma in caelo volare visa, fulmine pleraque decussa;"
Id. 125: "Clamorem crepitumque armorum Antiochiae bis,
ut curreretur in muros, auditum; itemque sonum tympanorum
Pergami"; and above all, Virgil himself, *Georg.* 1. 474 (of the
omens preceding the death of Julius Caesar):

"armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo
audiit,
.
non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
fulgura; nec diri toties arsere cometae.
ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;"

and Lucan 1. 569 (of those preceding the civil wars):

"tunc fragor armorum, magnaeque per avia voces
auditae nemorum
.
insonuere tubae, et quanto clamore cohortes
miscentur, tantum nox atra silentibus auris
edidit."

Not only then were all the phenomena enumerated in our text
usual phenomena of a divine manifestation in the sky, but they
were also, as in our text, premonitory of war at hand:

HOC SIGNUM CECINIT MISSURAM DIVA CREATRIX
SI BELLUM INGRUERET;

and Lucan (*ubi supra*):

"imminet armorum rabies, ferrique potestas
confundet ius omne manu";

and on the present occasion were taken as such by all the
parties present, those who had had no previous inkling of
Venus's promise to send such a sign being astounded and alarmed
(*OBSTUPUERE ANIMIS ALII*), while Aeneas, who alone had ex-
pected the sign, is cheered and encouraged, because it was not
to him as it was to the rest, merely a notice of the near

approaching horrors of war, but was besides the proof that his mother had not forgotten her promise, that in case war was impending she would *not only* give him warning of it, but would also supply him with a suit of heaven-made arms, by means of which he would be successful in the war:

HOC SIGNUM CECINIT MISSURAM DIVA CREATRIX
SI BELLUM INGRUBRET, VULCANIAQUE ARMA PER AURAS
LATURAM AUXILIO.

Venus's promise being thus, not as it has been hitherto universally understood, one and single, viz., that in case of war she would bring him arms, but double, viz., that in case of war she would give him notice of its approach (SIGNUM MISSURAM), *and* bring him arms to help him in it (VULCANIAQUE ARMA LATURAM), and the present prodigy being the fulfilment of the first part of the promise (SIGNUM MISSURAM), Aeneas is all hope and joy, not doubting but that the remaining part of the promise (VULCANIAQUE ARMA LATURAM) would speedily have its completion also, and that that war, so much dreaded by all the rest, would end in glorious and triumphant victory. Hence his NE VERO HOSPES, &c., and HEU QUANTAE MISERIS, &c.

TYRRHENUSQUE TUBAE MUGIRE PER AETHERA CLANGOR.—
TYRRHENUS TUBAE CLANGOR = *Tyrrhenae tubae clangor*, as Lucret. l. 474, “Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore” = *Alexandri Phrygis sub pectore*. TYRRHENUS TUBAE CLANGOR, *a clangor like that of a Tyrrhene trumpet, as it were of a Tyrrhene trumpet*. Compare Soph. *Aj.* 14:

ω φθεγμ' Ἀθανας φιλτατῆς ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς ευμαθὲς σοῦ, καὶ ἀποπτος ἧς, οὐμὸς
φωρημ' ἀκούω, καὶ ξυναρπαζῶ φρενὶ,
χαλκοστομον κωδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

Eurip. *Rhesus*, 991:

πανούς δ' ἐχόντας χρεὶ μενεῖν Τυρσηνικῆς
σαλπιγγος αὐδῆν·

Tryphiod. 317:

οὐρανή δὲ
ἐκ Διὸς ἐλκομενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σαλπιγξ·

Claud. *Gigant.* 60: “iam tuba nimborum sonuit.”

TYRRHENUS.—“ Ideo quia apud Tuscos tubam constat inventam,” Servius. “ Quia tuba ab Etruscis inventa,” Wagner (*Praest.*). Incorrectly, as I think, not only as to the meaning and the etymology, but the fact. It was not the Tyrrheni (Tusci, or Etrusci) who invented the trumpet, but it was the individual Tyrrhenus, the founder of the Tyrrhene colony, who invented it and taught the world its use. From Tyrrhenus, its inventor, the trumpet was called *Tyrrhena tuba*, and the sound of the trumpet *Tyrrhenus clangor*, in the same way as from Tyrrhenus, the founder of the colony, the colonists themselves were called Tyrrheni. To such effect at least we have the clear and unmistakeable statement of Silius, 5.10 :

“ Iydios huic genitor, Tmoli decus, aequore longo
Maeoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
Tyrrhenus pubem, *dederatque vocabula terris* ;
isque insueta *tubae* monstravit murmura primus
gentibus, et bellis ignava silentia rupit.”

If this be correct, TYRRHENUS CLANGOR in our text is not *clangor of Tyrrhene trumpet* in the sense of *Tuscan*, or *Etrurian trumpet*, but in the sense of *trumpet of Tyrrhenus*, or, as we would say in English, *Tyrrhenic trumpet* (*Τυρσηνικης σαλπιγγος*, Eurip. above), and the additamentum of Servius: “ Videatur hic opportune Tyrrhenae TUBAE facta mentio, ut iam Tyrrhenorum castra vocare videatur Aeneas” (where Lion well guesses: “ videatur Aeneam”) is as devoid of foundation as it is devoid of good taste.

ARMA INTER NUBEM (vs. 528).—“ Nubes ita ambiebat arma, ut ipsa in sudo effulgerent,” Wagner (*Praest.*), a gloss which, if I understand it right, means that in the midst of a cloud, or of a cloudy sky, there was a clear space in which the arms appeared. Not this however, but the very opposite, is the meaning of Virgil's words. The arms appeared not in a clear space surrounded by cloud, but in a cloud surrounded by clear space. The sky was perfectly clear and cloudless, nothing at all to be seen in it, up to the moment of the occurrence of the prodigy. In this perfectly clear sky the prodigy occurs, in our author's words “ Venus dat signum.” Looking up, they see ARMA

INTER NUBEM; literally, *arms between a cloud*, i. e., *arms supported on both sides by cloud*; more loosely, *a cloud supporting or carrying arms*: "In SERENA parte CÆLI fuisse NUBEM, per quam arma portata sunt," Servius. This cloud is, if I may so say, the vehicle of the arms, is added for the purpose of giving verisimilitude to the prodigy—of obviating the awkward objection which might have been made by scoffers, if the arms had been seen hanging wholly unsupported in the clear air, viz., "why don't they fall?" "what keeps them up?" Apollo (9. 640) requires a cloud to support him, "nube sedens;" Venus (12. 416), bearing the dictamnus, comes through the air to Aeneas in a "nimbus"; the Mater Berecynthia and the Idaean choirs (9. 110) cross the sky in an "ingens nimbus;" Iris (10. 38) comes down from heaven with the help of clouds, "acta nubibus." Is not Christ himself to appear "in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory," ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, Matth. 24. 30; "in a cloud," ἐν νεφελῇ, Luc. 21. 27; "with clouds," μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, Apoc. 1. 7? And were not the four-footed beasts and creeping things, aye, and even the fowls of the air which came down out of heaven to St. Peter, let down by means of something like a great sheet, σκευὸς τι ὡς ὀθονην μεγάλην? And is not a picture of the angel's salutation to Mary without more or less of a cloud somewhere near him, by which he has come down, and by which when he has done his business he is to return, rather an exceptional innovation than according to the general rule? The NUBEM of our text then is the vehicle of the arms, as indispensable for them, or at least for their beholders, as the "nubes" of Apollo, or Iris, or the angel of the salutation is to those personages, as the νεφέλη or the νεφέλαι are to Christ, or as the σκευὸς τι ὡς ὀθονην μεγάλην to the four-footed beasts and creeping things of St. Peter.

It will no doubt be asked: Why is the expression INTER NUBEM, and not *inter nubes*? The answer is plain. *Inter nubes* would have been *among the clouds*, anywhere among the ordinary clouds of an ordinary sky, but our author wished to represent the sky as clear, CÆLI IN REGIONE SERENA, with only a single

cloud in it, and, in that single cloud, the arms. Then why INTER NUBEM, and not *in nube*? The answer is equally plain. *In nube* would have signified anywhere in the cloud, in the interior of the cloud; but so situated the arms could not be seen at all; INTER NUBEM, on the contrary, is *between the cloud, with cloud on each side of them, supporting them*; to borrow an idea from our own coats of arms, *with cloud for their supporters*. Examples of a similar use of the word *inter* are far from uncommon, as 7. 80:

. . . “*hunc [lucum] inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
verticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena
in mare prorumpit.*”

[not *hoc in luco*, for then the river being *in* the grove would not have been seen by Aeneas at all, but “*inter lucum*,” with the grove on each side of it, the grove about it on either side]; 8. 107:

“*ut celsas videre rates, atque inter opacum
allabi nemus.*”

[between the shady wood, *i.e.*, between the two parts of the shady wood, with shady wood on each side of it]. The difficulty experienced by the English reader arises from the circumstance that our corresponding word *between* cannot be used in the same manner; that we cannot say *between the grove*, meaning *between two parts of the grove*, or *between the cloud*, meaning *between two parts of the cloud*.

CAELI IN REGIONE SERENA, the clear sky *in* which the cloud carrying the arms appeared; SUDUM, the clear unobstructed air *through* which the flashing of arms passed on its way from the arms to the eyes of the beholders; in other words, SUDUM is the clear atmosphere *between* the beholders and the arms; CAELI IN REGIONE SERENA, the clear sky *in* which the arms and cloud appeared. Such is, as I do not at all doubt, the rationale not only of the CAELI REGIONE SERENA and the SUDUM, but of the IN and the PER.

Peerlkamp, observing that PER SUDUM is a mere repetition in other terms of CAELI IN REGIONE SERENA, as well as of CAELO APERTO, vs. 523, and ignorant of the principle of theme and

variation, and that our author repeats *e studio* the same thought once, twice, or thrice over in slightly varied terms, proposes to read *per subitum*, in place of *PER SUDUM*. Whoever wishes to see the verses of Virgil turned into such verses as might have been written by a Heinsius or a Buchanan, or other highly accomplished scholar of modern times, has only to expunge Virgil's so-called repetitions (that is to say, his variations of a previous theme), and substitute for them the *new* thoughts of Peerlkamp. He will then have an Aeneid unobjectionable indeed on the ground of repetition, or "said that already," but it will be an Aeneid without its chief and most characteristic beauty. Adjust an ancient poem by the modern square and compass, and that moment it ceases to be a poem. You are no longer on the banks of the Peneus; you are in Pall Mall, or on the Boom-jes.

532-552.

NE QUAERE—AENEAE

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 532-3).

NE QUAERE PROPECTO, QUEM ■ *Pal.* (.) ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

NE QUAERE, PROPECTO QUEM (as if PROPECTO were the participle of *proficiscor*, and referred to Pallas), ■■■ Lad.

NE QUAERE PROPECTO QUEM ■■■ P. Manut.; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 533-4).

POSCOR OLYMPO. Hoc ■ *Pal.* ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck.; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

POSCOR; OLYMPO HOC ■■■, "Alii OLYMPO sequentibus iungunt," Serv. (ed. Lion); Lad. (POSCOR); Haupt.

QUANTAE MISERIS CAEDES LAURENTIBUS INSTANT! QUAS POENAS MIHI, TURNE, DABIS! QUAM MULTA SUB UNDAS SCUTA VIRUM, GALEASQUE ET FORTIA CORPORA VOLVES, THYBRI PATER (vv. 537-540).—Theme with two variations, so much more varied than usual that the three sentences seem to be independent of each other, but the second and third are, nevertheless, substantially only variations of the first.

PARS CAETERA PRONA FERTUR AQUA (vv. 548-9), theme; SEGNISQUE SECUNDO DEFLUIT AMNI, variation.

DUCUNT EXSORTEM AENEAE (vs. 552).—Out of the booty, and before the casting of lots, certain portions were selected and set apart for the chiefs. A prize so selected was called *ἐξαιρετος*, from the circumstance of its being selected, and *ακληρος*, *exsors*, from its not having been cast lots for. So Hom. *Il.* 2. 226 :

πολλαι δε γυναικες
εισιν ἐν κλισιῃς ἐξαιρετοι,

Eurip. *Ion*, 1201 (of the special or chosen goblet, or cup, presented to Ion):—

ο δε λαβων ἐξαιρετον,
ως τω νυν δη δεσποτη χαριν φερων,
εδωκε πληρες τευχος;

Id., *Troad.* 28

πολλοις δε κωκυτοισιν αιχμαλωτιδων
βοα Ξαμανδρος, δεσποτας κληρουμενων
και τας μεν Αρκας, τας δε Θεσσαλος λεως
ειληχ' Αθηναιων τε Θησειδαι προμοι.
οσαι δ' ακληροι Τρωαδων, υπο στεγαις
ταισδ' εισι, τοις πρωτοισιν εξηρημεναι
στρατον· συν αυταις δ' η Λακαινα Τυνδαρις
Ελενη, νομισθεισ' αιχμαλωτος ενδικως.

ibid. 249 :

Нec. τουμον δε τις αρ' ελαχε τεκος,
εννεπε, τλαμονα Κασανδραν;

TALTHYP. ἐξαιρετον νιν ελαβεν Αγαμεμνων αναξ.

There having been no casting of lots on the present occasion, EXSORTEM is of course to be understood not in its literal sense of *ακληρον*, but in its derived sense of *ἐξαιρετον*, choice or selected, *eximium*.

556-557.

VOTA METU DUPLICANT MATRES PROPIUSQUE PERICLO
IT TIMOR ET MAIOR MARTIS IAM APPARET IMAGO

VAR. LECT.

IT TIMOR ■ *Pal.* (ID), qu: *Med.* ?* ■■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunek.; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ET TIMOR ■ *Rom.* (on which reading of the Roman, Pierius observes, and not without reason, "sed id forte solito more," meaning, with the usual incorrectness of that ms.; while Heyne, with less than his usual judgment, and half inclined to accept the reading: "habet hoc expeditam interpretationem: PROPIUS PERICLO (absolute; cum iam res adducta esset propius ad discrimen), ET TIMOR (*apparet maior*), ET MAIOR MARTIS IAM APPARET IMAGO.")

THE words DUPLICANT, PROPIUS, and MAIOR all indicate a comparison, a comparison viz. of the present state of things with some previous state. The question then is, with what previous state of things is the present state compared? **not** surely with a previous state of security, and total absence of apprehension ("Bene DUPLICANT, nam inest semper in matribus votum," Servius), for the previous state was not one of peace and security, but of war (vs. 55:

"hi bellum assidue ducunt cum gente Latina;"

vs. 146:

"gens eadem quae te crudeli, Daunia, bello
insequitur; nos si pellant, nihil afore credunt
quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant;
et mare quod supra, teneant, quodque alluit infra";

vs. 474:

"... hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
hinc Rutulus premit, et murum circumsonat armis");

* It is not possible to ascertain whether the reading be IT or ET. Foggini gives
IT TIMOR

but the comparison is of the present more urgent, more active state of war with the previous less urgent, less active state. The women, who had previously, on account of the war with the Rutuli, made vows, felt fear, and seen the image of war before them (viz., in their minds), now, when the war has thus come to their very door, when they hear that a troop of horse has been actually ordered off in all haste, double their vows, feel a sharper fear, and see their picture, image, or idea of war larger than it was before.

VOTA DUPLICANT.—Compare Prudent. *Peristeph.* 12. 63 :

“ Transtiberina prius solvit sacra pervigil sacerdos,
mox huc recurrit duplicatque vota.”

PROPIUSQUE PERICLO IT TIMOR.—The commentators generally refer PERICLO to PROPIUS: [“ *Ad periculum ricinus*, . . . aut certe . . . PROPIUS pro *propior*. . . aut certe *aequatur periculo timor*, et per dativum extulit . . . aut poetice dixit timorem periculo comitem,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Vor näher gefahr schon zaget die furcht,” J. H. Voss. “Ihre furcht sieht die gefahr näher, sie geht bis zur nähe der gefahr,” Abr. Voss, *Rand-anmerk.* “Ich nehme PERICLO als dativ, nicht als ablativ . . . also: *propius accedit ad periculum*, d. i. *ad cogitationem, representationem periculi*,” Thiel. “*Näher der gefahr* (die aber noch ferne ist) *geht die besorgniss*,” Süpfle. “TIMOR PROPIUS IT PERICLO valebit: *timor non longe abest a periculo* . . . *non iam metuunt solum periculum, sed propinquum etiam et instans vident*,” Wagn. (1833). “*Propius accedit ad periculum*,” Wagn. (1861). “*Fear treads more closely on the heels of danger*,” Conington], a meaning which I, at least, am unable to obtain from the words without violence, and a construction (viz., IT PROPIUS PERICLO) of which its propounders acknowledge their inability to produce even so much as one single example: “*Quod licet fortasse sine exemplo dictum fuerit, poterit tamen recte ita accipi: non iam metuunt solum periculum, sed propinquum etiam et instans vident*,” Wagn. (1833). How then are we to proceed so as to arrive at a meaning which shall be fairly and without violence attributable to the words, harmonious with the context

and justified by example? I reply, by connecting IT PROPIUS not with PERICLO, but with *animis* (i.e. *animis matrum*) understood, and by regarding PERICLO as absolute (i.e. absolute ablative), say rather, depending on *in* understood. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 10. 545 (Venus to Adonis):

“parce meo, iuvenis, temerarius esse *periclo*.”

Corn. Nepos, *Datam.* 5: “Eum magno fore *periculo*, si quid,” &c. Id. *Dion.* 2: “Simulque ab his petiit, si forte maiori esset *periculo*, ut sibi faterentur.” Petron. *Satyr.* 122: “Nunquam ego aegrum tam magno *periculo* vidi.” Cic. *ad Fam.* 8. 2 (ed. Orelli): “Maiore esse *periculo* videtur.” *Ibid.* 4. ep. ult. (ed. Orelli): “Ne quo *periculo* te proprio existimares.” Manilius, 5. 650:

“et si forte aliquas animo consurget in artes,
in praecepta dabit studium, vincetque *periclo*
ingenium”

[in the danger (in the midst of the danger) genius will prevail]. We have thus the sense: TIMOR IT PROPIUS (*animis matrum*) (in) PERICULO, i.e., the TIMOR of the matrons becomes sharper in the danger (viz., the danger evidenced by the march of the cavalry to the seat of war), and the three clauses VOTA METU DUPLICANT MATRES, PROPIUS PERICLO IT TIMOR, and MAIOR MARTIS APPARET IMAGO, are but three varied enunciations of the alarm of the matrons under the new circumstances; both MATRES and PERICLO belonging in the sense to each of the three clauses, thus: VOTA METU DUPLICANT MATRES, PERICLO; PROPIUSQUE, PERICLO, *matribus* IT TIMOR; ET *matribus*, PERICLO, IAM APPARET MAIOR MARTIS IMAGO. PROPIUS IT TIMOR, therefore, = TIMOR IT PROPIUS *matribus*, i.e., *animis matrum*. Compare Tacitus, *Agric.* 16: “Tenentibus arma plerisque quos conscientia defectionis, et *propius* ex legato *timor* agitabat”; Sil. 1. 29:

“verum ubi magnanimis Romam caput urbibus alte
exserere, ac missas etiam trans aequora classes
totum signa videt victricia ferre per orbem,
iam *propius metuens*, bellandi corda furore
Phoenicum exstimulat [Juno];”

Id. 772 :

"sed *propior metus* armati ductoris ab ira,
et magna ante oculos stabat genitoris imago,"

the last only too plainly Silius's adaptation of the Virgilian text to his own purposes, "*propior metus*" being Virgil's *PROPIUS IT TIMOR*; "*armati ductoris ira*," Virgil's *PERICLO*; and the whole epexegetic verse of the one poet corresponding word for word to the whole epexegetic verse of the other, viz., "*et magna*" to *ET MAIOR*, "*ante oculos stabat*" to *APPARET*, and "*genitoris imago*" to *MARTIS IMAGO*.

It (vs. 557), not *ET*, is the true reading—(1), on account of the greater MS. authority; (2), On account of the identical "*it timor*" of Lucan, 7, 543:

"semel ortus, in omnes
it timor, et fatis datus est pro Caesare cursus;"

of Silius, 8. 187 :

"*itque timor* totos gelido sudore per artus;"

the "*abierat timor*" of Ammian, 14. 2; the "*maior oberrat intra tecta*" of Claudian, in *Rufin.* 2. 93; and the so similar "*it metus*" of Coripp. *Johann.* 1. 42 :

"luctus ubique sonat, terror, tristisque per omnes
it metus, et duris turbantur cuncta periclis."

(3), on account of the cognate expressions so frequently used no less by Virgil himself (as vs. 595 below, "*it clamor*"; 4. 443, "*it stridor*"; 5. 558, "*it circulus*"; 9. 499, "*it gemitus*") than by other authors (as Stat. *Theb.* 7. 359 : "*vultumque per omnem pallor iit*"; Val. Flacc. 2. 107 :

"iamque dies aderat, Thracas qui fuderat armis;
dux Lemni, puppes tenui contexere canna
ausus et inducto cratem defendere tergo,
laeta mari tum signa refert, plenasque movebat
armentis nuribusque rates; *it* [*is rife*] barbara vestis,
et torques, insigne loci; sonat aequore clamor";

Id. 2. 233 (of the Lemnian massacre) :

"*it eruor* in thalamis, et anhela in pectore fumant
vulnera";

Id. 2. 393 (of the Lemnian massacre):

“ exoritur novus urbe dolor, *planctusque* per omnes
it facies antiqua domos”).

(4), On account of the life the verb of motion gives to the picture. **And** (5), because it is Virgil's habit to divide into several coordinate sentences, each with its own verb and subject, not to blend into one sentence by uniting with a single verb several subjects coupled together.

MAIOR MARTIS IAM APPARET IMAGO.—Things had previously presented the appearance (*IMAGO*, *likeness*, *image*, *picture*) of war. Now, however, that the horsemen are seen going out of the city to the war, this appearance (*image* or *picture*) of war becomes greater, *i.e.*, the idea of war clearer and more vivid. The *IMAGO* of our text is precisely the “*imago*” of 2. 369: and *IMAGO MARTIS* is here said in the same way, by the same poetic exaggeration, as there “*imago mortis*.”

MARTIS.—The name of the god or person Mars, used to express the department over which he presides, as Bacchus so often to express wine, Ceres to express corn, Venus to express beauty. There is no personification, and the image spoken of is the image of the thing war, not the god Mars, as the image spoken of, 2. 369, is that of the thing death, not of *Mors* herself. Compare 10. 280: “*In manibus mars ipse*,” not *Mars himself is in your hands*, but *the battle itself is in your hands*; also Claud. *Bell. Get.* (of the entry of Stilichon and his army into Rome):

“ non iam delectus miseri, nec falce per agros
 deposito iaculum vibrans ignobile messor.
 nec tentat clipeum proiectis sumere rastris
 Bellona ridente Ceres, humilisque novorum
 seditio clamosa ducum, sed vera iuventus,
 verus ductor adest, et vivida *martis imago*,”

where the same figure is used, and “*martis imago*” is not the image of the god Mars, but the image of the thing war; and where it is not Stilicho who is the image of Mars, but Stilicho, and his army and their equipments, which give a vivid picture of war; in plain prose, are martial. To make my meaning still

clearer: it is not the people of Evander who see poetically, whose minds are so poetical as to conceive a picture of the god Mars, and observe that picture grow larger and larger; but it is Virgil who writes poetically, and instead of saying that the idea of war grows plainer and more impressive on their minds, says that the picture of *mars* grows larger. With the figurative MAIOR MARTIS IMAGO of our text contrast the literal "maior (Hamilcaris) imago" of Sil. 13. 750, where that author, speaking of the real "imago" of Hamilcar, informs us that it went off increased in size when it heard of the exploits of Hannibal:

. . . "inde citato
celsus abit gressu, maiorque recessit imago."

MAIOR.—The figure used in the expression "mars" (= *bellum*) is sustained in MAIOR: the image of war, the picture of war, appears increased in size, *i.e.*, the idea of war becomes stronger and clearer and more impressive. See Rem. on "plurima mortis imago," 2. 368.

564-571.

NASCENTI CUI TRIS ANIMAS FERONIA MATER
HORRENDUM DICTU DEDERAT TERNA ARMA MOVENDA
TER LETO STERNENDUS ERAT CUI TUNC TAMEN OMNIS
ABSTULIT HAEC ANIMAS DEXTRA ET TOTIDEM EXUIT ARMIS
NON EGO NUNC DULCI AMPLEXU DIVELLERER USQUAM
NATE TUO NEQUE FINITIMO MEZENTIIUS USQUAM
HUIC CAPITI INSULTANS TOT FERRO SAEVA DEDISSET
FUNERA TAM MULTIS VIDUASSET CIVIBUS URBEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 569).

FINITIMUS ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Wakef.

FINITIMOS ■■■ Ribb.

FINITIMO ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); La Cerda; N. Heins. (1670); Brunck;
Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.

MOVENDA (vs. 565).—"Vel contra ipsum, vel ab ipso," Servius; D. Heinsius, Peerlkamp, and Ribbeck understanding the words in the former of these senses; N. Heinsius, Jahn, Forbiger, Thiel, Voss, Ladewig, and Wagner in the latter: and Heyne vacillating between the two. To me it seems perfectly certain, that notwithstanding the objections raised to it, especially by Peerlkamp, the latter sense is the true one—(■), and principally because the passage was certainly so understood by Silius, who in no less than two different accounts of Geryon plainly borrows more or less of his materials from this account of Herilus, Sil. 1. 278:

"tres animas namque id monstrum, tres corpore dextas
armarat, ternaque caput cervice gerebat,"

where we have not only Virgil's TRES ANIMAS wholly unaltered, and Virgil's TERNA ARMA MOVENDA barely appreciably altered, but the very same connexion of "animae" with "arma," which in the Virgilian text has been such a stumbling-block to the commentators. Id. 13. 200:

"qualis Atlantiaci memoratur littore quondam
monstrum Geryones immane tricorporis irae,
cui tres in pugnam dexterae varia arma gerebant.
una ignes saevos, ast altera pone sagittas
fundebat, validam torquebat tertia cornum,
atque uno diversa dabat tria vulnera nisu,"

where the triple arms of the monster, all wielded at once, are so much and at such length insisted on, that our wonder is not that Virgil should have given arms to each one of the "animae" of Herilus, but that he should have contented himself with so brief and modest a mention of arms as numerous as the lives of the monster. **And** (●), my second reason for adopting this interpretation is no less strong than my first, viz., that TOTIDEM EXUIT ARMIS, vs. 567, so plainly refers to three sets of arms previously mentioned, that either this interpretation must be admitted, or the clause TOTIDEM EXUIT ARMIS be rejected as spurious, an alternative to which Peerlkamp, an adept at excision, has had no objection.

CUI TUNC TAMEN OMNES ABSTULIT HAEC ANIMAS DEXTRA, ET

TOTIDEM EXUIT ARMIS.—“Maluisse Virgilius ista omisisset, ac forte omisit. Et inanis repetitio. Omnia iam dicta sunt illo versu: ET REGEM HAC HERILUM DEXTRA SUB TARTARA MISI,” Peerlkamp; an observation made in ignorance of Virgil’s accustomed manner, viz., to bring his narrative to a certain point (in this instance to the death of Herilus), and then suspending it, to return back in order to dilate upon a subject just mentioned (in this case Herilus and his mode of death), and, having so dilated upon it, to end his digression or intercalation with words **which**, being a variation of the theme or sentiment at the close of which he had broken off (in this case ET REGEM HAC HERILUM DEXTRA SUB TARTARA MISI, of which CUI TUM TAMEN OMNES ABSTULIT HAEC ANIMAS DEXTRA, ET TOTIDEM EXUIT ARMIS is the variation), **bring back** the mind of the reader to the precise point at which he had broken off, and leave the author free to pursue the narrative (in this case with the words NON EGO NUNC DULCI, &c.), just as if the intercalation (in this case of the four lines NASCENTI—ARMIS) had not been made at all. In other words, the double statement that Evander killed Herilus is not a useless repetition, but is, on the contrary, for the express purpose of connecting the subsequent narrative NON EGO NUNC DULCI by means of the theme, with the body of the narrative, broken off at MISI, and, by means of the variation, with the intercalated passage. The effect is, that the narrative remains complete and uninterrupted, whether we omit or retain the intercalation. For a full elucidation of this peculiarity of composition see Rem. on l. 150.

FINITIMO MEZENTIVS (vs. 569).—To the reading FINITIVS I object not merely the bad sound of the two terminations in *us* thus close together, but the weakness of the expression FINITIVS MEZENTIVS. To FINITIVOS I object that it is without example, that the evasion of the cacophony is but partially successful, and that the expression is no stronger. I therefore adopt FINITIMO, neither, however, to understand it with Heyne as equivalent to “in finitimo,” nor with Burmann to join it to FERRO, nor with Wagner to join it to HVC CAPITI; but in order to refer it to DEDISSET and VIDUASSET, thus: NEQUE HVC

CAPITE INSULTANS MEZENTIUS UNQUAM FERRO TOT FUNERA
FINITIMO DEDISSET, TAM MULTIS CIVIBUS [finitimo] VIDUASSET
URBEM: *Mezentius would never have ridden it over me, never have
robbed a neighbouring prince of so many of his subjects, a neigh-
bouring city of so many of its citizens.*

TOT FERRO SAEVA DEDISSET FUNERA (vv. 620-1), theme;
TAM MULTIS VIDUASSET CIVIBUS URBEM, variation.

TAM MULTIS VIDUASSET CIVIBUS URBEM.—“*Quam urbem
Mezentius non viduasset? Sine dubio Agyllam, suam urbem,
unde eiectus fuit hoc ipso tempore. Ergo Evandrus eum
admonuisse videtur, ut mitius regnaret,*” Peerlkamp, following
Servius’s “*hinc contumeliam ducit, quod finitimos a tyranni
iniuria non defenderit.*” But Peerlkamp himself objects:
“*Fatendum tamen Mezentium, nisi aliquid commiserit, quod
propius spectaret Evandrum quam crudelitas contra Agyllinos,
vix dici posse Evandro insultasse.*” To be sure, unless Evander
was another Don Quixote, and therefore the interpretation
both of Servius and Peerlkamp is erroneous, and not Agylla is
the widowed city, but Pallanteum. And why not? Was not
Mezentius a tyrant, a warrior, and an immediate neighbour?
Was not Evander weak, and unable to help himself? May we
not safely assume that his stronger, more warlike, neighbour
was continually encroaching on him, and that many of Evan-
der’s subjects fell in the repeated skirmishes, in the border
warfare? Nay, was not Mezentius at this very moment in the
Rutulian camp, and were not the Rutulians and Latins always
—nay, now at this very moment—at war with Evander?
vs. 55:

“*hi bellum assidue ducunt cum gente Latina,*”

vs. 146:

“*gens eadem quae te crudeli Daunia bello
insequitur,*”

vs. 474:

“*hinc Rutulus premit, et murum circumsonat armis.*”

574-591.

SI—RESOLVIT

SI NUMINA VESTRA INCOLUMEM PALLANTA MIHI, SI FATA RESERVANT (vv. 574-5), theme; SI VISURUS EUM VIVO, ET VENTURUS IN UNUM, variation; each again resolvable into embodied theme and variation.

DUM CURÆ AMBIGUÆ (vs. 580), theme; DUM SPES INCERTA FUTURI, variation. In the words of Lucan, 2. 15: "dum liceat sperare timenti."

GRAVIOR NEU NUNTIUS AURES VULNERET (vv. 582-3).—NUNTIUS, sciz. *interitus filii*. Compare Hom. *Il.* 19. 336 (Achilles speaking of his father):

εμην ποτιδεγμενον αιαι
λυγρην αγγελιην οτ' αποφθιμενοιο πυθηται

IAMQUE ADEO EXIERAT, &c. (vv. 585, &c.)—It is not easy to say which picture is the more highly wrought, or more exquisite—this of Pallas and his party going out to the war, or that in the fourth Book, of Dido and Aeneas and their party starting for the chase. In this we have Pallas, in brilliant accoutrements, and as beautiful as the morning star, in the midst of his mounted troop, with Aeneas and Achates and the other chiefs beside him, issuing from the city gate; women on the walls following with their eyes the dusty cloud of horsemen as they disappear among the brushwood, on their way to the distant battlefield. In that we have the huntsmen, mounted or on foot, with their dogs, gins, hunting-spears, and other accoutrements, issuing at brilliant sunrise from the city gate, joined immediately by Dido and Aeneas and their respective suites, all in gala, all setting out for a day's sport in the mountains and the bush, Ascanius galloping backwards and forwards among them, and not content with any lesser quarry than a boar or a

lion. To the reader unacquainted with the sequel both pictures are as gay and exhilarating as they stand to him who reads the story for the second, or it may be for the hundredth time, in the saddest contrast to the grim catastrophes by which their sunny morning brightness is so soon, so very soon, to be overcast, and for ever extinguished. Each picture may be regarded as the last glimpse of a blue sky immediately to be enveloped in clouds and storm—as the ballet before the curtain rises for the last act of the tragedy.

IPSE AGMINE PALLAS IN MEDIO, CHLAMYDE ET PICTIS CON-
SPECTUS IN ARMIS (587-8). So Lucan, I. 245 :

“et celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar.”

CONSPECTUS, according to the proper force of *con*, *observed by everyone, the gaze of all eyes, the “observed of all observers.”* Compare Liv. 21. 4 (of Hannibal): “Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens: arma atque equi *conspiciebantur*,” Id. 5. 23 (of Camillus): “*Maxime conspectus* ipse est curru equis albis iuncto urbem invecus.” See Rem. on “*conspicitur*,” 8. 83, and on “*conspexere*,” 1. 156.

QUALIS UBI OCEANI PERFUSUS LUCIFER UNDA . . . EXTULIT OS SACRUM CAELO TENEBRASQUE RESOLVIT (vv. 589, 591).—Thus quoted by Spartian, in *Vita Maxim. Jun. 1*, from a Greek epigrammatist who had applied Virgil's lines to Maximus:

“qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda
extulit os sacrum caelo, tenebrasque resolvit,
talīs erat iuvenis primo sub nomine clarus;”

and thus rendered by Casaubon:

οἷος ἀπ’ ὠκεανοῖο Ἑωσφορος εἰσι ροαῶν
οὐρανοθεν κεφαλὴν προφέρων, σκεδανὺς δὲ τὴ νύκτα,
τοῖος ἦν νεὸς οὗτος, ἐν ἡθεσὶσι φαεινός.

596-599.

QUADRUPEDANTE PUTREM SONITU QUATIT UNGULA CAMPUM
EST INGENS GELIDUM LUCUS PROPE CAERITIS AMNEM
RELIGIONE PATRUM LATE SACER UNDIQUE COLLES
INCLUSERE CAVI ET NIGRA NEMUS ABIETE CINGUNT

VAR. LECT.

CINGUNT ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■†. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.;
N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861);
Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

CINGIT ■■■ Macrobian exempl. (teste Ribbeck); Wakef.

QUADRUPEDANTE.—“Qui excitatur a corrente quadrupede,”
Wagner (*Praest.*). “Quodrupedans, quod quatuor pedibus
graditur, ut equi et eiusmodi,” Gesner. No, no; “quadru-
pedans sonitus” is not the sound occasioned by a quadruped’s
running, but the sound occasioned by that particular motion of
a quadruped in which the four feet are moved not as is usual
with quadrupeds, alternately, but all at once, the sound of
galloping, as Sil. 15. 435:

“ecce inter medios hostilia nuntius arma,
quadrupedante invectus equo, adventare ferebat”

[not a horse running with four feet, but a horse lifting his four
feet all at once, a galloping horse, else the notion of speed required
by the context is not expressed at all]; Id. 12. 563:

“inde, levis frenis, circum pavitantia fertur
quadrupedante sono percussae moenia Romae,”

where the same observation holds good; *Aen.* 11. 612:

“continuo adversis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus
connixi incurrunt hastis, primique ruinam
dant sonitu ingenti, perfractaque quadrupedantum
pectora pectoribus rumpunt; excussus Aconteus
fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti,
praecipitat longe, et vitam dispergit in auras,”

where not only is the charge insufficiently described, but the result of the charge absolutely impossible if the motion expressed by "quadrupedantum" is anything short of the full gallop; Ovid, *Met.* 12. 450:

. . . "qui quadrupedantis Oëcli
fixit in adverso cornum sine cuspidē vultu"

[not *quadruped Oeclus*, for all the centaurs were quadruped, but *cantering, galloping Oeclus*, into whose face, on account of the impetus with which he came forward galloping, the spear penetrated even without having an iron spike on its end]; Plaut. *Capt.* 814:

"qui advehuntur quadrupedanti crucianti canterio"

[not a horse going on his four feet, for all horses go on four feet, but a galloping horse]. The meaning of the word has been perceived by Neuffer:

"donnernd zerstampft im galoppe der huf das zerstaubende blachfeld."

PUTREM.—"In pulvere resolutum, pulverulentum," Dozio ad Cynth. Cenet., Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*). No, Cynthius Cenetens. himself says "solubilem," and Servius, ad *Georg.* 1. 44, says the same; and Servius and Cynth. Cenet. are right. Putris is not *dusty*, but *crumbly*, in a state in which the particles are not actually separated, but hold loosely together. Compare

"denique non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aevo?
non altas turres ruere, et putrescere saxa"

[crumble away, loose their proper texture]. Putrescere is the opposite of concrescere; see Lucret. 5. 829:

"omnia commutat Natura, et vortere cogit:
namque aliud putrescit, et aevo debile languet,
porro aliud concrescit, et e contemptibus exit."

EST INGENS GELIDUM LUCUS, &c.—The picture is that of a sacred grove (LUCUS SACER, vv. 597, 598) in a wide and open space (LATIS ARVIS, vs. 605), through which a river flows (PROPE CAERITIS AMNEM, vs. 597), and surrounded (*i. e.* both the sacred

rove and the wide and open space surrounded) by hills covered with dark fir (COLLES; INCLUSERE CAVI; NIGRA ABIETE; CINGUNT; vv. 598, 599). It is the exact counterpart of the picture given by Ovid, *Met.* 1. 568, of the grove of Tempe, also watered by a river and surrounded by wooded hills:

“est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit
silva: vocant Tempe; per quae Peneus, ab imo
effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis;”

and of the picture presented by Livy, 24. 3: “Lucus ibi, frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus septus, laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae pascobatur pecus,” where we have not only the “lucus,” and the river, and the surrounding wood, but the surrounding wood of the very same kind as in our text, viz. a fir-wood. The picture remains the same, whether we desert the reading of the Virgilian MSS. CINGUNT, and adopt that of the “Macrobii exempl.” quoted by Ribbeck, viz. CINGIT, in which case we must understand NEMUS to be the nominative case, and NIGRA NEMUS ABIETE equivalent to *nigrum nemus abiegnum*; or whether, adhering to the Virgilian MSS. we read CINGUNT, and understand NEMUS to be the accusative case and the structure, COLLES CANI INCLUSERE, ET CINGUNT NEMUS NIGRA ABIETE. In the former case NIGRA NEMUS ABIETE represents the woods with which the surrounding hills were clothed, and COLLES INCLUSURE CAVI and NIGRA NEMUS ABIETE CINGIT are two sentences, each with its proper subject and proper verb, both sentences making up together the sense of the single sentence *colles silvosi includere*, a structure of which we have elsewhere seen how very fond Virgil was; in the latter case NEMUS repeats LUCUS SACER, a new view or a different character of the original subject, being according to another structure of which Virgil was no less fond, substituted for the pronoun (viz. *eum*), which in a simpler construction would have referred back to the subject, and NIGRA ABIETE alone represents the woods with which the hills are clothed. The editors adhere to the reading of the Virgilian MSS., and understand NEMUS to be the accusative case governed by CINGUNT (“NEMUS autem accusandi casu dictum accipies, ut NEMUS sit ipse ille, qui modo

memoratus est, LUCUS: COLLES includunt et SILVA abiegna CINGUNT lucum illum, qui erat in cava ista valle," Wagner, (1832), with the exception of Heyne, who, although adhering to the reading of the Virgilian MSS., regards, most unwarrantably as I think, NEMUS as the nominative to CINGUNT ("COLLES CAVI includunt, et NEMUS NIGRA ABIETE CINGUNT (pro *cingit*) UNDIQUE lucum PROPE AMNEM")

 603-643.

TUTA—MANERES

 VAR. LECT. (vs. 610).

T

ET GELIDO ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* (EGELIDO, the T apparently *a pr. m.*); ■■■ Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (ed. Heyne; *Lect. Verg.*, ed. 1861).

EGELIDO ■ Pierius. ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Serv. ("EGELIDO, i. e. *nimum gelido*"); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Hildebr. (ad Apul. *de Mundo*, 8); Voss ("EGELIDUM ist nicht eben *lau*, sondern kühllich, die kühle sanft gemässigt: ein schönes wort für die lieblichen lüftchen des sonnigen stroms"); Lad.

É GELIDO ■■■ P. Manut.; Phil.

ECGELIDO ■■■ Ribb.

 VAR. LECT. (vs. 627).

HAUD VATUM ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■§. ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

HAUD FATUM ■■§. ■■■ "Vielleicht schrieb Virgil HAUD FATUM IGNORANS," Voss.

HAUD FATI ■■§.

TUTA TENEBANT CASTRA LOCIS (vv. 603-4).—The meaning is not, *safe because near the river, and surrounded by wooded hills*, but in a safe situation, TUTA LOCIS, *not far from the river and the*

wooded hills, what rendered the situation safe not being mentioned, as being of no consequence to the narration, no event having taken place there except the junction of Aeneas's detachment with the army of Tarchon, and the receipt of the Vulcanian arms by Aeneas. The expression TUTA LOCIS thus understood, there is no longer the necessity felt by Servius and Peerlkamp of placing the camp of Tarchon on the top of a hill, where it occupied "*lata arva*," of which Aeneas had a view from the top of a still higher adjoining hill: "*Troiani vident Tarchontis legionem, quae erat in celso colle, uno ex istis collibus, celsiore, et libero arboribus*," Peerlkamp. No, no; Tarchon's camp was TUTA LOCIS, *in a safe situation*, LATIS IN ARVIS, *in broad fields*, on which Aeneas looked down, from the top of the hills over which he had to pass on his way from Pallanteum to the river and encampment:

CELSEQUÉ OMNIS DE COLLE VIDERÉ
IAM POTERAT LEGIO, ET LATIS TENDEBAT IN ARVIS.

The objection of Servius, that a low situation surrounded by hills was not a safe situation, would stand good if the expression had been *tuta loco*, for *loco*, being singular, would have meant "*the situation*," i.e. the situation just described, as Ovid, *Met.* 13. 912 (of Galatea safe from the Cyclops, owing to her position as just described):

"constitit hic; et, *tuta loco*, monstrumne deus ne
ille sit, ignorans, admiraturque colorem," &c.

But the expression being LOCIS, and the plural being indefinite, the meaning of TUTA LOCIS is "*in a safe situation*," the circumstances to which the safety of the situation was owing not being mentioned.

SECRETUM (vs. 610).—"Solum, in secreto loco, ad flumen," Heyne, Wagner. No; there is no secrecy; the meaning is merely *apart from the rest*, or, as we say in English, *by himself*. So vs. 670, "*secretos pios*," not *in a secret place*, but *apart from the others*.

DEAE DONIS ET TANTO LAETUS HONORE (vs. 617).—"Malim
tanto laetus amore. Vulgatum vix aliter accipi potest, quam

LAETUS HONORE, *quem Venus ipsi praestitit*," Peerlkamp. Still the too literal, too schoolboy interpretation. HONORE is only a varied repetition of DONIS, rendering that word more emphatic. Compare vs. 729 below :

" talia per clipeum Vulcani, dona parentis,
miratur,"

where the structure is not " talia dona parentis miratur per clipeum," but (" dona" being as in our text only a repetition of " clipeum ") " miratur talia per clipeum Vulcani (dona parentis)."

TERRIBLEM CRISTIS GALEAM FLAMMASQUE VOMENTEM, FATIFERUMQUE ENSEM, LORICAM EX AERE RIGENTEM, SANGUINEAM INGENTEM (vv. 620-622).—The final *m* occurring nine times in the space of two lines and a-half has a bad effect. Such effect, however, may not impossibly be intended to inspire awe of the cuirass. Peerlkamp might have adduced the cacophony produced by INGENTEM so soon after RIGENTEM, as an additional argument for the substitution of ARDENTEM for INGENTEM, and might have alleged with at least plausibility that INGENTEM arose out of confusion with the so very near and so very very similarly sounding RIGENTEM. Had there been any MS. authority at all in favour of the change, and had the change been only of one word, I should hardly have hesitated to adopt it; but the change involving the further change of SANGUINEAM into *sanguineum*, and being altogether without MS. authority, I hold that we are bound to reject it with Ribbeck, and wait further light on either side.

ILLIC RES ITALAS ROMANORUMQUE TRIUMPHOS FECERAT IGNIPOTENS (vv. 626, 628), theme; ILLIC GENUS OMNE FUTURAE STIRPIS AB ASCANIO, PUGNATA IN ORDINE BELLA, (*fecerat Ignipotens*) variation.

HAUD VATUM IGNARUS (vs. 627).—"Futurorum non inscius," Servius. "Vaticiniorum quae Aeneas prius acceperat," Forbiger. To meet the objection of Peerlkamp: "Deo Vulcano indignum est, genus Aeneae et res Romanas a *vatibus* cognoscere," Wagner strains thus (*Praest.*): "VATUM, fatorum quae

vates dii cecinerant." The objection is perhaps better met by understanding VATUM to mean not "vaticiniorum," but *artis vaticinandi* (see Rem. on "heu vatum ignarae mentes," 4. 65), an interpretation which presents the additional advantage that the latter part of the verse is no longer the echo of the first, the knowledge of futurity being the *consequence* of skill in the art of divination, while, on the contrary, it is *identical with* knowledge of prophecies. A form of expression almost identical with HAUD VATUM IGNARUS VENTURIQUE INSCIUS AEVI is used by LÍVY, 8. 7 (of Manlius returning disobedient and victorious to his father): "Ad praetorium ad patrum, tendit, ignarus fati futurique." For HAUD VENTURI INSCIUS AEVI compare SILV. 1. 40 (of Juno):

. . . "in regna Latini
turbine mox saevo venientum haud inscia cladum."

PUGNATAQUE IN ORDINE BELLA (vs. 629).—"Aevum' credo 'venturum' et 'stirps futura,' requirunt BELLA *pugnanda*. PUGNATA aliquid adiectum postularet, v. c. *deinde post*." Why not PUGNATA BELLA as well as RAPTA SABINAS? Besides, PUGNATA BELLA carries with it the proof of HAUD VATUM IGNARUS VENTURIQUE INSCIUS AEVI. There had been no such proof, no evidence of Vulcan's prescience if our author had used "*pugnanda*" instead of PUGNATA, as there would have been no proof of the same god's presence if, instead of RAPTA, our author had said *rapiendas*. The wars which were depicted as "*pugnanda*" might never have become PUGNATA, and the Sabine women depicted as *rapiendas* might never have become RAPTA.

FECEBAT ET VIRIDI FETAM MAVORTIS IN ANTRO PROCUBUISSE LUPAM (vv. 630-1).—FETAM = "cum fetu," 8. 82: "cum fetu procubuit."

PROCUBUISSE, not *procumbere*, because the actual *procumbere*, the act of lying down (having been already performed), is not represented. The wolf is represented, if I may so say, *after* she has lain down, or as having lain down. On the other hand, LUDERE, LAMBERE, MULCERE, and FINGERE, because these acts are being performed.

GEMINOS HUIC UBERA CIRCUM LUDERE PENDENTES PUEROS

(vv. 631-2), theme; ET LAMBERE MATREM IMPAVIDOS, variation.

TERETI CERVICIS REFLEXAM (REFLEXA) (vs. 633).—I shall not pretend to decide dogmatically between the rival readings. On the one hand, we have in Cicero, *De Nat. D.* 2. 42:

“obstupum caput et tereti *cervicis reflexum* ;”

and in Virgil himself, 10. 535:

. . . “*reflexa*
cervicis orantis capulo tenuis applicat ensem ;”

and in Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3. 779:

“strata premit genibus, paulum *cervicis reflexa*,
femina.”

Of the two, the former perhaps seems a little more Virgilian, a little less commonplace.

ILLAM TERETI CERVICIS REFLEXAM MULCERE ALTERNOS (vv. 633-4) theme; ET CORPORA FINGERE LINGUA, variation.

RAPTAS SINE MORE SABINAS (vs. 635).—SINE MORE, outrageously, indecently: see Rem. on 5. 694.

AT TU DICTIS, ALBANE, MANERES (vs. 643).—“Velles manere tum cum te distulerunt,” Wagner (1861) wholly mistaking the meaning, which is not *you would now be glad you had kept your word*, but *you should keep (should have kept) your word*, i. e. *it was a cruel punishment, but you have nobody to blame for it but yourself, who should not have broken your word*. The paradigm is Hom. *Il.* 23. 545 (of Eumelus):

οἱ βλαβέν ἄρματα καὶ ταχέ' ἵππῳ,
αὐτὸς τ' ἐσθλὸς ἔων· ἀλλ' ὠφέλεν ἀθανάτοισιν
εὐχεσθαι· τὸ κεν οὐτὶ πάνυστατος ἦλθε δίκων

[it was a pity he lost the race, but he had nobody to blame but himself, who had not asked the blessing of heaven on his undertaking]. Servius is correct: “Videns itaque poeta, Romano nomini incongruam esse vindictam, culpam in criminis retorquet auctorem, . . . Ideo etiam MENDACIS infert, ut tacitae quaestioni, et invidiae crudelitatis occurrat” (ed. Lion).

652-658.

IN SUMMO CUSTOS TARPEIAE MANLIUS ARCIS
 STABAT PRO TEMPLO ET CAPITOLIA CELSA TENEBAT
 ROMULEOQUE RECENS HORREBAT REGIA CULMO
 ATQUE HIC AURATIS VOLITANS ARGENTEUS ANSER
 PORTICIBUS GALLOS IN LIMINE ADESSE CANEBAT
 GALLI PER DUMOS ADERANT ARCEMQUE TENEBANT
 DEFENSI TENEBRIS ET DONO NOCTIS OPACAE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 654).

ROMULEO—CULMO ■ *Rom.* (RUMOLEO), *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■§. ■■■ *Serv.*;
Rom. 1473; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.*; *Wakef.*;
Pott.; *Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Lad.*; *Haupt*; *Ribb.* (placed
 vv. 641 and 642).

ROMULEO—CULMO OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ *Heyne*;
Brunck.

IN SUMMO.—“Non *chypei*, sed ARCIS TARPEIAE,” *Heyne*, *Fea*,
Peerlkamp. No, no; *Servius* is right, a rather rare thing for
Servius: “In summa clipei parte”—first, and principally be-
 cause in order to join IN SUMMO with TARPEIAE ARCIS you must
 ignore or overleap CUSTOS placed between the two, and in the
 closest and most immediate connexion with TARPEIA MANLIUS
 ARCIS, with which words it forms the sentence CUSTOS TARPEIAE
 MANLIUS ARCIS, leaving IN SUMMO to stand, like the corre-
 sponding “in medio,” vs. 675, independent and self-sufficing.
 Secondly, because IN SUMMO, independent and self-sufficing, is
 assigned the same place in the line which is assigned to the
 other words descriptive of positions on the shield, viz. the first
 place, or place of emphasis (*Rem.* on 2. 247). See vs. 625,
 where “illic;” vs. 635, where “nec procul hinc;” vs. 639,
 where “post;” vs. 642, where “haud procul inde;” vs. 646,
 where “nec non;” vs. 655, where “atque hic;” vs. 633, where

"hic;" vs. 671, where "hæc inter;" vs. 673, where "et circum;" vs. 675, where "in medio;" vs. 678, where "hinc;" vs. 682, where "parte alia;" vs. 685, where "hinc;" vs. 711, where "contra;" vs. 714, where "at;" vs. 724, where "hic;" vs. 725, where "hic" again;—all of them words indicating the transition to a new subject occupying a separate place in the picture—are placed in this emphatic position, viz. first word in the line and at the same time first word in the sentence. Thirdly, because we have the very expression "custos arcis," 2. 166, and the similar expression "custos sancti Soraotis," 11. 785; and, to quote only two of the many examples afforded by other authors, Hor. *Od. 3. 22*, addressing Diana:

"montium custos nemorumque virgo;"

Stat., *Silv. 3. 1. 8*, of the god (or statue of) Hercules:

... "tunc ille reclusi
liminis, et parvæ custos inglorius aræ."

Fourthly, because IN MEDIO, vs. 675, does not mean, with Peerkamp, "IN MEDIO maris," but IN MEDIO clipei, as shown by the exactly corresponding "in medio" applied *Ecl. 3. 46* to the carvings on the drinking cup of Alcimedon, and meaning *in the middle of the view or picture*. For these reasons I agree with Servius, Thiel, Forbiger, Voss, and Wagner, in understanding IN SUMMO of the shield.

PRO TEMPLO.—*In front of the temple*, as Ovid, *Art. Amat. 1. 200*:

"stabunt pro signis iusque piumque tuis"

[will stand in front of your standards].

Two so similar phrases CAPITOLIA CELSA TENEBAT and ARCEMQUE TENEBANT should hardly come so close together. I shall not pretend to say whether Virgil did not observe or had no objection to their proximity. Perhaps after all we moderns are over-fastidious respecting a species of tramway driving for which our author would almost seem to have a predilection.

ROMULEQUE RECENS HORREBAT REGIA CULMO.—"Heu vatum ignaræ mentes!" Where is that other thatched hut?

that other thatched hut north of the Danube which is to be the palace of that second, that greater Romulus, the swarthy, squat, big-headed, flat-nosed Hunn, who, wielding Mars' own sword thrown down to him from heaven, and having murdered with it the second Remus, sets fire to the vast construction of which his prototype laid the first stone, and exacts from the proprietors quit and crown rent for the peaceable possession of the ruins. Reader, if thou happenest to be a believer in the progressive civilization and amelioration of thy race, compare the two Romuluses, or if thou pleasest the two Attilas, or if you like it better, God's two scourges together, and say what tittle in those twelve hundred years the world advanced in the arts of peace, in public or private morality, even in that which is apt to strike root and grow and thrive faster than either arts of peace, or public or private morality—religion.

ATQUE HIC, &c., . . . OPACAE.—“Quae sequuntur poetica sunt, non quae facile ab artifice in metallo effingi potuerant,” Heyne. But why not? The “canere” was expressed by the wide open mouth of the goose, exactly as the song of the Palatine Apollo was expressed by the wide open mouth of the famous statue, Prop. 2. 27 :

“hic equidem Phoebus visus mihi pulchrior ipso
marmoreus tacita carmen *hiare* lyra ;”

and that the presence of the Gauls was the subject of the “cantus” was shown by the flight (VOLITANS) of the goose in the opposite direction from the Gauls, who were seen ADESSE PER DUMOS, exactly as in Moreland's admirable painting, the flight of the goose in the opposite direction over the churn announces the irruption of the fox-hunt into the midst of the peaceful tenants of the farm-yard. Nor is it enough for Heyne that the picture is impossible, it is contrary to the German taste: “Tum ANSER VOLITANS ad nostrum sensum displicere potest; forte non aequè ad Romanorum sensus.” Modest, to acknowledge that Virgil might possibly know better than a German grammarian what was agreeable to the Roman taste. Was not the very VOLITANS ANSER historical—mythical at

least? And did not Virgil's choice of pigeons to guide his hero to the golden branch show that he was well inclined to choose a graceful, nay a heroic bird, where his choice was free? But would a graceful or a heroic bird have answered, even if the myth had left the poet a free choice? The bird should have been watchful; and when is the bird so watchful, so difficult to surprise or come upon unawares as the goose, the bird more watchful than even the good dog, and where is the bird can make so loud, so shrill a noise, and give so effectual an alarm? for even Heyne himself would hardly have put a *cycnus musicus* on the top of the Capitol.

Similar to the outcry of the goose on the shield of Aeneas was that of the swans on the shield of Hercules, Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 315 :

. . . οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν . . .
κυκνοὶ ἀερσιπῶται μεγάλ' ἤπυνον

and the barking of the dogs on the prize chlamys of Cloanthus, *Aen.* 5. 257: "saevitque canum latratus in auras." When the Savoyards were besieging Geneva in 1602 a flock of ducks performed the same good office towards the garrison of that city which the Roman geese had performed towards the garrison of the Capitol when besieged by the Gauls. See Lazzeri, *Motivi di tutte le Guerre manegg. dalla Cor. di Franc.*, par. 3, p. 340, motiv. 12.

661-685.

AURO—ARMIS

INNECTUNTUR (vs. 661), *are bound round* (see Rem. on "in-nexa," 8. 276); AURO, *with the gold torques* (comp. 5. 59).

ET TE CATILINA MINACI PENDENTEM SCOPULO, FURIARUM-QUE ORA TREMENTEM (vv. 668-9).—MINACI PENDENTEM SCOPULO, i.e. *affixed to a tall rock* (as Prometheus to the side of

Caucasus), and therefore appearing to hang from it. In other words, *gibbeted*, or precisely as we say, *hanging in chains on the side of the rock*. Lucian's word is *κρεμαμενος*, *Prometh. 1*: Ο μὲν Καυκασος, ὡς Ἡφαίστης, οὗτος, ὡς τὸν ἀθλίον Τιτάνα τοῦτον· προσηλωσθαι δεήσει· περισκοπῶμεν δὲ ἤδη κρημνὸν τινα ἐπιτηδεῖον, εἰ ποὺ τῆς χιόνος γυμνὸς ἐστίν, ὡς βεβαιότερον καταπαγεῖν τὰ δέσμα, καὶ οὗτος ἀπασὶ περιφανὴς εἴη κρεμαμενός. Compare Claud. *Cons. Honor. 44*:

. . . "iuvat infra tecta Tonantis
cernere Tarpeia *pendentes rupe* Gigantes;"

and Manil. 5. 548 (of Andromeda):

"mollia per duras panduntur brachia cautes;
astrinxere pedes scopulis, iniectaque vincla,
t cruce virginea moritura puella pependit
.
isque ubi *pendentem* vidit de *rupe* puellam
diriguit facie."

MINACI.—"Ruinae usque minanti," Wagner (*Praest.*). I think not, but the very contrary, *tall and towering*. Compare Hor. *Od. 1. 12*:

"concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes:
et *minax* (quod sic voluere) ponto
unda recumbit"

[not *the wave which had been threatening to fall*, there had been nothing remarkable in the falling of a wave which had previously threatened to fall, but, *so far from threatening to fall, had stood tall, towering, and awful; that wave has now fallen*, "recumbit"]. The idea has been well expressed by Pope, and without any allusion to or borrowing from ancient authors and their "minax" and "minaci" as applied to tall, towering objects:

"Where London's column pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies."

See Rem. on "minantur," 1. 166.

Is there not an intended appropriateness in this punishment of the minacious Catiline? See Lucan 6. 793 (of the exulta-

tion of Catiline in Hades when he heard the news of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar):

“ abruptis *Catilina minax*, fractisque catenis
exultat;”

Cic. in *Cat.* 2: . . . “ *L. Catilinam* . . . vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque *minitantem*,” Id., *Pro Muraena* (ed. Lamb. p. 346): “Ei vim denuntiabat [*Catilina*], reipublicae *minabatur*,” Sall. *Bell. Cat.* 32: “Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ‘ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum *ruina restinguam*,” *ibid.* p. 346: “Cum idem ille [*Catilina*] respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed *ruina* restincturum.”

FURIARUM ORA TREMENTEM.—*Exposed naked and helpless to the insults and violence of the Furies*, as Prometheus to those of the vulture.

SECRETOS PIOS (vs. 670).—*Secret*, not because hid, but because apart, by themselves. See 8. 610, and Rem.

FLUCTU SPUMABANT CAERULA CANO (vs. 672).—See Rem. on 1. 539.

GEMINAS CUI TEMPORA FLAMMAS LAETA VOMUNT (vv. 680-681).—“Naturaliter enim Augustus igneos oculos habuisse dicitur,” Servius, Voss. “Indicat galeam,” La Cerda, Heyne, Thiel, Forb., Ladew., Wagner (1861). I think neither explanation is correct. By what strange figure of speech had eyes been called TEMPORA? By what no less strange the cheeks of his helmet (“*bucculas galeae*”) TEMPORA? By what strangest of all had the cheeks of his helmet been called LAETA TEMPORA? No, no; TEMPORA are his temples, the temples of his bare head, which are well represented as LAETA, *joyful*, expressive of the joy of his heart, as the leader exhibits his face to his soldiers, and the FLAMMAS which they emit are the supernatural light, the cloven tongues of fire, the religious electricity of the favoured of heaven, such as in Titian’s painting of the tribute-money is so familiar to every visitor of the Dresden Gallery. Virgil was a better flatterer than either La Cerda, or Heyne, or Ladewig, or Wagner, and would never have been court poet or had a house

on the Esquiline if he had not known better than to cover the head of Augustus with a mere helmet, no matter how beamy or star-crested, while in the very next line but two, in the very same picture of the very same battle, he crowns Agrippa with a fulgent naval diadem :

BELLI INSIGNE SUPERBUM
TEMPORA NAVALI FULGENT ROSTRATA CORONA.

If Virgil had been guilty of such a *mal-à-propos* he might have written poetry all his life, or, if he had liked it better, comments on Homer or Apollonius Rhodius ; but he never would have worn the bays or been the favourite either of Augustus or the Roman people, or any people that ever existed. The Caesar must be distinguished from everyone else ; everyone's helmet shines, everyone's helmet has a crest, but the Caesar must shine himself ; the grace of God must stream visibly from him, the Divine favour radiate on his vertex in the form of a star, as it had radiated on Iulus, on Servius, and the greater Caesar, who had adopted him, and to whom he owed his fortunes.

TEMPORA.—*The temples of the man, the living temples, exactly as in the next verse but two, TEMPORA, the temples of Agrippa, neither Agrippa's eyes, nor the bucculae of Agrippa's helmet, but the temples of Agrippa which are covered by those bucculae ; and exactly as tempora is no less than two-and-thirty times elsewhere in Virgil the real temples of the man, or of the horse, or of the sheep, as the case may be.*

VARIIS ARMIS (vs. 685).—*Motley troops, i. e., troops clothed and armed after the fashion of their respective countries. Compare v. 723 :*

. . . "incedunt victae longo ordine gentes
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis."

694-708.

STUPPEA FLAMMA MANU TELISQUE VOLATILE FERRUM
 SPARGITUR ARVA NOVA NEPTUNIA CAEDE RUBESCUNT
 REGINA IN MEDIIS PATRIO VOCAT AGMINA SISTRO
 NECDUM ETIAM GEMINOS A TERGO RESPICIT ANGUES
 OMNIGENUMQUE DEUM MONSTRA ET LATRATOR ANUBIS
 CONTRA NEPTUNUM ET VENEREM CONTRAQUE MINERVAM
 TELA TENENT SAEVIT MEDIO IN CERTAMINE MAVORS
 CAELATUS FERRO TRISTESQUE EX AETHERE DIRAE
 ET SCISSA GAUDENS VADIT DISCORDIA PALLA
 QUAM CUM SANGUINEO SEQUITUR BELLONA FLAGELLO
 ACTIUS HAEC CERNENS ARCUM INTENDEBAT APOLLO
 DESUPER OMNIS EO TERRORE AEGYPTUS ET INDI
 OMNIS ARABS OMNES VERTEBANT TERGA SABAEI
 IPSA Videbatur VENTIS REGINA VOCATIS
 VELA DARE ET LAXOS IAM IAMQUE IMMITTERE FUNIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 694).

TELIS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* (TELLIS). ■†. ■■■ *Serv.* (ed. Lion);
 R. Steph.; La Cerda; Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn.
 (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb. (who very unaccountably
 observes, "TELI vulgo ante Heinsium").

TELI ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Masvicius; Lad.
 Haupt.

TELIS (vs. 694).—"Accipiendum est de machinis ad missilia
 emittenda, . . . ut MANU FLAMMA, *machinis sagittae spargantur.*
 . . . Saltem dicam, *spargi* FERRUM TELIS, *per tela*, h. e. *spargi*
missilibus," Heyne. "STUPPEA FLAMMA, *stuppa incensa*, et in-
 telliguntur malleoli; TELISQUE VOLATILE FERRUM, *telorum iactu*
in omnes partes volat ferrum," Wagner (*Praest.*):

"flamme des wergs in der hand, und fligenden stahl an geschossen." Voss.

The old error of too literal translation, of supposing two things to be spoken of when it is only one thing is spoken of; of understanding sentences which are only fractions of one thought, and therefore unintelligible until united together by the reader's understanding, to express so many distinct independent thoughts. The line speaks not of the STUPPEA FLAMMA, and of the VOLATILE FERRUM as two distinct instruments, but as together constituting one instrument (viz., the *malleolus*). STUPPEA FLAMMA is the flaming tow contained in the ventriculus of the *malleolus* ("lampas," 9. 535; "epolis," Cynth. Cenet. ad 9. 535); VOLATILE FERRUM, the iron shaft or handle of the same *malleolus*, *lampas*, or *epolis*. TELIS is the weapon formed by the union of the two. Nay, not only can its separate meaning be assigned to each individual Latin word, but the entire sense of the Latin sentence can be expressed in English in a sentence consisting of the same precise number of words as the Latin sentence, and tallying with the Latin sentence word for word: "the volatile iron weapon with its flaming tow is scattered by the hand;" or, "the flaming tow with its volatile iron weapon is scattered by the hand;" or "the volatile iron-and-flaming-tow weapon is scattered by the hand." STUPPEA FLAMMA being the essential thing, is placed first; TELIS VOLATILE FERRUM, the method of using or applying the STUPPEA FLAMMA, being of less importance, is relegated to the less important position, the end of the verse; while to the action of throwing, expressed by SPARGITUR, is assigned the emphatic position of last word of the sentence and first word of the new verse (see Rem. on 2. 247), a position as often as possible reserved for the word expressive of the action of an agent described in an immediately preceding verse, and especially emphatic when, as in this case, followed by a full pause, a full pause affording the reader time to dwell in thought on the continued action expressed by the word, before he proceeds to the next subject.

ARVA NOVA NEPTUNIA CAEDE RUBESCUNT.—"NOVA CAEDE, magna, nimia; nam non dicit revera nova," Servius. "NOVA CAEDE, sc. inter hos ipsos ignes missiles et navium incendia," Heyne, understanding "novus" in the sense of *alter*. "Mihi

ad initium pugnae respici et nihil aliud significari videtur, quam: *incipiunt caede rubescere*; *novum* enim dicitur, quod primum fit," Wagner. Wagner is partially right, Servius and Heyne both wholly wrong. The key to the sense is afforded by "*rubescere*," which means not *the sea is red*, but *the sea is growing red, is becoming red*; NOVA adds to the inceptive force of the verb; *the sea is becoming red with the blood*, NOVA *freshly poured into it*. You see the sea growing red with the freshly spilled blood. Compare 9. 691 :

"ductori Turno, diversa in parte furenti,
turbantique viros, perfertur nuncius, hostem
fervere caede nova, et portas praebere patentes;"

10. 514 :

. . . "te, Turne, superbum
caede nova quaerens;"

7. 554 :

"quae fors prima dedit, sanguis novus imbuit arma;"

Ovid. *Trist.* 4. 1. 97 :

"corque vetusta meum, tanquam nova vulnera sentit;"

Sabin. *Ep. Ulyss. Penel.* 73 :

"vidi, nec lacrymas oculi tenuere cadentes,
deformem Atriden (hei mihi !) caede nova."

Peerlkamp, discontent with this interpretation no less than with those of Servius and Heyne, proposes to read *luce* instead of CAEDE, and to refer the clause to the new kind of warfare, viz., one in which fire was used as a weapon. "Si RUBESCUNT CAEDE, RUBESCUNT sanguine. Sed res praecipue agitur flamma. Ex flamma non funditur sanguis. Ergo rubescit mare nova et inusitata luce flammarum." To which I reply that this whole argument of Peerlkamp is based upon the false assumption that "*res praecipue agitur flamma*," and that consequently the connexion of the clause ARVA NOVA NEPTUNIA CAEDE RUBESCUNT, is with the immediately preceding STUPPEA FLAMMA MANU TELISQUE VOLATILE FERRUM SPARGITUR, not with the whole preceding account from UNA OMNES RUERE, as far as SPARGITUR.

On the contrary, the words ARVA NOVA NEPTUNIA CAEDE RUBESCUNT are the summing up of the whole, express the result of the UNA OMNES RUERE, of the TANTA MOLE VIRI TURRITIS PUPPIBUS INSTANT, of the STUPPEA FLAMMA MANU TELISQUE VOLATILE FERRUM SPARGITUR. Without the addition of the reddening of the sea with the fresh blood, there is no consequence, no result drawn from all the previous struggle, not even so much as one single mention of the shedding of blood until you come to INTER CAEDES, fourteen lines further on. This is, I think, a sufficient condemnation of the interpretation of Peerlkamp, even if that interpretation did not necessitate a merely conjectural alteration of the text.

But while Wagner's interpretation is correct in so far as it understands CAEDE of the spilled blood, and NOVA to mean that the blood was newly spilled, yet it is, as I think, incorrect, in so far as it understands this *new* spilling of the blood to be the spilling of the blood in the *beginning* of the battle, "ad initium pugnae respici." NOVA is here, as I think appears from the examples quoted above, a mere heightening or colouring epithet, an epithet of that kind which is commonly denominated *constant*, and refers not to the beginning or any other special part of the battle, but to the freshness, or fresh appearance of the blood—you see the *Neptunian fields growing red with the newly-spilled blood, with the fresh blood.* The "caedes" strikes the reader's imagination the more, because it is fresh, not of old date. So 10. 325 :

"dum sequeris Clytium infelix, *nova* gaudia, Cydon."

Clytius is the new delight of Cydon, not because Cydon had other previous or old delights, but because he had not this delight long ; it was not of old standing ; he was, as we say in English, *new-fangled* with it.

ARVA NEPTUNIA CAEDE RUBESCUNT.—*The sea begins to grow red with blood*, exactly as elsewhere the earth begins to grow red with blood. Compare Sil. 4. 204 :

. . . "per candida membra
it fumans erior, et tellus perfusa *rubescit*."

NECDUM ETIAM GEMINOS A TERGO RESPICIT ANGUES.—Commentators and translators from the time of Servius to the present on the one hand refer GEMINOS ANGUES to the mode of Cleopatra's death, and on the other hand are puzzled to know why one aspic alone being historical two should yet be mentioned. "Tum GEMINOS, cum unus sibi admoveretur," Servius. "Sequitur forte Virgilius famam aliquam, duos eam angues sibi admovisse," Heyne. "Quum non satis constat, quot anguibus corpori admotis Cleopatra perierit, in hoc poetæ loco minime haerendum neque opus Burmanni coniectura *gelidos* ANGUES," Forbiger. The difficulty is, as I think, wholly of the commentator's own making, the reference in GEMINOS ANGUES not being to the aspic by whose bite Cleopatra died, or to the particular mode of her death at all, but simply to her death, to the catastrophe which was impending over her. I found this opinion on the so parallel "geminos angues" of Turnus's vision, 7. 450, the "respice ad hæc" of the same vision so exactly parallel to the RESPICIT A TERGO of our text, and accompanied by the explanation "bella manu lethumque gero." In the same way as there can be no doubt that the "geminos angues" which Alleto commanded Turnus to look at and consider, and which she herself explained as prefiguring wars and death, referred to the approaching death of Turnus on the battle-field; so I think there can be no doubt that the GEMINOS ANGUES, to which Cleopatra has as yet paid no attention, sculptured behind the figure of Cleopatra on the shield, indicate, not at all that she is to die by the bite of an aspic, but that her death and ruin are impending, an opinion abundantly confirmed, as I think, by the manifest correspondence between

NECDUM ETIAM GEMINOS A TERGO RESPICIT ANGUES,

and

ILLAM INTER CARDES PALLENTEM MORTE FUTURA,

the former of these verses describing the queen's state of mind before her discomforture, viz., that death, although actually impending, had not yet entered into her thoughts, NECDUM RESPICIT, and the latter her state of mind after her discomforture, viz., that death had at last entered into her thoughts (PALLENTEM MORTE

FUTURA). As the GEMINOS ANGUES of our text is typical of the death and ruin of Cleopatra and the "geminos angues" of 7. 450 typical of the death and ruin of Turnus, so the "gemi angues" of 2. 203-4, are, as I have shown in Rem., typical of the taking and destruction of Troy, and so, not improbably, the "geminos angues" of 8. 289 were typical of evil fate in store for Hercules, and only averted by the precocious might of the infant hero, who, strangling the evil messengers, averted the omen. Even modern superstitions are not without their two snakes, apparitors of hell and Satan, as *Christmas Carol*, of *Dives and Lazarus* :

" as it fell out upon a day
Dives sickened and died,
there came *two serpents* out of hell,
thereto his soul to guide."

Nay, so far am I from agreeing with the opinion that the GEMINOS ANGUES of our text refer to the asp, by whose bite Cleopatra died, that I do not even think that the words mean two snakes sculptured or otherwise represented on the shield at all. On the contrary, I hold the expression GEMINOS ANGUES to be wholly metaphorical, and that the entire meaning is that Cleopatra does not yet perceive, or pay any attention to the danger A TERGO, the danger which was so near and imminent, which was treading so close upon her heels. Compare the proverb "Lupus a tergo," and *Georg.* 3. 406 :

. . . "nunquam custodibus illis
nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum,
aut impacatos a tergo horrebis Hiberos."

EX AETHERE (vs. 701).—These words inform us that the DIRAE were represented not as in the midst of the battle, but as in the air above the heads of the combatants, exactly as the same words, 7. 288, inform us that Juno had the view of the Trojan fleet not from Pachynus, but out of the air over Pachynus. Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 591 :

"intonuit donec pavidis ex aethere ventis
omnipotens, regemque dedit, quem iussa vereri
saeva cohors ;"

Id. 4. 682 :

. . . "hic Iuno praecepsque ex aethere Pallas
insiliunt pariter scopulos ;"

Id. 3. 54 (of the voice of Pan) :

. . . "talesque metus non Martia cassis,
Eumenidumque comae, non tristic ab aethere Gorgon
sparsert."

All the Furies are winged, as 12. 848: "*ventosasque addidit alas* ;" Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 118 (of Megaera) :

"*pigraque veloces per Tartara concutit alas.*"

AETHERE, instead of *aëre*, in order to suit the versification, nothing more being meant than the common air or atmosphere. See Rem. on "*aethere in alto*," 6. 437.

LAXOS IMMITTERE FUNES (vs. 708). — "*LAXOS intendere FUNES*," Heyne; who adds at 10. 229: "*ubi vela laxantur, rudentes non laxantur sed intenduntur.*" This is doubly incorrect. When the sails are spread, or rather preparatory to the sails being spread, the *rudentes* or cords which run along the breadth of the sails, and serve to shorten or reef sails as well as to tie the sails to the yards, are necessary to be untied first; and secondly, it is this very act of untying the *rudentes* which is expressed by the two words LAXOS IMMITTERE. The same sense is expressed at 10. 229, without the word *laxos*, "*velis immitte rudentes*," *give the sheets (or confining cords) to the sails, i. e. loose the sheets (or confining cords)*. We find a similar variety of expression with respect to the word *habenae*, for we have, 1. 67: "*laxas dare habenas*" (with which compare *Georg.* 2. 364: "*laxis immissus habenis*") used to signify *loosen or slacken the reins*; while we have the same sense expressed *Aen.* 5. 662, by "*immissis habenis*" alone (with which compare *Aen.* 6. 1: "*classi immittit habenas*"), without any help of *laxus*.

VELA DARE ET LAXOS . . . IMMITTERE FUNES.—Our author's usual *υστερον προτερον* for LAXOS IMMITTERE FUNES ET DARE VELA, *loose the sheets, untie the cords that bend up the sails, and spread the sails.*

711-713.

CONTRA AUTEM MAGNO MOERENTEM CORPORE NILUM
 PANDENTEMQUE SINUS ET TOTA VESTE VOCANTEM
 CAERULEUM IN GREMIUM LATEBROSAQUE FLUMINA VICTOS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 712).

TOTA ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670);
 Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.;
 Haupt; Ribb.

That it was the practice among the ancients Greeks and Romans, as it has been, and is still, in most nations, to make signs and demonstrations by waving about in the air above the head any available part of the dress, appears abundantly from their writings, *ex. gr.* Philostr. *Icon.* 2. 6 (of spectators at public games, testifying their approbation of one of the competitors): Βωωσι γουν αναπηδησαντες των θυκων, και οι μεν τω χειρε ανασειουσιν, οι δε την εσθητα, οι δ' αιρονται απο της γης, οι δε τοις πλησιον ιλαρον προσπαλαιουσι. [*cum proximis manus conserunt*]; Ammian. 18. 6: "Quos cum iumentum agilitate praegressus, apud Amudim munimentum infirmum dispersis per pabulum equis recubantes nostros securius invenissem, porrecto extentius brachio, et *summitatibus sagi contortis elatius*, adesse hostes signo solito demonstrabam;" Id. 25. 6: "Ripas occupavere contrarias: Persarumque conculcatis pluribus et truncatis, . . . efficacis audaciae signum elatis manibus *contortisque sagulis* ostendebant;" Procop. *Goth.* 3: Εις τε τας επαλξεις ανεβαινον απαντες, και τα ιματια σειοντες τοις εν ταις ναυσι σημαινειν εβουλοντο μη προσω ιεναι. Veget. 3. 5: "Sunt et alia muta signa, quae dux belli in equis, aut indumentis, et in ipsis armis, ut dignoscatur hostis, praecipit custodiri. Praeterea manu aliquid, vel flagello, more barbarico, vel certe *mota*, qua utitur, *veste*, significat;" and especially Auson. *Mosell.* 367 (of the river

Saravus or Saar, calling Ausonius to speak of him (Saravus)) :

“naviger undisona dudum me mole Saravus
tota veste vocat, longum qui distulit amnem,
fessa sub Augustis ut volveret ostia muris ;”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 2. 73 :

. . . “sed enim revocate, Quirites,
et date iactatis undique signa togis.
en revocant : at, ne turbet toga mota capillos,
in nostros abdas te licet usque sinus.”

I cannot, however, agree with Nicholas Heinsius and Peerlkamp, that it is an example of this ancient, familiar, widespread practice we have here before us, still less that Ausonius's account just quoted of the Saar-god's calling to him—whether “tota veste” or “torta veste” no matter—is an imitation of our text [“Maronis hunc locum manifeste respexit Ausonius, *Mosella*, 368: ‘naviger . . . tota veste vocat’” N. Heins. ap. Burm. “Sed TOTA VESTE multo elegantius est, recteque ab Heinsio defensum, qui et imitationem Ausonii *Mosell.* 368 ostendit :

‘naviger undisona dudum me mole Saravus
tota veste vocat.’

In vocabulo TOTA studium Nili cernitur, omnibus viribus nisi, CORPore ET mota VESTE VICTOS vocantis,” Peerlkamp], if it were only because the signal by waving the garment in the air was an indefinite signal, capable at most of expressing emotion, inviting attention, calling towards, warning off, or putting on the *qui vive*, while the signal given by the Nile-god was a precise and definite invitation into the very bosom itself—CAERULEUM IN GREMIUM. Such invitation must be given in some more precise way than by merely waving a garment or a loose available part of a garment round and round in the air above the head, and what more precise way than that of opening and throwing wide—wide to the utmost—(TOTA VESTE)—the garment covering the bosom itself : PANDENTEM SINUS ET TOTA VESTE VOCANTEM CAERULEUM IN GREMIUM ? How different the Saar-god's signal to Ausonius ! No PANDENTEM SINUS, no CAERULEUM IN GREMIUM, no LATEBROSA FLUMINA, not even the remotest allusion either to a GREMIUM, or SINUS, or “latebrae” ? And why ?

Because the Saar-god only wants Ausonius to notice him, not at all to come to him and hide himself in his bosom. Except that they are both made with the outer garment, there is no resemblance between the two signals—no resemblance either in manner or purpose: the slight resemblance, viz., that they are both made "*tota veste*," rests entirely on a disputed reading of the Ausonian text. The rival reading "*torta*," affording the sense: *with his garment waved in the air*, affords a clearer picture, and, I doubt not, is the true reading.

But there is a passage of Ausonius which is perfectly parallel to, and affords the aptest illustration of, our text. It is that in which the poet (*Mosell.* 418) commands the Rhine-god to open the "*caerulean sinuses*" of his "*peplum*," and make room within them for the fraternal waters of the Moselle (the waters of the Moselle running into the Rhine, at Coblenz):

"caeruleos nunc, Rhene, sinus hyaloque virentem
pande peplum, spatiumque novi metare fluenti,
fraternis cumulandus aquis,"

a true parallel in which we have, not, as in the pseudo-parallel of the commentators, a mere noticing or calling of the attention with the flourish of a garment in the air, but a wide-throwing-open of the garment itself for the reception of a brother, who, coming of his own accord, requires no invitation, no *VOCANTEM*, and for whom, not being a fugitive, there need not be, and therefore are not, any "*latebrae*" either invited to or provided. Compare Val. Flacc. 2. 34:

"iamque Hyperionius metas maris urgnet Hiberi
currus, et evictae prono laxantur habenae
aethere, cum palmas Tethys grandaeva *sinusque*
sustulit, et rupto sonuit sacer aequore Titan."

VESTE.—*The outer garment*; the "*peplum*" of the Ausonian parallel, the "*carbasus*" of the Tiber-god, vs. 33, above:

. . . "eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus."

Vestis, so far as I know, is always *the outer dress*, no matter of what form, as Plaut. *Capt.* Prol. 37:

"itaque inter se commutant *vestem* et nomina;"

Aen. 6. 645 :

. . . "Threiceus longa cum *veste* sacerdos ;"

ibid. 2. 721 :

. . . "latos humeros subiectaque colla
veste super, fulvique insternor pelle leonis"

[a cloak, or rug of lion's skin]. See Rem. 2. 721.

TOTA.—"Summo studio, toto ex corde VOCANTEM VESTE," Thiel. "In vocabulo TOTA studium Nili cernitur, omnibus viribus nisi, CORPORE ET *mota* VESTE VICTOS *vocantis*," Peerl-kamp. This very forced interpretation of TOTA in conjunction with VESTE VOCANTEM falls to the ground, of course, with the false interpretation of VESTE VOCANTEM out of which it arose. VESTE VOCANTEM rightly understood, TOTA VESTE VOCANTEM becomes at once : *calling, with his vest thrown open to its full width* ; and so Heyne rightly : "expansa quantum sinus patebat ;" and La Cerda, before Heyne : "Quasi Nilus SINUS aperiret, et vestem totam panderet ad tegendos fugitivos." Compare Ovid, *Met.* 6. 298 :

"ultima restabat : quam *toto corpore*, mater [Niobe],
tota veste tegens, 'Unam minimamque relinque ;
de multis minimam posco,' clamavit, 'et unam' ;"

also Senec. *Agam.* 741 (Cassandra apostrophizing the ghosts of her slaughtered relatives) :

"quid me vocatis sospitem solam e meis,
umbræ meorum ? te sequor, *tota* pater
Troia sepulte ;"

Id. Troad. 28 (Hecuba speaking) :

"testor deorum numen aversum mihi,
patriæque cineres, teque rectorem Phrygum,
quem Troia *toto conditum regno tegit*,
tuosque manes ;"

Claud. Laus Stilic. 3. 166 :

. . . "hæc [Roma] auguriis firmata Sibyllæ ;
hæc sacris animata Numæ ; huic fulmina vibrat
Iupiter ; hanc *tota* Tritonia *Gorgone velat*"

[with the whole length and breadth of her Gorgon].

PANDENTEM SINUS.—Either *uncovering his bosom*, or *throwing wide open the bosom of his peplum*, the word *sinus* being, like its English equivalent *bosom* and its Greek equivalent *κολπος*, in common use to signify either the *pectus* (that part of the body between the arms), or the part of the garment covering the *pectus*. Compare Senec. *Hipp.* 1189 (Phaedra speaking):

“o mors, pudoris maximum laesi decus,
confugimus ad te; *pande placatos sinus* ;”

Id. *Ep.* 103: “quantum potes autem, in philosophiam secede: illa te sinu suo *proteget*; in huius sacrario eris aut tutus, aut tutior,” Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 52: “*Panderet modo* [Vitellius] *sinum*, et venienti fortunae occurreret” [he had only to open his bosom (or, as we say, his arms) and meet the coming good fortune; *i.e.*, he had only to meet with open arms the good fortune which was coming towards him]; Manil. 5: 389 (ed. Bentr.):

“Anguitenens magno circumdatus orbe Draconis,
quum ver in regione tuae, Capricorne, figurae,
non inimica facit serpentum membra creatis.
accipient sinibusque suis, peploque fluenti;
osculaue horrendis iungunt impune venenis ;”

Plin. Jun. *Paneg.* 6: “confugit in *sinum* tuum concussa respublica;” and see Rem. on “sinum lacrimis implevit obortis,” 4. 30.

If it is a curious accident by which we have in Ausonius's *Moselle*, and within fifty verses of each other, two passages, one illustrative of the practice of making general signals by the waving of a garment or some part of a garment, above the head in the air, and the other of the very different practice of inviting to the bosom, by the wide-open-throwing of the garment covering it, how doubly curious the accident by which we are within a hair's breadth of having an example of each practice within the compass of the single Ovidian stanza, *Amor.* 3. 2. 73, quoted above, where Ovid's mistress sitting spectatrix of the Circenses, and being in danger of having her hair discomposed by the waving of the spectators' togas above their heads, is invited by Ovid, who is sitting beside her, to the shelter

of his bosom (as Cleopatra, in our text, to the shelter of the Nile-god's bosom) :

“ in nostros abdas te licet usque *sinus* ;”

and is only not invited by the signal of throwing wide open the garments covering the bosom (PANDENTEM SINUS ET TOTA VESTIS VOCANTEM), because she is not, as Cleopatra is in our text, at a distance from, but close beside, the person who invites.

CAERULEUM IN GREMIUM LATEBROSAQUE FLUMINA.—*Into the caerulean bosom* (of the god, for it is the god who invites, and opens his whole garment) *and into the hiding places* (of the river, for it is FLUMINA)—a confusion of expression, if not of thought, I am unwilling to say both of expression and thought, of which our author, and indeed most authors, are but too frequently guilty, *ex. gr.* 8. 63 :

. . . “ ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas, et pinguis culta secantem,
caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis,”

where the god Tiberinus of the pleasant river, clothed in glaucous robe of fine lawn and crowned with reeds (vs. 31 :

“ deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
.
. . . eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus, et crines umbrosa tegebat arcendo”)

gravely informs Aeneas as he lies asleep on the banks of the river Tyber, that he (the god Tiberinus) is the river Tyber on the banks of which he (Aeneas) lies fast asleep, and which he (Aeneas) *sees* sweeping along in full stream through the rich holms. Compare also Sil. 8. 189 (of Anna) :

“ prosiluit stratis, humilique egressa fenestra
per patulos currit plantis pernicious agros ;
denec arenoso (sic fama) Numicius illam
suscepit gremio, vitreisque abscondidit antris,”

where it is as impossible to doubt that it is by the river-god Numicius that Anna is taken upon the lap, and put away out of sight, in some crystal cave, as it is impossible to doubt that it is

not the river god's lap, but only the bed of the river itself, which is sandy.

VOCANTEM IN GREMIUM VICTOS.—Compare Claud. *Laus Stilic.*
3. 150 (of personified Roma):

“haec est, in gremium victos quae sola recepit,
humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
matris, non dominae, ritu.”

LATEBROSA FLUMINA.—“Quia Nili origo nescitur,” Servius.
“Nam origo Nili ignoratur,” Cynth. Cenet. “Ubi lateret Cleopatra, quod fontes Nili ignoti sunt,” Gossrau. Latebrosus is not *hidden* or *lurking*, but *full of lurking places*, as *Ad Liv.* 15:

“ille modo eripuit *latebrosas* hostibus Alpes.”

VICTOS.—*I.e.*, Cleopatram; the plural and general, as being less offensive than the singular and particular.

718-728.

ARAE—ARAXES

OMNIBUS ARAE; ANTE ARAS (vv. 718-19).—“ARAE, exquisite pro *arae ab artifice expressae*,” Heyne. “Quid mirum IN OMNIBUS TEMPLIS fuisse *aras*? Heynius putat acumen in eo esse, ut ARAE *ab artifice expressae* cogitentur. Sed omnia ab artifice in clypeo sunt expressa, et sic proponuntur, ut revera fuerunt. . . . In *aris* hic esse debuit aliquid singulare ac diei festo proprium, ut MATRUM CHORUS. Illud singulare nanciscemur, si pro ANTE ARAS scribamus *ardentes*,” Peerlkamp. Of which conjecture Ribbeck observes, “*magnopere placet*.” I, on the contrary, think that, ingenious as it is, it is founded on a too literal, and therefore mistaken, understanding of the vulgar reading, the meaning of which is not that there were altars in all the temples on this day specially, but that on this day specially there

were victims slain at all the altars, OMNIBUS ARAB being, as has been well observed by Forbiger, to be taken in strict conjunction with the immediately succeeding ANTE ARAS.

HIC NOMADUM GENUS ET DISCINCTOS AFROS (VS. 724).—“Mollitiem hominum arguit veste laxa et fluente,” Heyne. No; the Africans were warlike, not effeminate (compare 4. 40.:

“hinc *Gastulas* urbes, genus *insuperabile* bello,
et *Numidas* *infracti* cingunt;”

l. 343:.

“sed *finis Libyci*, genus *intractabile* bello”),

and DISCINCTOS only contrasts their loose dress with that of the Romans, which (and especially that of the Roman soldiers) was *præcinctus* or tightly girt round the waist, *Epiced. Maecenatis*, 21:

“quod *discinctus* eras, animo quoque, carpitur unum:

diluitur nimia simplicitate tua.

sic illi vixere, quibus fuit aurea Virgo:

quæ bene *præcinctos* postmodo pulsa fugit:

invide, quid tandem *tunicas* nocuere *solutas*?

aut tibi *centesi* quid nocuere *sinus*?”

See also Herodian (Politian's translation), 3. 4 (of the Persians): “Barbari . . . gnari antea pugnare tantum arou ex equis, neque armatura muniti, neque hasta gladioque satis audaces, levi *pendulaque veste* . . .;” and 4. 11 (of the Parthians): “Descenderant enim ex iis [viz., equis suis], pastumque dimiserant, neque ipsi evadere fuga poterant, impediende cursum *fluxa veste ad pedes* usque deducta.”

EUPHRATES IBAT IAM MOLLIOR UNDIS, &c., . . . ET PONTEM INDIGNATUS ARAXES (VV. 726-728).—“Ducuntur captivi una cum signis fluviorum,” Heyne, Thiel. Any possible doubt that this is the true interpretation of the passage is removed by Ovid, who (*Ars. Amat.* 1. 219), speaking of this same triumph, says:

“atque aliquis ex illis cum regum nomina quæret,
quæ loca, qui montes, quæve ferantur aquæ;
omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit;
et quæ nescieris, ut bene nota refer.

hic est Euphrates, præcinctus arundine frontem.
cui coma dependet caerulea, Tigris erit.

hos facito Armenios: hæc est Danaïa Persis;
urbs in Achaemeniis vallibus ista fuit,”

where there is the same (logically incorrect) mixture of real and emblematic as in our text. The reader, if he cares to take the trouble, may, however, make the description logically correct by imagining for himself that the nations mentioned had each its emblematic standard, and that each of the emblematic standards mentioned was accompanied by its corresponding nation.

EUPHRATES IBAT IAM MOLLIOR UNDIS.—*I. e.*, IBAT EUPHRATES (IAM MOLLIOR UNDIS), not IAM MOLLIOR IBAT UNDIS EUPHRATES, the meaning being that Euphrates (who has been taught to flow more mildly), went in procession, not that Euphrates went more mildly with his waters, or flowed more mildly.

IBAT.—*Went* (i. e., *was borne*) *in procession*.

EUPHRATES.—Not the river, as a real river, or river of water, but the river-god Euphrates, in personal form. The same observations apply to ARAXES.

END OF BOOK VIII.

AENEIDEA,

BOOK IX.

ALGERIA

1900

AENEIDEA.

IX.

9-24.

SCEPTRA—VOTIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 9).

PETIT **■** *Rom.* (PETIT, the VI modern); *Pal.*, *Med.* **■** Politian;
G. Fabricius; **D. Heins.**; **N. Heins.** (1670); **Brunck**; **Wakef.**;
Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); **Lad.**; **Haupt**; **Ribb.**
PETIT **■** Heyne.
PETIT **■** P. Manut.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 11).*

MANUM COLLECTOS **■** Probus (*Inst. Gram.*).
MANUM ET COLLECTOS **■** "In codd. aliquot antiquis legere est ET COLLECTOS,
 in nonnullis absque ullo copulativo COLLECTOS," Pierius. **■** Mas-
 vicius (Ven. 1736).
MANUM COLLECTOS **■** *Rom.*, *Med.* **■** D. Heins.; **N. Heins.** (1670); **Phil.**;
Pott.; **Heyne**; **Brunck**; **Wakef.**; **Wagn.** (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*
 and *Praest.*); **Ribb.**

*Punctuation not entered into: *vid. infra.*

ETC

MANUS ET COLLECTOS (MANUSOLLECTOS) ■ *Pal.**

MANUM COLLECTOSQUE ■■ Lad.; Haupt.

[punct.]

MANUM COLLECTOS ■ *Rom., Med.* ■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670);
 Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect.*
Virg., ed. 1861); Ribb.

MANUM, COLLECTOS ■■ P. Manut.

MANUS COLLECTOS ■■ Probus (*Inst. Gram.*).

NUNC TEMPUS EQUOS, NUNC POSCERE CURRUS (vs. 12).—Not of the horses and chariots of the entire army, but of Turnus's own horses and chariot. So 12. 82:

"*poscit* [Turnus] *equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementes*;"

12. 324:

"*poscit* [Turnus] *equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus*
emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas."

IN CAELUM PARIBUS SE SUSTULIT ALIS (vs. 14), theme; IN-
 GENTEMQUE FUGA SECUIT SUB NUBIBUS ARCUM, variation. For
 SECUIT SUB NUBIBUS ARCUM, see Rem. on 5. 658.

IN CAELUM SE SUSTULIT (vs. 14), AD SIDERA PALMAS SUS-
 TULIT (vv. 16-17).—These so similar words, used at so short an
 interval from each other to express so dissimilar thoughts, indi-
 cate not sufficiently considered composition.

NUBIBUS ACTAM (vs. 18).—I.e., *driven as it were in a chariot*;
riding on the clouds, as in a chariot. Comp. Hom. *Il.* 5. 837:

η δ' ἐς διφρον ἐβaine παρὰ Διομήδεα διον
 ἐμμεμανία θεαί· μέγα δ' ἐβραχε φηγυγος αἶων
 βριθοσύνη. δεινὴν γὰρ ἀγερ θεον, ἀνδρα τ' ἀριστον,

where the selfsame term is applied to driving in a chariot. The
 expression is repeated, with point and insult, at 10. 38.

* Incorrectly stated by Ribbeck to read MANUSOLLECTOS.

UNDE HAEC TAM CLARA REPENTE TEMPESTAS ? (vv. 19-20). TEMPESTAS, *weather*. As we may equally say, "What makes the weather so bright?" or "What makes the day so bright?" the Romans might use the word *tempestas* in either sense; either in that of *the weather*, or in that of *the day*. The meaning is the same in which way soever we translate the word. Cic. *de Divin.* 1. 25, affords a well-known example of *tempestas* used in the latter sense:

"*tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit.*"

In the same way the Italian *tempo* signifies both *time* and *weather*; and a form of it, *temporale*, signifies *a storm*, or *nimbus*.

MEDIUM VIDEO DISCEDERE CAELUM (vs. 20).—DISCEDERE, *part in sunder in the middle*. Compare Marc. *Evang.* 1. 10: Εἰδε σχιζομενους τους ουρανους.

PALANTESQUE POLO STELLAS (vs. 21).—"Bene PALANTES, quasi in alienum tempus errore venientes. Aut PALANTES, *quae sunt palantes*, epitheton stellarum perpetuum," Servius. "Fulgetra intelligit et volantes scintillas," La Cerda. The second opinion of Servius is the right one. So Lucret. 2. 1030: *palantia sidera passim.*"

MULTA DEOS ORANS (vs. 24), *theme*; ONERAVITQUE AETHERA VOTIS, *variation*.

25-34.

IAMQUE OMNIS CAMPIS EXERCITUS IBAT APERTIS
 DIVES EQUUM DIVES PICTAI VESTIS ET AURI
 MESSAPUS PRIMAS ACIES POSTREMA COERCENT
 TYRRHIDAE IUVENES MEDIO DUX AGMINE TURNUS
 VERTITUR ARMA TENENS ET TOTO VERTICE SUPRA EST
 CEU SEPTEM SURGENS SEDATIS AMNIBUS ALTUS
 PER TACITUM GANGES AUT PINGUI FLUMINE NILUS
 QUUM REFLUIT CAMPIS ET IAM SE CONDIDIT ALVEO
 HIC SUBITAM NIGRO GLÖMERARI PULVERE NUBEM
 PROSPICIUNT TEUCRI AC TENEBRAS INSURGERE CAMPIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 29).

VERTITUR—EST. **III** $\frac{1}{2}$ **III** Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.; Wakef.; Pott.

VERTITUR—EST *OMITTED* **I** Rom., Pal., Med. **III** $\frac{1}{2}$ *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED.* **III** G. Fabric.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck.; Weichert; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

The comparison has been differently misunderstood by different commentators. Servius, approved by Wagner (*Praest.*), understands it to be that of the army first spread wide over the plain, and then formed into a dense column, to the Nile first spread over the land of Egypt, and then returned to its usual channel: "Ut de campis flumina in alveos suos redeunt, sic digesta est in acies militum multitudo, quae fuerat ante diffusa." Servius has been led into this, as I think, manifest error, by the negligence of the author himself, who, meaning to compare the silent, quiet, sedate march of soldiers in a column, across the champaign country, to the silent, quiet, sedate course of a full river between its banks, across a similar champaign country, has been so little circumspect as to use the same identical term—

CAMPIS, to express plainly and directly with respect to the soldiers the champaign across which they are marching, and plainly and directly with respect to the river, not the champaign through which it is flowing, but the champaign which, previously overflowed by it, it has left in order to confine itself to its bed; leaving it to the acuteness of the reader to discover that the river is all the time *flowing through*, or *in the middle of*, a champaign ("campi") which it has *left* (REFLUIT), viz., in order to confine itself between its banks (ET IAM SE CONDIDIT ALVEO), a meaning which Pierius has been so wholly unable to discover, that in order to reconcile the apparent discrepancy of CAMPIS IBAT, said of the army, and CAMPIS REFLUIT said of the river, he gravely assures us the comparison is not of the marching army to the flowing river, but of the marching army to the colossal statue of the Nile: "Profuerit interdum etiam quæ sententiam dilucidiores reddunt interserere, ut hoc loco qui doctissimis etiam ingeniis negotium facessit; quum videantur adversa, atque inter se pugnantia: CAMPIS *refluere*, ET IAM ALVEO SE *condere*. Alludit vero hoc ad visendæ magnitudinis colossus Nili, qui quamvis per arva longè lateque diffundi videretur, bona tamen corporis parte alveo demersus esset," an interpretation which would even lead to the belief that Pierius had understood REFLUIT CAMPIS not of the ebb or return of the river to its bed, but of the overflow.

At 2. 781 (where see Rem.) we have the converse of the comparison in our text, viz., the comparison of a river flowing through a champaign country to a marching army:

"ubi Lydius arva
inter optima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris,"

where, however, the comparison is instituted rather in the form of metaphor than in that of detailed comparison.

DIVES EQUUM, DIVES PICTÆ VESTIS ET AURI.—Compare Prudent. *Cathem.* 3. 51:

"fundit opes ager ingenuas,
dives aristiferæ segetis."

DIVES PICTÆ VESTIS ET AURI exhibits the common hen-

diadys for *dives vestibus pictis auro*, and is exactly equivalent to the "*picturatas auri subtemine vestes*" of 3. 483.

MESSAPUS PRIMAS ACIES, &c., . . . TURNUS (vv. 27, 28).—These two lines, informing us who are the leaders of the army, are thrown in parenthetically in the middle of the account of the army itself, according to our author's usual manner, and exactly as, vs. 752 below, the consequences of the wound are thrown in parenthetically in the middle of the account of the wound itself. Hence an additional argument in favour of the opinion that the line

VERTITUR ARMA TENENS, ET TOTO VERTICE SUPRA EST

is in this place a mere interpolation, inasmuch as this line renders the parentheses too long, fixes the attention too much on Turnus, and detains too long from the comparison instituted between the flowing river and the marching army. Voss, not perceiving the intercalation between the subject of the comparison and the comparison itself, is at pains to explain how Turnus comes to be compared to the Ganges: "Das gleichniss zielt auf die anführer überhaupt, 'qui COERCENT ACIES,' vorzüglich auf Turnus. 'Quia tacito agmine incedebat Turnus, comparationem dat poëta duorum fluminum,' sagt Donatus. Der feldherr rückt in stillem zuge heran, für: *Er und das heer*: versteht jeder," Voss.

COERCENT operates, in the sense, on POSTREMA only, some other verb such as *ducit*, *agit*, being to be supplied to PRIMAS ACIES. POSTREMA (*agmina*) COERCENT, *keep in order, force to march up to time with those before, do not allow to lag behind*. Compare Hor. *Od.* 1. 10: "*Virgaque levem coerces aurea turbam*;" Virg. *Aen.* 4. 406: "*Pars agmina cogunt castigantque moras*." The allusion is to the manual coercion of stragglers and loiterers with the *vitis*.

CEU SEPTEM SURGENS (vs. 30), &c.—The comparison of a marching army to a flowing river is extremely just, inasmuch as there is in both the same onward linear progress of continually successive materials. The same comparison is tacitly made in the single word "*agmen*," 2. 781:

. . . “ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit *agmine* Thybris;”

and a similar one is made in the words *agmine facto*,” l. 86, where see Rem.

SEDATIS AMNIBUS (vs. 30).—So Cic. *de Oratore*: “Alter enim [Herodotus] sine ullis salebris quasi *sedatus amnis* fluit; alter [Thucydides] incitator fertur, et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.”

HIC SUBITAM NIGRO GLOMERARI PULVERE NUBEM PROSPICIUNT TEUCRI (vv. 33-34), theme; AC TENEBRAS INSURGERE CAMPIS, variation.

36-64.

QUIS—FAUCES

QUIS GLOBUS, O CIVES, CALIGINE VOLVITUR ATRA?—GLOBUS, viz., *pulveris*. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 9. 164:

. . . “adverte oculos: ubi plurimus ille
puleis, ubi ille *globus*,”

Claud. *Bell. Get.* 455:

“*puleoris* ambiguam nubem speculamur ab altis
turribus, incerti socios apportet an hostes
ille *globus*,”

Aesch. *Suppl.* 180:

ὅρω κονίιν, ἀναυδὸν ἀγγέλον στρατοῦ.

PRÆCEPERAT OPTIMUS ARMIS (vs. 40).—*Being a most excellent soldier, knowing the art of war well, had ordered.*

SI QUA FORTUNA FUISSET (vs. 41).—Exactly as we say in English: *if anything should happen*. Compare 7. 559: “Si qua super fortuna laborum est,” where see Rem.

CONFERRE MANUM PUDOR IBAQUE MONSTRAT (vs. 44).—

MONSTRAT, exactly our *dictates*. The word occurs in the same sense, 11. 892: "*monstrat amor verus patriæ*."

TURNUS UT ANTEVOLANS TARDUM PRAECESSE RAT AGMEN, VIGINTI LECTIS EQUITUM COMITATUS, ET URBI IMPROVISUS ADEST, MACULIS QUAM THRACIUS ALBIS, &c.,... AIT (vv. 47-52).—"Enimvero iungenda: TURNUS VIGINTI *equitibus* COMITATUS ET IMPROVISUS URBI ADEST," Heyne, Forbiger, Wagner (*Praest.*). To which interpretation Peerlkamp objects the harshness of the construction COMITATUS ET URBI IMPROVISUS ADEST, and proposes to read VIGINTI LECTIS EQUITUM *comitantibus* URBI IMPROVISUS ADEST. The objection is, I think, good; not so the emendation, which, like most emendations, and especially emendations by Peerlkamp, is mere fancy substituted for misunderstood fact. There are, as it seems to me, two ways of disentangling the passage without altering a single letter: one way is to understand TURNUS as left without its corresponding verb, and COMITATUS as the participial nominative, not of ADEST but of PRAECESSE RAT. Thus: TURNUS . . . UT COMITATUS VIGINTI LECTIS EQUITUM, ANTEVOLANS PRAECESSE RAT TARDUM AGMEN, ET ADEST URBI IMPROVISUS; MACULIS . . . RUBRA, a structure which has its parallel 5. 704, where "senior Nautes," and 10. 537, where, "Haemonides," remains without a verb; also vs. 59, below, where the sentence beginning with AC VELUTI PLENO LUPUS is broken off and another begun with ILLE; as well as frequently elsewhere in our author. The other way is, to understand TURNUS to be the nominative to AIT; COMITATUS VIGINTI LECTIS EQUITUM being, as in the just-mentioned method, referred to PRAECESSE RAT, and the two sentences UT ANTEVOLANS . . . ADEST, and MACULIS . . . RUBRA, being regarded as parenthetically interposed between the nominative TURNUS and the verb AIT. Ribbeck refers TURNUS to PRAECESSE RAT, and observes: "UT ANTE VOLANS interpreter *ut qui ante volaret*," an interpretation to which it will be time enough to attend when an example has been produced of such use of the words, *ut ante volans*.

ANTEVOLANS PRAECESSE RAT.—As 7. 166: "*praevectus equo reportat*."

EXPECTANT (vs. 46), IMPROVISUS (vs. 49).—Not contradictory, though apparently so at first sight. The Trojans *expect*; await the arrival of the army, and while they are so *awaiting*, Turnus, with twenty horsemen, comes up *unexpectedly*. Turnus anticipates the time at which the Trojans had expected the army would arrive.

ECQUIS ERIT MECUM, IUVENES, QUI PRIMUS IN HOSTEM? (vs. 51).—Thus punctuated by Heyne—

ECQUIS ERIT MECUM, IUVENES? QUI PRIMUS IN HOSTEM?

—who takes credit to himself for this absurd alteration of the punctuation of the two Heinsii:

ECQUIS ERIT MECUM, O IUVENES QUI PRIMUS IN HOSTEM?

Wagner has seen better, and restored the punctuation of the Heinsii, with the addition of a comma at ERIT, for which unnecessary addition, and worse than unnecessary splitting up of the line into four segments, he too claims and (see Forbiger) has even received credit.

EN, AIT, ET IACULUM ATTORQUENS EMITTIT IN AURAS (vs. 52).—Nich. Heinsius, Heyne, and Wagner (*Praest.*), place a full stop at AIT, and begin a new sentence at ET—very incorrectly, as I think; first because the throwing of the javelin is simultaneous with the exclamation, EN! (EN, AIT, ET IACULUM . . .); and secondly, because if this punctuation be adopted, we have the entire passage—

ET IACULUM ATTORQUENS EMITTIT IN AURAS,

PRINCIPIUM PUGNAE, ET CAMPO SESE ARDUUS INFERT—

consisting of two sentences, each beginning with ET; the first ET connecting the passage to what goes before, and the second connecting its parts one with the other, a specimen of languid slovenly writing unworthy of Virgil. On the contrary, the passage is of the liveliest and most spirited, the act of Turnus being brought by the shorter pause into immediate connexion with his words. Well had it been for Virgil if this were the only great injury done to the text of Daniel Heinsius by Nicholas Heinsius and his two obsequious followers.

ET IACULUM ATTORQUENS EMITTIT IN AURAS PRINCIPIUM
PUGNAE.—Compare Ovid, *Ibis*, 47 :

“ utque petit primo plenum flaventis arenae
nondum calfacti velitis hasta solum ;
sic ego te ferro nondum iaculabor acuto ;
protinus invisum nec petet hasta caput.”

CLAMORE EXCIPIUNT SOCII, FREMITUQUE SEQUUNTUR HORIZONO (vv. 54-55).—Ribbeck has adopted CLAMOREM, erroneously, as I think ; first, because “clamor” had been a rather strange term to apply to the exhortation of Turnus ; secondly, because occupying the first, *i.e.*, the emphatic place, in the line and sentence, it must mean the shout not of Turnus but of Turnus’s whole party responding to his call. Thirdly, because Turnus’s party receiving the words of their leader with a shout and following him FREMITU HORIZONO, affords a better picture than Turnus’s party receiving the shout of their leader and following FREMITU HORIZONO. In other words, the shout is not required for Turnus, but is required for Turnus’s party. And fourthly, because—although *excipere* is used without an instrument in the ablative, in the case of a conversation between two, as vs. 258, “*excipit Ascanius*,” in which case the instrument in the ablative, *his*, is easily supplied from the general sense—*excipere* requires the expression of the instrument in cases in which, as in the present instance, the instrument does not immediately suggest itself to the reader. Compare 5. 575 : “*excipiunt plausu pavidos* ;” 8. 124, “*exceptitque manu* ;” 10. 867. “*exceptus tergo* ;” *Ecl.* 3. 17, “*excipere insidiis*.”

NON AEQUO DARE SE CAMPO (vs. 56).—AEQUO CAMPO, not *the level plain*, but *the plain where the fighting would be on level terms* ; where one side would have no advantage over the other, and martial prowess alone would decide the battle. Compare Liv. 10. 45 : “*neque obsidio, neque bellum ex aequo erat : non enim muris magis se Samnites, quam armis ac viris moenia, tutabantur*.”

NON OBVIA FERRE ARMA VIROS ; SED CASTRA FOVERE (vv. 56-57).—Substantially two variations of the theme, NON AEQUO DARE SE CAMPO.

HUC TURBIDUS ATQUE HUC LUSTRAT EQUO MUROS (vv. 57-58), theme; ADITUMQUE PER AVIA QUÆRIT, variation.

SAEVIT IN ABSENTES (vs. 63).—Silius's parallel (4. 337) is the best commentary: "ut praesentia mandens corpora."

SICCAE SANGUINE FAUCES (vs. 64) differs from "siccum sanguine guttur," 8. 261, only in so much as fauces is the swallow or back part of the mouth and commencement of the oesophagus, guttur the oesophagus itself. For the meaning of the expression SICCAE SANGUINE, see Rem. on "siccum sanguine guttur," 8. 261. The whole sentence COLLECTA FATIGAT EDENDI EX LONGO RABIES, ET SICCAE SANGUINE FAUCES is a mere amplification of the thought, *furnished, and thirsting for blood*. Compare Richardson, *Fuuna Boreali-Americana*, p. 35 (of the polar bear): "The old one being killed, the hole is broken open, and the young cubs may be taken out by the hand, as, *having tasted no blood, and never having been at liberty, they are then very harmless and quiet*."

66-68.

IGNESCUNT IRAE DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET

QUA TENTET RATIONE ADITUS ET QUAE VIA CLAUSOS

EXCUTIAT TRUCROS VALLO ATQUE EFFUNDAT IN AEQUOR

VAR. LECT. (vs. 66).

DURIS ■ *Vat. Rom. Med.*; "In antiquis omnibus codd. quotquot inspexi, absque particula ET notatum animadverti DURIS," Pierius. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck.; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

DURUS ■ *Pal.* ■■■ *Lad.*; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 67).

QUA VIA ■ *Vat., Med.* ■■ †§. ■■■ *Serv.*; Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); G. Fabric. (QUA, VIA); Burm.

QUAE VIA **II** *Rom.*, *Pal.* (QVAEVIA, with the E crossed out); "In Romano cod. et plerisque aliis legere est QUAE VIA," Pierius. **III** Donatus; "Legitur, tamen ET QUAE VIA," Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; Catroëus; Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.; Haupt.

QUA VI **III** Ribb.

QUA VICE **III** Withoff (*Kritische Anmerk.*, fasc. 4, p. 31.)

VAR. LECT. (vs. 68).

AEQUUM **II** *Rom.*,* *Vat.* (AEQUM†), *Med.* (AEQUU-). **III** Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt (AECUM).

M

AEQUOR **II** *Pal.* (AEQUOR), with the R crossed out. **III** ‡; **III** Serv.; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Ribb.

DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET.—"DOLET quod non videt QUA RATIONE TENTET aditum, v. 2. 4," Wagner (1861), connecting DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET with QUA TENTET RATIONE in the same way as "renovare dolorem" is vulgarly connected with "Troianas ut opes." I think, on the contrary, that neither here is DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET to be connected with QUA TENTET RATIONE, nor 2. 3, "renovare dolorem" with "Troianas ut opes," and that Peerlkamp is no less right in placing a period at ARDET than Häckermann in placing a period at "dolorem." DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET thus becomes the variation of IGNESCUNT IRAE, and

QUA TENTET RATIONE ADITUS, ET QUA VIA CLAUSOS
EXCUTIAT TEUCROS VALLO, ATQUE EFFUNDAT IN AEQUUM

is a new and independent passage, corresponding exactly to the new and independent passage, vs. 399:

"quid facias? qua vi iuvenem, quibus audeat armis
eripere?"

* Bottari gives AEQUU as the reading of *Rom.*—K. O. H.

† Over the last letter of AEQUUM in the *Vat.* are some marks not noticed by Ribbeck, but quoted by Bottari as OR, and which probably are OR, superscribed either by the original or a later hand.

‡ 792. 9 has AEQUUM altered into AEQUOR, and on margin: "EFFUDAT IN AEQUUM, in planum, in campum."

[*Aliter*.]—Ribbeck, following Peerlkamp, regards vv. 67, 68, as constituting two questions separate from, and independent of, the preceding context, and compares the two questions, vs. 399 :

“quid faciat? qua vi iuvenem quibus audeat armis
eripere?”

—a false parallel, there being in the latter case two questions, viz., “quid faciat?” one, and “qua vi iuvenem quibus audeat armis eripere,” another; while in the former case there is no question at all; for by what possibility are two clauses coupled together by the conjunction *et*; two questions, or similar to two clauses, not coupled together? On the contrary, the two clauses of our text are as plainly shown by the copulative to constitute together an apodosis depending upon a previous protasis, as the two clauses, vs. 399, are plainly shown by their want of connecting particle to be two substantive interrogations. I agree, therefore, with Wagner (1861) and preceding editors in understanding our text to depend on *DURIS DOLOR OSSIBUS ARDET* in the same way as, 2. 4, “ut eruerint Danai” depends on “renovare dolorem.”

QUAE VIA (vs. 67).—I. e., *quae ratio*, *τις μεθοδος*, exactly as 10. 879: “Haec *via* sola fuit, qua perdere posses,” sufficient proof in itself that if the expression of our text is faulty, the fault lies at Virgil’s own door, not at that of his scribes, and that consequently Ribbeck’s purely conjectural emendation “qua vi” is inadmissible. But the expression is not faulty, is, on the contrary, according to the very best Greek model, as Aesch. *Agam.* 126 :

χρονῶ μὲν ἀγρεύει Πριάμου πόλιν ἀδὲ κελευθεός,

where there is not only the precisely same figure, but the precisely same application of the figure (viz., to the taking of a city), as in our text. The figure is of the commonest both in ancient and modern languages, and even with Virgil himself elsewhere. Compare Eurip. *Med.* 377 (Medea speaking) :

πολλὰς δ’ ἐχούσα θανάσιμους αὐταὶ οδοὺς,
οὐκ οἷδ’ οποιᾶ πρῶτον εὔχειρ᾽ ἐφίλει.

Id. *ib.*, 762 (Medea triumphant):

ω Ζευ,, Δίκη τε Ζηρος, Ηλιου τε φως,
 νυν καλλινηκοι των εμων εχθρων, φιλαι,
 γεννησομεσθα, κεις οδον βεβηκαμεν.

Id. *Elect.* 604:

ποιαν οδον τραπωμεθ' εις εχθρους εμους.

Liv. 25. 11: "Neque arsis tam munitae expugnandae *viam* cernere, neque in obsidione quicquam habere spei, donec mari potiantur hostes," an example only of the more force because followed at the interval of a few lines by *via* in its primary sense: "Urbem incompressam habetis, planae et satis latae *viae* patent in omnes partes. Ovid, *Ars. Amat.* 2. 331:

"omnibus his inerunt gratae vestigia curae;
 in thalamos multis haec *via* fecit iter."

Paulin. *Epist.* 42:

"qua miseri fugiant pelagus infestum *via*?
 merguntur in navi sua."

Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 9. 53:

. . . "et che la *via*
 di lui salvare, è sol la morte mia."

Ibid. 10. 110:

"di quà de là Ruggier percote assai,
 ma di ferirlo *via* non treva mai."

Milton, *Par. Lost*, 2. 40:

. . . "and by what best way,
 whether of open war or covert guile,
 we now debate."

Virg. *Georg.* 3. 482: "nec *via* mortis erat simplex." *Aen.* 10. 113: "Fata *viam* invenient." *Ibid.* 12. 913:

"sic Turno, quacunque *viam* virtute petivit,
 successum dea dira negat,"

in which last instance we have (no small confirmation of the reading *VIA*, as opposed to Ribbeck's purely conjectural "*vi*")

this same Turnus again seeking a "via," a way, in the sense of a *ratio*, method, manner, or means.

I had written so far before I perceived that I had used to explain VIA the very word with which Virgil himself had presented me in this very verse, where QUA RATIONE and QUAE VIA are according to our author's usual habit, varieties of expression for one and the same thought, exactly as at vs. 399 "quibus armis" is nothing more than a varied expression of the thought just expressed in "qua vi." A similar determination of this precise sense of the in itself vague and general term via is sometimes very properly secured in prose by the actual subjunction of the explanatory *sententia* or *ratio*, as Ammian. 29. 5: "Per multas prudentesque *sententiarum vias* eundem sibi prodi posse sperabat;" and this is precisely what Virgil, of course in his own peculiar manner, and, as it happens, unobserved by Ribbeck, has been anxious to effect on the present occasion.

EFFUNDAT IN ÆQUUM.—The gist of the thought being, not to get the Trojans out into the *wide plain* (ÆQUOR), but to get them out to the level ground (ÆQUUM), i. e. *down* from, and *out* of, the protection of their walls, it is better to follow the overwhelming authority of the MSS. and read ÆQUUM. Compare Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 7. 28: "Hostes re nova perterriti, muro turribusque deiecti in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt; hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam contra veniretur, acie instructa, depugnarent. Ubi neminem *in æquum locum* sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti," etc.; Id. *Bell. Civ.* 1: "Postero die omnibus copiis, triplici instructa acie, ad Ilerdam proficiscitur, et sub castris Afranii constitit, et ibi paullisper sub armis moratus, facit *æque loco* pugnandi potestatem. Potestate facta, Afranius copias educit, et in medio colle sub castris constitit;" and, precisely parallel, Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 835:

"Coelius ex alto qua mons descendit in æquum,"

where "alto" corresponds to the VALLO of our text, "descendit" to the EXCUTIAT, and "in æquum" is identical both in itself and in its position in the verse.

[*Aliter*, afterwards rejected].—By all means AEQUOR, and not AEQUUM: first, as the usual Virgilian word; secondly, as the least far-sought and artificial expression; thirdly, as conveying the notion of space, and therefore agreeing better than AEQUUM with “effundere;” fourthly, on account of Orosius’s I may almost say citation of the words, 5. 16: “Si quo pacto eos excuterent vallo, atque in aequor effunderent;” and fifthly, because AEQUOR is the only reading known to Servius (ed. Lion).

VALLO.—Not to be taken literally, as meaning *palisade*, but in the general sense of *enclosure*, Nova Troja not being surrounded by an ordinary *callum*, or enclosure consisting of palisade, *agger*, and *fossae*, but by real walls (see 7. 157-9; also 9. 65). Compare Stat. *Theb.* 12. 9:

“vix primo proferre gradum, et munimina *valli*
solvere, vix totas reserare audacia portas”

(where “*vallum*” is the *wall* or *fortifications of the city of Thebes*); *ibid.* 12. 181:

“quo Rhodopae non ulla nurus, nec alumna nivosi
Phasidis, innuptis *vallata* cohortibus iret”

(where “*vallata*” corresponds to Virgil’s “*septa*,” 1. 506, and means no more than *surrounded and protected*. Anglioe, *fenced*); *ibid.* 7. 448:

“in *vallum* elatae rupes, devertexque fossae
aequa, et fortuito ductae quater aggere pinnae;”

ibid. 10. 519:

“solvitur interea *vallum*, primaeque recusant
stare morae”

(where “*vallum*” is again the *wall of Thebes*).

71-79.

SOCIOSQUE INCENDIA POSCIT OVANTIS
 ATQUE MANUM PINU FLAGRANTI FERVIDUS IMPLET
 TUM VERO INCUMBUNT URGUET PRAESENTIA TURNI
 ATQUE OMNIS FACIBUS PUBES ACCINGITUR ATRIS
 DIRIPUERE FOCOS PICEUM FERT FUMIDA LUMEN
 TAEDA ET CONMIXTAM VOLCANUS AD ASTRA FAVILLAM
 QUIS DEUS O MUSAE TAM SAEVA INCENDIA TEUCRIS
 AVERTIT TANTOS RATIBUS QUIS DEPULIT IGNES
 DICITE PRISCA FIDES FACTO SED FAMA PERENNIS

SOCIOSQUE . . . IMPLET.—Compare 7. 340 (where see Rem.):

“arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus,”

where the IMPLET MANUM of our text is represented by “rapiat.”

MANUM PINU FLAGRANTI IMPLET.—Compare Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 372 (of the Centaurs):

“ταυκαίσιιν οθεν χερας
 πληρουντες, χθονα θεσσαλων
 ιππειαις εδαμαζον.

ACCINGITUR (vs. 74).—See Rem. on “accincta,” 6. 570.

DIRIPUERE FOCOS (vs. 75).—See Rem. on “rapiunt focia penetralibus ignem,” 5. 660.

PICEUM (vs. 75).—Piceum flumen, piceus turbo, and picea caligo, are easily intelligible expressions, meaning, respectively, *river*, *whirlwind*, and *darkness*, *thick and black like pitch*; but what is “pitchy light”? hardly *thick and black like pitch*, unless we suppose Virgil to have written nonsense. It must therefore be either equivalent to our *dingy*, *dusky*, *dark*—in which sense, bad as the catachresis is, it is understood by Servius (“sordidior enim in taedia et ignis et fumes est”), or it must mean *pinny light*, such light as pinewood and torches made of it produce. I am well disposed to agree with Servius,

inasmuch as, firstly, the hyperbolical term is more consonant to Virgil's use and the use of poets than the literal; and, secondly, *PICRUM LUMEN* in the sense of *dark, dusky, or dingy light* (sciz. from being mixed with smoke), has its parallels in "*atrum lumen*," 7. 456 (also the light of *taedae*), and "*atri ignes*," 8. 198, and frequently elsewhere. Milton, indeed, has been admired for his flames, which not only did not emit light, but actually emitted darkness, *Par. Lost*, 1. 61 :

" a dungeon horrible, on all sides round,
as one great furnace, flamed, yet from those flames
no light, but rather darkness visible,
served only to discover sights of woe ; "

but these dark flames, or flaming darkness, it must be recollected was in a place where all sorts of impossibilities are not only allowable, but canonical.

QUIS DEUS, O MUSAE, TAM SÆVA INCENDIA TEUCRIS AVERTIT (vs. 77), theme; TANTOS RATIBUS QUIS DEPULIT IGNES, variation.

QUIS DEUS . . . TAM SÆVA INCENDIA TEUCRIS AVERTIT ? TANTOS RATIBUS QUIS DEPULIT IGNES ? DICITE. PRISCA, &c.—This punctuation (followed by La Cerda, D. Heins., Heyne, Brunck, Wakef., Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861), Ladewig, and Ribbeck) is false. I don't mean false according to common use, or the practice of grammarians, but false according to the philosophy of grammar. There is no question asked, and there should be no sign of interrogation—no sign that a question is asked. Virgil does not say, *what god did it ? tell me I pray you*, but he says, *tell me what god did it*. It is a prayer, a request to tell, not a question. But it will be said quis is an interrogative pronoun, always asks a question, and should therefore always have the interrogative sign after it. According to practice, yes; but philosophically, no. Quis is only always interrogative because grammarians have always so counted it, taking no notice at all of its very frequent use in a sense not at all interrogative. In the English sentence, *tell me what the reason is*, nobody makes the mistake, nobody ever dreams that these words are interrogative, no editor, no printer ever marks

them with the interrogative sign. The *what* of this sentence is set down by grammarians, neither as interrogative nor as relative, but as compound relative, as containing in itself both relative and antecedent, i.e. as equivalent to *that which*. It is the same whether the verb comes, as in the instance adduced, after both words *what* and *reason*, or whether it is placed between the two—*tell me what the reason is* and *tell me what is the reason* being identical in grammar as in sense. And precisely so the Latin *quis*, *quæ*, *quod*, or *quid*, as used in our text, is neither interrogative nor relative, but is compound relative, and the structure of our text is not *QUIS DEUS AVERTIT? QUISE DEPULIT? DICITE (id mihi)*, but *DICITE deum qui AVERTIT, qui DEPULIT*. This will appear still more plainly on leaving out the *DEUS*. *DICITE QUISE AVERTIT*, i.e. *tell me the person who averted*. *QUISE* in the Latin sentence, and *who* in its English translation, is as plainly compound relative as *what* is in the English sentence *tell me what averted*; yet *what* is acknowledged to be compound relative, and *quis* and *who* are set down as interrogative, and marked with the interrogative sign, and there is with grammarians absolutely no such thing as compound relative *quis* or compound relative *who*.

Let us now contrast the two forms together, the interrogative and the precatative—first, the interrogative, *what god averted? Tell me*; secondly, the precatory, *what god averted tell me*, i.e. *tell me what god averted*. This is the form used in our text and in the exactly corresponding, 7, 195:

“*dicite Dardanidae (neque enim nescimus et urbem
et genus, auditique advertitis aequore eursum),
quid petitis, quas causas rates aut cuius egentis
littus ad Ausonium per tot vada caerulea venit,*”

to which passage, no less than to our text, the grammarians have, as I think, very incorrectly attached the interrogative signs. I say *very* incorrectly, on account of the great difference between asking plumply and directly for information by means of an interrogative, and begging and praying for information. To a person of very superior rank, even amongst ourselves, still more to a being of superior nature, it is the height of rude-

ness to put a question; the prayer for information is permitted to be addressed even to the Deity. Questions are rude at all times, and under all circumstances, and nothing can disfigure a written or printed address more than the frequent recurrence of these crooked little marks of impertinence. It is as if the editor or printer were doing all in his power to represent in type the rude impertinent inquisitiveness of the speaker's manner. It is still worse, and altogether intolerable, to have rudeness and impertinence forced on the speaker, attributed to him when he means only politeness; to make him interrogate when he only entreats. How often, when I see a great number of these notes of inquiry in a printed book, no matter in what language, am I reminded of my foot journeys in the country parts of Germany, where every third or fourth person I met stopped me to ask where I was coming from, whither I was going, where I was born, what trade I followed, and when I would be coming back!

PRISCA FIDES FACTO, SED FAMA PERENNIS.—“Factum hoc, licet prisicum sit,” i.e. antiquum, ‘tamen fama eius non est oblitterata temporum vetustate.’ Alii sic intelligunt, ‘fabulosum est quidem, sed FIDES eius rei penes prisicos est,’” Servius. “Non capiunt Servius et alii. . . . Rem narrat traditam ab antiquis hominibus; sed constante fama ad seriores aetates propagatam,” Heyne, Wagn. (*Praest.*). Servius’s *aliter* comes nearest to the true meaning, which is: *Belief in the thing is oldfashioned, but the fame of the thing is everlasting*; in other words, the story has come down to us, but is no longer believed. PRISCA is opposed to PERENNIS, and FIDES to FAMA, an opposition pointed out not merely by SED, but by the respective positions of the opposed words, especially of PRISCA, first word, and PERENNIS, last word, of the sentence. “Prisicus” is, I think, here, as very often elsewhere, not merely *ancient* (“antiquum,” Servius, Donatus, Heyne, Wagner), but *oldfashioned, obsolete*. Vell. 2. 89: “*Prisca illa et antiqua reipublicae forma revocata*,” where “antiquus” and “prisicus” being used together, there can be no doubt that the meaning of “prisicus” is not “antiquus,” but *oldfashioned, out of date, obsolete*. The

meaning of "priscus" must for a similar reason be the same in Ovid's "priscæ vetustas," *ex Ponto*, 3. 1. 115, and in numerous other passages which it would be only tedious to quote. As the passage is understood in Servius's first exposition of it, the opposition between the clauses does not sufficiently answer to the opposition indicated by the contrasted terms PRISCA and PERENNIS, and expressed by the word SED, and in Heyne's and Wagner's exposition there is no opposition between the clauses at all; on the contrary, the second clause confirms the first.

85-105.

PINEA—RIPAS

V.A.R. LECT. (vs. 89).

ANGIT **III** D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

URGUT OR URGET **III** P. Manut.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Voss ("ANGIT scheint die Erklärung von ANXIUS URGUT zu seyn").

Ribbeck expunges vs. 85 as an *aliter* of vv. 86 and 87. Heyne marks with asterisk vv. 86 and 87 as a gloss crept in from the margin, or thinks they should at least be enclosed between brackets, as being the poet's own interpretation of vs. 85. Wagner (*Praest.*), on the contrary, retains the whole three lines, explaining PINEA SILVA and LUCUS in the same manner as he explained "nigra nemus abiete" and "lucus," 8. 597, viz. as a wood surrounding a wood, one wood outside another. I, of course, explain the difficulty here as I explained that at 8. 597, viz. by the application of the principle of theme and variation.

PINEA SILVA [*fuit*] MIHI MULTOS DILECTA PER ANNOS

is the theme, of which

LUCUS IN ANCE FUIT SUMMA QUO SACRA PEREBANT,
NIGRANTI PICEA TRAHIBUSQUE OBSCURUS ACERNIS

is the variation.

TORQUET QUI SIDERA MUNDI (vs. 93).—"Assuta putat vir doctus ap. Burm., cui adstipulatur Heynius. Et mihi haec omni vi et gratia carere videntur. Wagnerus autem: 'apte adiecta ad augendam, cuius plenus est totus hic locus, dignitatem et gravitatem.' Tam diversa sunt hominum de pulchro iudicia!" Peerlkamp. I agree with Wagner both against Peerlkamp and Heyne, and the "vir doctus ap. Burm." These words correspond exactly to DOMITO TE POSCIT OLYMPO, vs. 84, and the two lines

FILIUS HUIC CONTRA TORQUET QUI SIDERA MUNDI

and

QUOD TUA CARA PARENS DOMITO TE POSCIT

are pendants. Nor is Peerlkamp's alleged ground of objection to the words, viz. that it is Atlas, not Jupiter, TORQUET QUI SIDERA MUNDI, entitled to very serious consideration; for, first, it is always on his *shoulder* that Atlas spins the heavens (comp. 4. 481, and 6. 797: "Atlas axem humero torquet"); and secondly, we have the function ascribed to Jupiter in our text ascribed to him elsewhere, viz. 4. 268:

"ipse deum . . .
regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet,"

where we have even the very "qui" of our text. Besides which, it must be remembered that Jupiter *torquet* other things as well as the stars, *ex. gr.* 4. 208, thunderbolts; 9. 671, a deluge of rain; and 4. 220, his very eyes.

QUO FATA VOCAS? (vs. 94).—"Invertis, mutas," Heyne, Forbiger. No, no; the meaning is literal and simple: *whither are you calling the Fates?* i.e. *what are you calling the Fates to do?* exactly as Ovid, *Met.* 7. 605: "ultroque vocant venientia fata," where that "vocant" simply means *call to you, call to come to you*, is shown by "venientia."

QUID PETIS ISTIS? (vs. 94).—"Id est, *pro istis*;" and again, "ISTIS: utrum precibus an navibus?" Servius. The latter interpretation has been adopted by Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger, while Peerlkamp alone, and very doubtful too ("Fortasse et cogitari potest, ISTIS *precibus*"), adopts the former. I have no doubt at all that Servius's first interpretation is the only

right one. For first, it is more respectful in Jupiter to say to his mother, "Do you know what a great thing you are asking me with this prayer to do?" than to say to her curtly, "what do you want me to do for those ships, or those things?" and secondly, we have "precibus" joined with "petere" by Cicero, *pro Sulla*, 19: "Per litteras precibus a Sulla petit."

QUID.—Not merely *what do you ask?* but, as shown by the immediately subsequent MORTALINE . . . POTESTAS, *what great thing is this you ask?* as if he had said, *you do not consider what a great thing you ask.*

IMMORTALE CARINAE FAS HABEANT? (vv. 95-96).—FAS, *privilege*, in the sense in which that word is used in the expressions *privilege of parliament*, *privilege of clergy*. FAS IMMORTALE, therefore, *privilege of immortality*, *privilege of deity*. See Remm. on 1. 81; 2. 779; and 6. 438.

UBI DEFUNCTAE FINEM PORTUSQUE TENEBUNT AUSONIOS (vv. 98-99), theme; QUAE CUNQUE EVASERIT UNDIS DARDANIUMQUE DUCEM LAURENTIA VEXERIT ARVA, variation, the theme consisting of sub-theme DEFUNCTAE, and sub-variation FINEM PORTUSQUE TENEBUNT; and the variation consisting of sub-theme QUAE CUNQUE EVASERIT UNDIS, and sub-variation DARDANIUMQUE DUCEM LAURENTIA VEXERIT ARVA. Such is substantially the structure of the passage, the variation being, however, a little freer than ordinary, and the sub-theme expressing in one single word (DEFUNCTAE) the thought expanded in the sub-variation into four.

DARDANIUMQUE DUCEM.—On these words Peerlkamp remarks: "Erat tamen modo *una navis* quae Aenean vehebat"—another example of the vicious method of understanding our author literally; of taking him too much at his word. Peerlkamp forsooth would not have said: "I went by the train from Utrecht to Rotterdam," but "I went by one of the carriages of the train."

MORTEM ERIPIAM FORMAM (vs. 101), theme; MAGNIQUE IUBEBO AEQUORIS ESSE DEAS, variation.

STYGII PER FLUMINA FRATRIS (vs. 104), theme; PER FICIS TORRENTES ATRAQUE VORAGINE RIPAS, variation.

104-108.

IDQUE RATUM STYGII PER FLUMINA FRATRIS
 PER PICE TORRENTES ATRAQUE VORAGINE RIPAS
 ADNUIT ET TOTUM NUTU TREMEFECIT OLYMPUM
 ERGO ADERAT PROMISSA DIES ET TEMPORA PARCAE
 DEBITA CONPLERANT

TORRENTES.—“Ardentes,” Servius. “Flumina *torrentia* sunt ferventia, rapida. Iam autem amnes in inferis etiam flagrantibus ignibus sunt, possunt igitur TORRENTES quoque h. l. sic accipi; multo magis propterea quia alibi fluvii hi stagnare dicuntur,” Heyne. Of which gloss of Heyne’s Forbiger observes: “Hanc alteram explicationem unice veram esse docet adiectum PICE. Recte enim Ruhnck. : *Ripae fervent* PICE, &c., poeticè pro: *amnis s. aqua Stygia fervet*, i.e. *Styx*, quae quum palus 6. 369 vocatur (coll. ibi v. 134, 416) de rapiditate cogitari h. l. non potest.” “*Ripae fluminis rapidi et PICE aestuantes*,” Wagn. (*Praest.*), and so Voss:

“beim schwarzwogigen schlunde von pech aussiedender ufer,”

and Walker ad Liv. 44, 38. I think, on the contrary, that TORRENTES is here [as so often elsewhere in Virgil, *ex. gr.* 10. 603:

... “*torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
 more furens*,”

with which compare Q. Curt. 9. 2: “Quippe angustis ripis eoerecta [flumina], et in angustiore ALVEUM elisa, *torrentes* aquas invehunt] *torrent*, i.e. *flowing in the manner of a torrent*; first, because Phlegethon is the only river of Hades which is ever described elsewhere as hot or burning; and it is plain, both from the epithet STYGII in the preceding line, and from the river being adjured by Jupiter, who never adjures other river than Styx, that not Phlegethon, but Styx, is the river spoken of; and secondly, because if TORRENTES be *hot, burning, or boiling*

("aestuantēs"), then PICE must be the thing with which the banks are hot—the thing which makes the banks hot, burning, or boiling; but who ever heard, or imagined, the Styx to be a river of melted scalding pitch, or (PICE being understood figuratively, and not literally) who ever heard, or dreamt, of Styx being a river of thick, black, boiling water; who ever heard, or imagined, I say, that Charon and all the ghosts ferried such a river, whether of black boiling pitch or black boiling water? No, no! Styx was a river neither of molten pitch, nor of boiling water; but it was a river of ordinary water, like any other river, only made *black and thick, like pitch, by its black mud*, the black mud of its banks and bottom, which the water raised up and carried with it. Compare 6. 296:

"turbidus hic coeno vastaque voragine gurgēs
aestuat, atque omnem Coeyto eructat arenam"

(where the same river, under the name of Acheron, is described in almost identical terms, the "vasta voragine" of the one description being the ATRA VORAGINE of the other, and the "turbidus coeno gurgēs" of the one being the PICE TORRENTES RIPAS of the other); and Sil. 13. 568:

"at magnis semper divis regique deorum
iurari dignata palus, picis horrida rivos,
fumiferum volvit Styx inter sulfura limum."

TORRENTES.—*Torrent, running furiously*, as Stat. *Silo.* 1. 2. 97: "Torrentes sanguine campos;" Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 348 (of the rejoicing in Hades at the marriage of Proserpine):

"tunc et pestiferi pacatum flumen Avernī
innocuae transistis aves, flatumque repressit
Amsanctus: fixo tacuit *torrentis* vorago."

To the objection, that the term TORRENTES, in the sense of *running* or *rolling*, could not with propriety be ascribed to a river which is elsewhere so often described as slow, I reply that Styx is called the Stygian torrent by Ovid, *Met.* 3. 290:

... "Stygii quoque conscia sunt
numina *torrentis*;"

where there can be no question concerning the meaning of the word.

PICE.—Not literally *with pitch*, but *with water as thick and black as pitch*, just as 3. 517:

“armatumque aure circumspicit Oriona”

[not *armed with gold*, but *with arms of the colour of gold, as bright as gold*], and 9. 812:

. . . “tum toto corpore sudor
liquitur et piceum—nec respirare potestas—
flumen agit,”

where few will suppose that an actual river of pitch is meant. We have a similarly metaphorical use of the word *pitch* in English, as Shakesp. *Tempest*, 1. 2:

“the sky, it seems, would pour down stinking *pitch*,”

and still more boldly and metaphorically, *Othello*, 2, 3:

“so will I turn her virtue into *pitch*,”

with which compare *Much Ado about Nothing*, 4. 1:

. . . “Oh! she is fallen
into a pit of *ink*, that the wide sea
hath drops too few to wash her clean again.”

Students of Virgil and other great poets, especially if they take commentators to help them in their studies, should never forget the story of the three black crows. With that story fresh in their recollection, they will seldom be at a loss for a key to open any poetical lock of blackness, darkness, brightness, whiteness, blueness, redness, greenness, swiftness, slowness, sweetness, sourness, hardness, softness, hotness, coldness, highness, lowness, bigness, littleness, and the like.

VORAGINE.—*Swallow-abyss*, *barathrum*; Gr. χαράδρα, Ital. *Borro* and *borrone* (dial. *botro* and *botrone*), Germ. *schlund*.

PICE TORRENTES ATRAQUE VORAGINE.—*Running with pitch and a dark abyss*, i. e. *a dark abyss of pitchy water*. Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 1. 22: “Quos Styx liventibus ambit interfusa vadis.” The ancients loved to represent not only the Styx itself, but everything related to the Styx—its sands, mud, fishes, and reptiles—as black, and even dressed personified Styx in a black robe. See Romani e Peracchi, in voce *Stige*: “Lo

Stige era rappresentato anche sotto la figura di una donna vestita di nero . . . Secondo Platone, le onde dello Stige erano azzurriccie. I pesci vi erano tanto piccoli e scarnati che a mala pena si poteano scorgere. Eran essi *neri* come tutti gli orrendi rettili che su quelle sponde soggiornavano." Juv. 2. 150 :

"et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite *nigras*."

RIPAS.—"RIPAS pro ipso amni," Heyne. No; but literally *banks*. PICE TORRENTES RIPAS, *banks flowing with a pitchy torrent*, exactly as Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 97: "torrentes sanguine campos," *fields flowing with blood, with torrents of blood*.

On vs. 106 Peerlkamp observes: "Iurat et ANNUIT, ET NUTU TOTUM TREMEFCIT OLYMPUM. Fluctus in simpule!" No doubt; and the observation is applicable to more cases than this.

ERGO ADERAT PROMISSA DIES, ET TEMPORA PARCAE DEBITA COMPLERANT. In the less ornamented phraseology of Ovid (*Fasti*, 3. 365), *tempus aderat promissi muneris*.

TEMPORA PARCAE DEBITA COMPLERANT.—"Quod naues in nymphas mutarentur, erat singulare aliquod Iovis beneficium, non fato destinata res . . . Nihil erat quod Parcae hic agerent," Peerlkamp. This is not a too literal translation, but a gross misconception. The Parcae are not described as having anything to do with the "Iovis beneficium," except that of bringing about the time when the "beneficium" was to take place; of spinning up to the time, or date, as we would say. TEMPORA PARCAE DEBITA COMPLERANT is neither more nor less than an ornamental repetition of ADERAT PROMISSA DIES; or, to use the illustration I have so often found useful before, the variation of that theme. Time being merely the succession of events, the Parcae, who spin the events, are correctly represented as bringing round a precise period of time.

110-153.

NOVA—PALAM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 121).

QUOT—PROBAE, *PLACED AFTER THE VERSE* REDDUNT SE, &c.

¶. ¶¶ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.

QUOT—PROBAE, *PLACED BEFORE* REDDUNT SE, &c. ¶¶ D. Heins.; Phil. Wakef.; Pott.

QUOT—PROBAE, *OMITTED* ¶ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.*: "Versus hic non habetur prorsus in Romano cod. neque in Mediceo, neque in plerisque antiquis, nisi subditivus," Pierius. ¶¶ *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED.* ¶¶ G. Fabric.; N. Heins. (1670); Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Weichert (p. 60, but see his contrary opinion, p. 66); Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 141).

MODO NON ¶ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ¶¶ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Thiel; Gosrau; Wagn.; Conington; Madvig (*Adv. Crit. Lat.* 6. 2); Forb.

MODO NUNC ¶¶ Markland; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

MODO NEC ¶ "In codd. aliquot antiquissimis MODO NEC GENUS OMNIA," Pierius.

NON MODO ¶ *Rom.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 153) [*punct.*].

LUCE PALAM ¶ *Vat.* (Bottari). ¶¶ Probus, *de ultim. syllab.*, Keil, vol. 4, p. 255, "Palam constat duabus brevibus, ut 'luce palam';" Serv., cod. Dresd. ("LUCE PALAM, propter tenebras et furta inertia." To which, however, Lion, in his edition, adds the *aliter*: "vel LUCE, quod Ilium nocte captum est; PALAM, quia insidiis"); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Ribb.

LUCE, PALAM ¶¶ Serv. (according to the *aliter* preserved by Lion in his edition: see above); Burm.; Heyne; Brunck.; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Lad.

NOVA LUX OCULIS EFFULSIT (vs. 110).—"NOVA LUX; *repentina*," Servius, Forbiger. No, certainly not; but *new to the Trojans and Rutulians, such as they had never seen before, i. e. heavenly light, the light which the gods enjoy in heaven*. Compare Senec. *Cons. ad Marciam*. 25: "Parens tuus, Marcia, illic nepotem suum, quanquam illic [in caelo] omnibus omne cognatum est, applicat sibi, *nova luce gaudentem*, et vicinorum siderum meatus docet; Id. *Epist.* 71: "Aut in meliorem emittitur vitam, *lucidius tranquilliusque inter divina mansurus*."

NOVA LUX OCULIS EFFULSIT . . . TUM VOX HORRENDA PER AURAS EXCIDIT.—Compare *Actt. Apostl.* 9. 3: Εξαίφνης περιστράψεν αὐτὸν φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἤκουσε φωνὴν λεγούσαν αὐτῷ. See Rem. on vs. 731.

INGENS VISUS AB AURORA CAELUM TRANSCURRERE NIMBUS IDAEIQUE CHORI (vv. 110-112).—"NIMBUS Virgilianus non pluviam, sed chorus Idaeos et Matrem attulisse videtur," Peerlkamp. Certainly. The CHORI IDAEI and the "Berecynthia Mater," no less than the "Vulcanian arms" 8. 528, and Iris, 9. 18, require a vehicle—cannot travel through the air without some support. The mere air is too thin for them. See Rem. on 8. 524.

NE TREPIDATE MEAS, THUCRI, DEFENDERE NAVES (vs. 114), theme; NEVE ARMATE MANUS, variation.

GENETRIX IUBET (vs. 117).—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 15. 583 (the Haruspex to Cipus):

"tu modo rumpe moram; portasque intrare patentes
appropera; sic fata iubent. Namque urbe receptus
rex eris."

ET SUA QUAEQUE CONTINUO PUPPES ABRUMPUNT VINCULA RIPIS, DELPHINUMQUE MODO DEMERSIS AEQUORA ROSTRIS IMA PETUNT (vv. 117-120).—The question naturally arises here, Why does not the metamorphosis take place immediately? Why are the ships withdrawn for a space of time from the eyes of the beholder, and only after the expiration of that time restored to his view in their new form? One reason for the delay readily suggests itself, viz. that time may be afforded for the change to take place, and so the miracle be better accommo-

dated to the human understanding, which requires time for everything. But there is another reason not so easily guessed, viz. thorough immersion in the sea—a thorough washing out of earthly impurities and infirmities—was necessary to the creation of sea divinities out of objects which were earthly and mortal. No less an authority than Glaucus himself tells you so, Ovid, *Met.* 13. 947 :

. . . “ ‘ repetendaque nunquam
terra, vale,’ dixi, *corpusque sub æquora mersi.*
Di maris exceptum socio dignantur honore ;
utque mihi, quæcūque feram, *mortalia demant,*
Oceanum Tethynque rogant. Ego *lustror* ab illis :
et purgante nefas novies mihi carmine dicto
pectora fluminibus iubeor *supponere* centum.
Nec mora : diversis lapsi de fontibus amnes,
totaque vertuntur *supra caput æquora* nostrum.
hactenus acta tibi possum memoranda referre ;
hactenus et memini ; nec mens mea cetera sensit,
quæ postquam rediit, alium me corpore toto,
ac fuscæ nuper, nec eundem mente, recepi”

—proof incontrovertible, by the by, that regeneration by total, almost drowning, immersion in water, accompanied by the necessary venial charms, is older not only than Herma's “*Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati*” (*Pastor*, 3, 9, 16), but than Christianity itself.

DEMERSIS ÆQUORA ROSTRIS IMA PETUNT (vv. 119-120).—*Anglicè, dive to the bottom.*

CUNCTATUR AMNIS RAUCA SONANS (vv. 124-125), theme ;
REVOCAT PEDEM TIBERINUS AB ALTO, variation.

NON TELA NEQUE IGNES EXPECTANT RUTULOS (vv. 129-130).
—“NON EXPECTANT Trojani, ut Rutulorum telis aut ignibus pereant, qui iam navium amissione perierant,” Servius, Cynth. Cenet. “Perituri sunt, antequam nos telis et igni eos petamus,” Heyne. This is not the meaning, for the loss of the ships could not by itself destroy the Trojans—could not in any way anticipate the destruction of the Trojans by the fire and sword of the Rutuli, only exposed them the more to that destruction. The meaning is, *the ships do not wait for our TELA*

and *ignes*, but destroy themselves. *Naves* and not *Troiani* supplies itself naturally to EXPECTANT, the words being spoken during an attack on the ships, which are therefore uppermost in the mind both of Turnus and of all who hear him: That this is the meaning is placed beyond doubt by the testimony of the ships themselves, 10. 23 :

. . . "perfidus ut nos
praecipites ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat
rupimus invitae tuae vincula ;"

that is, in the language of our text, NON TELA NEQUE IGNES RUTULOS *expectavimus*, *sed rupimus*, &c. For *naves* EXPECTANT, comp. *Georg.* 2. 27, "*silvae expectant*;" *ibid.* 2. 420, "*oleae expectant*."

TELA, IGNES.—"*Facies eminus mittendae*," Wagner (*Praest.*). No; the instruments of destruction are double, fire and sword; and with these double instruments of destruction Turnus had invaded the ships, as we are informed by the ships themselves, 10. 231, quoted above, where "*ferro*" is the TELA of our text, and "*flamma*" the IGNES.

RERUM PARS ALTERA ADEMPTE EST (vs. 131).—"*Naturae rerum*. *Humanae enim naturae duo elementa concessa sunt, mare et terra*," Servius, Peerlkamp, Forbiger. . "*RERUM PARS ALTERA, pro vulgari altera res, alterum*," Heyne. I agree entirely with Servius, Peerlkamp, and Forbiger, against Heyne. RERUM is *the world*, viz., this upper world or the globe of the earth, consisting of the two parts, land and water; whereas in the expression, 10. 39: "*Haec intemptata manebat sors rerum*," "*rerum*" is *the whole world*, upper as well as lower, and consisting not only of sea and land, but of Hades also, and therefore having three parts, of which Hades is the third (Ovid, *Met.* 5. 372: "*agitur pars tertia mundi*").

PARS RERUM, equivalent to "*sors rerum*," 10. 40, with this difference only, that *pars* means merely *a constituent part* or *division*, while *sors* means *a share*. In this latter word, therefore, there is allusion to the division of the whole world, upper as well as lower, between, if I may so say, the three *share-*

holders, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, while in the former word there is no such allusion.

ALTERA, not *the other*, but *one*, i. e. *one of two things, of which the one implies the existence of the other*. So Liv. 22. 2 (of Hannibal): "*Vigiliis tandem et nocturno humore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur,*" where "*altero oculo*" is not *the other eye*, but *one of his (two) eyes*. In like manner, in our text, PARS ALTERA RERUM, not *the other part of the world*, but *one of the two parts of the world*.

SED PERIISSE SEMEL SATIS EST; PECCARE FUISSET ANTE SATIS, PENITUS MODO NON GENUS OMNE PEROSOS FEMINEUM (vv. 140-142).—I am decided first by the consentient authority both of MSS. and grammarians, and secondly, by the better sense, to adhere to the vulgar reading and to reject Markland's amendment of NUNC, approved by Peerlkamp and Dietsch, and adopted by Ribbeck. The sense afforded by the vulgar reading, viz., *they would not have required this second punishment if they had taken a lesson from their first, and, hating from that time forward almost the entire race of women (paene totum genus femineum), not repeated their offence*, is better than that afforded by the proposed emendation, inasmuch as it is more proper for Turnus to require the Trojans, who it should be remembered had their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters with them, to hate *almost the whole race of women*, than to hate *the whole race*. A still further reason for adhering to the vulgar reading, and rejecting the proposed emendation is, that MODO and NUNC agree as indifferently together as MODO and NON agree well.

NEC SOLOS TANGIT ATRIDAS ISTE DOLOR, SOLISQUE LICET CAPERE ARMA MYCENIS (vv. 138-139).—Premiss and consequence, in the form of theme and variation.

FOSSARUM MORAE (vs. 143).—MORAE, *impediments*. Compare Stat. Theb. 10. 519 :

"solvitur interea vallum, primaeque recusant
stare morae."

FURTA (vs. 150).—Opprobriously, for stratagem, treachery,

and all underhand modes of warfare. Compare Iscan. 6. 715 (of the hesitation of the Greeks to avail themselves of the proffered treachery of Antenor and his party) :

. . . "Nestor timet, haeret Ulysses,
furta negat Pyrrhus; illos incerta morantur
pollicita, et falli metuunt; hic, vincere certus,
nocturnis refugit bellis foedare triumphum."

156-167.

NUNC ADEO MELIOR QUONIAM PARS ACTA DIEI
QUOD SUPEREST LAETI BENE GESTIS CORPORA REBUS
PROCURATE VIRI ET PUGNAM SPERATE PARATI
INTEREA VIGILUM EXCUBIIS OBSIDERE PORTAS
CURA DATUR MESSAPO ET MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS
BIS SEPTEM RUTULO MUROS QUI MILITE SERVENT
DELECTI AST ILLOS CENTENI QUEMQUE SEQUUNTUR
PURPUREI CRISTIS IUVENES AUROQUE CORUSCI
DISCURRENT VARIANTQUE VICES FUSIQUE PER HERBAM
INDULGENT VINO ET VERTUNT CRATERAS AENOS
CONLUCENT IGNES NOCTEM CUSTODIA DUCIT.
INSOMNEM LUDO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 158).

VIRI ■ *Vat.* (VIR·İS, * not VIRIİS, * as in Ribbeck, nor VIRI.ES, as in Bottari.); *Pal., Rom., Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn.; (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

* With the final IS crossed out in each instance.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 158).

PARATI **III** Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 9; Ven. 1470; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.

PARARI **I** *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.*; "Antiqui omnes codices quotquot inspexi PARARI," Pierius. **II** ††. **III** Servius,* cod. Dresd.; Princ.; Rom. 1473; N. Heins. (1670); Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

MELIOR QUONIAM PARS ACTA DIEI.—So Politian, *Lett.*: "*Melior diei pars lectionibus variis mihi teritur; reliqua datur amicis opera.*"

QUOD SUPEREST, MELIOR QUONIAM PARS ACTA DIEI.—*All that remains to be done now that the best part of the day is already past.* See Rem. on 5. 796.

LAETI BENE GESTIS REBUS.—"In eo tantum, quod hostes non ausi sunt egredi: nam nihil egerant. Ergo hortativa est oratio ad socios, ut audaciores esse debeant cum videant se timeri," Servius. Altogether erroneous. Turnus does not congratulate his troops on the enemy's confining themselves within their walls. This, so far from being a subject of congratulation, was a disappointment and a subject of condolence, vs. 66:

. . . "Rutulo, muros et castra tuenti
ignescunt iras: duris dolor ossibus ardet;
qua tentet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos
excutiat Teucros vallo, atque effundat in aequor."

Baffled and disappointed, he adopts a last means of entering, or rather forcing the Trojans out; he attacks the ships with fire. The Idaean mother turns the ships into mermaids. This Turnus

* That Servius read PARARI appears not merely from the reading being PARARI in the Dresden codex, but from the much stronger facts, first, that his gloss: "scilicet contra Troianos, non a Troianis," &c., is plainly an explanation of PARARI, not of PARATI; and, secondly, that his quotation from this passage at 11. 18 is of PARARI not PARATI. The PUGNAM SPERARE PARATI of Lion's Servius is, therefore, an error of its generally very careful editor.

represents to his troops as a great success, vs. 128 :

“Troianos hæc monstra petunt; his Iupiter ipse
auxilium solitum eripuit: non tela nec ignes
expectant Rutulos: ergo maria in via Teucris,
nec spes ulla fugæ: rerum pars altera adempta est;”

and it is on this success he congratulates them in the words of our text: LAETI HENEGESTIS REBUS CORPORA PROCURATE—*refresh yourselves now that you have succeeded so well*; as if he had said: “You have not, indeed; burnt the ships, but you have equally deprived the enemy of them. The enemy are now in our hands. After this success, after so well spent a day, go and refresh yourselves.”

ET PUGNAM SPERATE PARATI.—Inasmuch as a jarring sound is a less defect than a false or bad sense, I prefer the reading PARATI to PARARI. For Turnus to have said CORPORA . . . PROCURATE VIRI ET PUGNAM SPERATE PARARI would have been equivalent to saying, “refresh yourselves and take your ease while I am preparing the battle for you,” an advice not only exactly the opposite of that which the circumstances of the case demanded and of that which was usually given on such occasions (as 10. 259 :

“atque animos aptent armis, pugnaeque parent se.”

Liv. 5. 28 (ed. Walker): “Collaudatos corpora curare, paratosque esse quarta vigilia iubet”), but involving the absurd assumption that it was possible for preparations to be made for battle by the general alone, the soldiers remaining idle. Compare Hom. *Il.* 2. 381 :

νυν δ' ἐρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δειπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν ἄρηα·
εὐ μὲν τις δору θήξασθω, εὐ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω,
εὐ δὲ τις ἵπποισιν δειπνον δοτὼ ὠκυποδῶσιν.
εὐ δὲ τις ἄρματος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν, πολέμοιο μέδασθω,

where not only are the same directions given, viz., to refresh themselves, and prepare for battle, but the particulars of the preparation for battle specified.

PORTAS (vs. 159), the gates of Nova Troia. OBSIDERE PORTAS, *beset the gates with soldiers, so that no one should go in*

or out. See Aesch., *Sept. c. Theb.*, where each besieging chief sets himself against a separate gate.

MOENIA, *Nova Troia*. CINGERE MOENIA FLAMMIS, *light fires at certain intervals all round Nova Troia*. These fires served the double purpose of watch-fires by night, and of fires affording a supply of firebrands for throwing against the walls and towers and into the city by day. That the gates spoken of are those of Nova Troia, and the MOENIA spoken of, Nova Troia itself, is placed beyond doubt by 10. 118 :

“ interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant
sternere caede viros et moenia cingere flammis.”

Wagner understands vv. 159, 160 to be descriptive of the offensive operations of the Rutuli against the Trojans : “ PORTAS et MOENIA s. muros hostium scilicet ” (*Praest.*). And the same view is taken of them by Voss :

“ aber die thor’ indessen mit wachsender hut zu belagern,
wird dem Messapus vertraut, und die stadt zu umgürten mit Feuern.”

The view, however, is incorrect. The operations described are not offensive, but defensive. Turnus and his army having arrived before the city when the day was too far advanced to begin the attack, are obliged to entrench themselves for the night, and the lines from 159 to 167, inclusive, describe the measures they take for the safety of their encampment during that time, verses 159 and 160, informing us that Messapus was charged to set guards at the gates, and to light fires (viz., on the *agger* of the encampment) all round, while verses 161-167, inclusive, particularize how he carried out the orders he had received, viz., that he appointed fourteen detachments of 100 men each, under fourteen captains ; that these detachments took their several posts, lit fires, stretched themselves out on the grass, made themselves merry with wine, and gambled to keep themselves awake. The Trojans seeing themselves thus invested, put everything in order, to meet the attack with which they are threatened (ARMIS ALTA TENENT, NECNON TREPIDI FORMIDINE PORTAS EXPLORANT, PONTESQUE ET PROPUGNACULA

IUNGUNT, TELA GERUNT), and in their turn set a very large force to keep guard on their walls :

OMNIS PER MUROS LEGTO SORTITA PERIOLUM
EXCUBAT, EXERCETQUE VICIS QUOD QUIQUE TUNDUM EST.

OBSIDERE PORTAS is not, with Wagner and Voss (see above), to beset or beleague the gates of the enemy, but to occupy or guard their own gates, because, first, all operations against the enemy had been deferred until the next day, and the troops had been ordered to rest and refresh themselves :

NUNC ADEO MELIOR QUONIAM PARS ACTA DIEI,
QUOD SUPEREST, LANTI BENS GESTIS CORPORA REBUS
PROCURATE, VIRI, ET PUGNAM SPERATE PARATI;

secondly, because it never was usual to post small detachments at the several gates of a besieged city or fortress ; thirdly, because if on this particular occasion detachments had been placed at the several gates those detachments would certainly not have been *watchmen*, nor designated by the expression VIGILUM EXCUBIIS—such ‘vigiles’ would have had, indeed, a dangerous post; and fourthly, because it is likely that on this occasion, as on so many others, our author followed the custom of the Roman army, which never even when on an ordinary march and far from any enemy, passed a night without throwing up intrenchments and setting regular watch all round its encampment; how much less the first night of its arrival before the enemy’s fortified camp which it intended to storm the very next day. In support of this interpretation, compare 2. 449 :

. . . “alii strictis mucronibus imas
obsedere fores : has servant agmine denso,”

where we have not only “*obsedere*,” corresponding to the OBSIDERE of our text, said of the defenders of the doors, but “*servant agmine*” corresponding to the SERVIENT MILITE, by which the OBSIDERE of our text is followed at the distance of only one line. Compare also 12. 131 :

“tum studio effusae matres et vulgus inermum
invalidique senes turre ac tecta domorum
obsedere,”

where, also, not hostility is meant, but mere occupation of the post.

[*Aliter*]. MOENIA the entrenchments of the Rutuli.—MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS, *to light fires on the agger surrounding the encampment*, as shown by COLLUCENT IGNES, vs. 166; “interrupti ignes, aterque ad sidera fumus erigitur, vs. 239; and especially (Euryalus being at the time inside the Rutulian encampment), “ibi ignem deficere extremum . . . videbat.” MUROS, the vallum of the Rutulian encampment. CUSTODIA (vs. 166), the guard on the vallum, consisting of its fourteen companies. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 12. 148 :

“dumque vigil Phrygios servat custodia muros,
et vigil Argolicas servat custodia fossas.”*

CINGERE MOENIA FLAMMIS.—According to the letter, *surround the city with flames*, but, in the sense, *besiege the city with fire*. In order to attack a city with fire, it was necessary to light a number of fires round it which should supply lighted brands to be thrown by the soldiers against the walls and towers, principally built of wood, and over the walls on the houses inside, also mainly built of wood. Lighting fires all round the walls being thus the first step taken by those who attack a city with fire, the expression MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS OR IGNI CIRCUMDARE MUROS (vs. 153) came to be equivalent to *attack a city with fire*, or *attack a city in order to burn it*. In our text the charge is given to Messapus to beset the city with fire; and Messapus, in execution of his orders, lights fires all round the walls, which fires serve for watchfires during the night; and dividing the troops under his command into fourteen companies, keeps watch on the city during the night (MUROS MILITE SERVENS), deferring the attack till the next day on account of the lateness of the hour :

MELIOR QUONIAM PARS ACTA DIEI,
QUOD SUPEREST, LAETI BENE GESTIS CORPORA REBUS
PROCURATE, VIRI, ET PUGNAM SPERANTE PARATI.”

* But, on the other hand, *custos* is used in a hostile sense, vs. 380, which makes me doubtful of the correctness of this Rem. *in toto*.

The entire passage, from INTEREA as far as LUDO, is occupied with the account—first, of the preparations made for attacking and burning the city next day—these preparations being (a) the formation of an attacking party of fourteen companies of one hundred men each, each party with its separate chief, and all under the command of Messapus; (b) the occupation of the gates; (c) the lighting of fires all round the walls—and, secondly, of the manner in which this immediately investing body, this fire-brigade, if I may so say, spent the interval between the lighting of the fires and the attack next day, viz., in guarding and relieving guard (DISCURRUNT VARIANTQUE VICES), and drinking and gambling beside their fires. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 721 (of the siege of Ardea by Tarquin):

“cingitur interea Romanis Ardea signis,
et patitur lentas obsidione moras.
dum vacat, et metuunt hostes committere pugnam,
luditur in castris. Otia miles agit.”

MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS.—The fires here spoken of are not fires on the Rutulian *agger* for the protection of the Rutulian encampment; first, because *moenia* is a term applicable only to a fort or fortified place, not to a mere field encampment, such as that of the Rutuli; and secondly, because where this account is taken up again (10. 119) the identical words are repeated in a context which leaves no doubt that they mean fires round Nova Troia. Neither are the fires here spoken of mere watchfires round Nova Troia, *i.e.* fires for the mere purpose of affording light and warmth during the night to the investing party, because this cannot be their purpose where they are again spoken of (as above), and because Turnus had declared his intention *IGNI CIRCUMDARE MUROS*, in the full light of day, *LUCE, PALAM*, vs. 153. The words, therefore, can only mean: *light fires round the walls of the city, for the purpose of supplying fire for burning it*; in other words, *prepare for attacking the city with fire, prepare for burning the city*. But the fires prepared for this purpose serve the second purpose also: of watchfires, and about them the soldiers not on actual guard, the reserve or relief, keep

watch :

COLLUCENT IGNES ; NOCTEM CUSTODIA DUCIT
INSOMNEM LUDO.

Even where there was no hostile intention, such watchfires were usual: the case of Phoenix, watched in his father's house by guards who kept fires burning all night, is an example, Hom., *Il.* 9. 466 :

εισανυχες δε μοι αμφ' αυτω παρα νυκτας ιαυον'
οι μεν αμειβομενοι φυλακας εχον' ουδε ποτ' εσβη
πυρ, ετερον μεν υπ' αιθουση ευερκεος αυλης,
αλλο δ' ενι προδομω, προσθεν θαλαμοιο θυρων.

In such cases the fires were not only for the comfort of the watch, but that the proceedings of the watched might be observed by their light, so as to prevent escape by stealth. Where there was the intention to burn and destroy, the fires were still more necessary, and served all the purposes at once—(a) of comforting the watchmen, (b) of affording light to observe the proceedings of the watched, and (c) of supplying fire wherewith to make the intended attack. The fires on the present occasion served all these purposes, as they served all these purposes on the occasion of the Trojans sitting down in the evening to watch before the Grecian ships, intending to attack them with fire the next day, *Il.* 8. 549: οι δε, μεγα φρονεουντες, &c., one of the grandest pictures in the *Iliad*, and where even so much as attempted to be imitated by Virgil?—an example not thrown away upon the author of the *Epitome* of the *Iliad*, who also has eschewed all imitation of the Homeric painting, wisely contenting himself with a compression of the description into the four pregnant verses :

“ at Phryges obsidunt inclusos aggere Graios,
excubituque premunt muros flammisque coronant.
Cetera per campos sternunt sua corpora pubes
indulgentque mero, curasque animosque resolvunt.”

VIGILUM EXCUBIIS OBSIDERE PORTAS CURA DATUR MESSAPO-
ET MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS. The threat of Turnus, vs. 153,
LUCE PALAM CERTUM EST IGNI CIRCUMDARE MUROS, is here begun

to be put in execution. For the further prosecution of the same threat, see 10. 118 :

“interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant
sternere caede viros, et moenia cingere flammis.”

What can be plainer than that in the whole three places the same strategic operation is meant, viz., an attack on the city with the intention of killing its defenders and burning the city itself. For the more particular carrying out of the threat to burn the city, see vs. 521 :

“parte alia horrendus visu quassabat Etruscum
pinum, et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignes ;”

vs. 535 :

“princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus
et flammam affixit lateri, quae plurima vento
corripuit tabulas et postibus haesit adeis ;”

vs. 568 :

“ardentes taedas alii ad fastigia iactant.
Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
Lucetium, portae subeuntem ignesque ferentem,” etc.,

and the threat would have been executed to the letter, the city burnt, and the garrison put to the sword, except for the arrival of Aeneas in his suit of Vulcanian armour, and with his Tuscan reinforcements.

BIS SEPTEM RUTULI MUROS QUI MILITE SERVENT DELECTI.—MUROS, the enclosure which the Rutuli have drawn round the city and within which they have lit the fires, and keep guard. BIS SEPTEM RUTULI, not chosen by Messapus, and acting under him, OBSIDERE PORTAS ET MOENIA CINGERE FLAMMIS, but appointed by Turnus and coordinate with Messapus and those under him. The office of these fourteen captains and the men under their charge being to guard the lines of the Rutuli (viz., the lines of circumvallation), and the office of Messapus being especially to blockade the enemy's gates, and threaten the city with fire.

VARIANTQUE VICES (vs. 164).—Prudent. *Contr. Symm.* 2.

317 :

“ sic aevi mortalis habet se mobilis ordo ;
 sic *variat* natura *vices* : infantia repit,
 infirmus titubat pueri gressusque animusque,
 sanguine præcalido fervet nervosa iuventa :
 mox stabilita venit maturi roboris aetas,” etc.

CUSTODIA (vs. 166).—Abstract for concrete, as Ovid, *Met.*
 12. 148 :

“ dumque vigil Phrygios servat *custodia* muros,
 et vigil Argolicas servat *custodia* fossas.”

In English we have the one word “guard” for both, the one word to express not only *custos* but *custodia*.

 170-209.

 PONTESQUE—ÆQUIS

PONTESQUE ET PROPUGNACULA IUNGUNT (vs. 170).—PROPUGNACULA, towers or other buildings of defence, in front of the line of walls, and joined with the walls by means of bridges (PONTES): Compare Liv. 22. 19 : “ Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et *propugnaculis* adversus latrones utuntur.” These “propugnacula” may be regarded as bearing the same relation to the defences of a city as the pickets bear to the soldiers of a camp. Both form the first points of contact with the enemy.

PONTES ET PROPUGNACULA IUNGUNT, *join the PROPUGNACULA to the walls by means of bridges.*

PORTÆ CUSTOS (vs. 176).—Πυλαωρος.

IDA (vs. 177).—“Ida a plerisque mater Nisi accipitur,” Cynth. Cenet.

QUO PULCHRIOR ALTER NON FUIT ÆNEADUM (vv. 179-80), theme ; TROIANA NEQUE INDUIT ARMA, variation.

HIS AMOR UNUS ERAT, PARITERQUE IN BELLA RUEBANT (vs.

182).—"Idem utriusque et mutuus," Heyne, Forbiger, Thiel. Certainly not. The meaning is not that they loved each other, but that they both loved the same thing, viz., the profession of war. And this is, no doubt, what Servius meant to say, viz., "eorundem studio flagrabant," and instead of which we find in the editions of Servius the unintelligible "eorum studio flagrabant." Nisus and Euryalus were of one and the same taste, and being so, PARITER IN BELLA RUEBANT; the latter part of the line explaining what it was which they both loved. And exactly so Homer, in the very passage which these same commentators quote in illustration, *Il.* 16. 219 :

Πατρόκλος τε καὶ Αὐτομέδων, εἷνα θυμὸν ἐχόντες,
προσθεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμίζεμεν,

not mutually loving, but having each of them the same desire, viz., to fight against the Myrmidons. The love Nisus and Euryalus had for each other is not expressly stated, but is left to be inferred from the similarity of their tastes, and from the other circumstances mentioned. See Rem. on "mens omnibus una sequendi," 10. 182.

SUA CUIQUE DEUS FIT DIRA CUPIDO (vs. 185).—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 72 (Seylla, daughter of Minos, speaking): "Sibi quisque profecto fit deus."

LAUDUM PERCUSSUS AMORE (vs. 197).—Compare Eurip. *Med.* 83 (of Medea):

ἐρωτὶ θυμὸν ἐκπλάγεις ἰσθονός.

AUT QUICUNQUE OCULIS HÆC ASPICIT ÆQUIS (vs. 209).—"ÆQUIS, *propitiis*, ut v. 234," Wagner (*Praest.*) As verse 234 certainly, but not therefore *propitiis*. "Æquis," verse 234, is not *propitiis*, but *fair, dispassionate, impartial* (the very opposite of *propitiis*, which implies a leaning to one side). And such precisely is the meaning of ÆQUIS in our text: *whoever beholds these things with unprejudiced, impartial eyes; exactly as, verse 234, "Audite o mentibus æquis," O hear with unprejudiced, impartial minds.*

213-218.

SIT QUI ME RAPTUM PUGNA PRETIOVE REDEMTUM
 MANDET HUMO SOLITA AUT SI QUA ID FORTUNA VETABIT
 ABSENTI FERAT INFERIAS DECORETQUE SEPULCRO
 NEU MATRI MISERAE TANTI SIM CAUSSA DOLORIS
 QUAE TE SOLA PUER MULTIS E MATRIBUS AUSA
 PERSEQUITUR

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*, &c.]

HUMO SOLITA ■ *Rom.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ P. Manut.

HUMO . SOLITA ■ *Vat., Med.* ■■■ Ven. 1470; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

HUMO SOLITA . ■ *Pal.* ■■■ Donat.; Arusianus; Princ.; Rom. 1473; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Jacob (*Quaest. Ep.*, p. 125).

HUMO SOLIT ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$.

HUMO SOLITO ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$.

HUMO SOLIDA : ■■■ D. Heins.; Burm.

MANDET HUMO SOLITA AUT SI, &c.—“*Terrae commendes*,” Donat. “MANDET HUMO. Multi hic distinguunt, alii iungunt MANDET HUMO SOLITA, ut sit *commendet in terra*. SOLITA* autem, i. e. *cui mandari defuncti solent*. FORTUNA, sciz. quae piis invidere consuevit,” Servius (ed. Lion). “Apronianus distinguit MANDET HUMO; vel dicas HUMO SOLITA, i. e. quia solitum erat humare homines. Alii legunt ID SOLITA, pro *id solitum*; alii SOLITA FORTUNA, scilicet *invidere magnis rebus*,” Pompon. Sabin. “MANDET HUMO SOLITA, i. *sepeliat me*,” Ascensius.

Nothing can be more just than Wagner’s observation (ed. Heyn.) on the junction of SOLITA with MANDET HUMO: “Sed

* SOLITA AUT FORTUNA : “quae piis invidere consuevit” [*sic*], Serv. (cod. Dresd.)

illud satis mirari nequeo, quomodo turpissimus, ut mihi quidem videtur, soloeecismus tam diu hunc versum inquinare potuerit. Quis enim unquam verbo *mandare* ablativum iunxit? aut qua id ratione fieri posse putabimus?" Nothing, I say, can be more just than this observation, but at the same time nothing less adapted to remedy the evil than the cure proposed, viz. either to read *solitae*, the addition of which weak and foolish adjunct turns the whole of Nisus's pathetic appeal to his comrade's respect for the dead body of his friend into mere milk and water, or to separate *SOLITA* from *HUMO* and join it with *FORTUNA*, so committing in the sense a solecism no less "*turpis*" than those who join *HUMO* with *SOLITA* commit in the grammar, viz. uniting the two incompatibles *QUA* and *SOLITA*—the former signifying *accidental, rare, not to be foreseen or provided against*; the latter signifying *usual, and such as was to be expected*. Let me hope that the remedy I venture to propose, viz. to read *SALTEM* instead of *SOLITA*, may be found less objectionable. The obvious arguments in favour of the conjecture are, first, that we thus get rid, and at once, of the existing difficulties; secondly that we have thus a connection (manifestly necessary and yet wholly absent unless we supply this conjunction) between the words *SIT QUI ME RAPTUM* and the preceding part of the sentence: "I wish you to survive because you are the younger, and your life on that account more valuable; or, if you do not admit the force of that argument, I wish you to survive in order at least that there may be somebody to pay me the funeral honours" (*SIT SALTEM QUI ME MANDET HUMO*); and thirdly, that pronouncing *SALTEM* with the broad sound of the *A* and cutting off the *EM* before the *AUT*, we have the sound *SAULTAUT*, scarcely different from that of *SOLITAUT*, the sound of *SOLITA AUT* read with the similar elision. How easily these sounds might be confounded by an amanuensis I need not say. In confirmation of this conjecture and of this explanation of the error committed by the scribes, I may add that it is highly probable, nay certain, that when a book was new, and the copies therefore few in number—perhaps no more than two or three, or only one—new copies were made, not directly from the original or previous

copy, but from the voice of a person who read that copy aloud ; for in this way only could a number of copies be made at once ; *i. e.*, in this way only could the copies of the work be rapidly multiplied. In support of *SALTEM*, compare 6. 885 :

“ purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
his *saltem* accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.”

Remove “*saltem*” from this sentence, and how lame and poor does it become ! Yet it is no lamer and poorer than our text without the same word. Observe also the similar necessity for *saltem* in that similar passage, 6. 371 :

“ sedibus ut *saltem* placidis in morte quiescam.”

Compare also Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 3. 32 :

“ ut *saltem* patria contumularer humo ;”

Stat. *Theb.* 9. 397 :

“ ad cineres *saltem*, supremaque iusta tuorum
saevae veni, non hic solum accensura nepotem ;”

and *ibid.* 8. 112 (Amphiaraus speaking) :

. . . “ non iam Lernaea videbo
tecta, nec attonito *saltem* cinis ibo parenti ;”

also Ovid, *Met.* 11. 705 (Halcyone lamenting the death of Ceyx) :

“ et tibi nunc *saltem* veniam comes ; inque sepulchro
si non urna, tamen iunget nos litera ; si non
ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.”

And for an example of *saltem* occurring as the last word of even a much longer sentence, see Stat. *Theb.* 10. 206 : “ ‘Tunc, inquit, ‘inertes Inachidas . . . tantam patiēre amittere noctem degener?’ . . . Vade eia, uloiscere ferro nos *saltem*.’ Dixit,” &c.

Only after the above comment was written did it come to my knowledge that Peerlkamp had made the apparently similar, though in reality very dissimilar, conjecture :

MANDAT HUMO ; AUT *SALTEM* SI QUA ID FORTUNA VETABIT.

To which emendation I object, first, that it wholly wants the

probability accruing to the other from similarity, I may almost say identity, of sound ; secondly, that whereas SALTEM, placed in the very situation which SOLITA occupies, is but a single alteration of the text, viz. the substitution of one word for another ; SALTEM placed after AUT involves a double alteration (viz. first the substitution of one word for another, and then, over and above this alteration, a new order of the words) ; and thirdly, that SALTEM, thus placed after the AUT, has the effect of strongly and pathetically opposing two things (viz. the burying the dead body and the raising of a cenotaph) which, differing but little from each other, cannot with propriety be either strongly or pathetically opposed, while on the other hand SALTEM placed in the very position occupied at present by SOLITA, and thus becoming connected, not, be it observed, with MANDET HUMO, but with SIT, serves to place in strong and pathetic contrast two things which it is proper should be placed in strong and pathetic contrast, viz. the perishing of the two friends together (in case they both went on the expedition), and the surviving of one (if only one went into the danger and the other did not), which surviving one should perform the funeral rites of the other, either recovering his friend's body and burying it with the usual honours, or, if his body could not be recovered, raising a cenotaph to him.

SALTEM.—Not MANDET HUMO SALTEM, but SIT SALTEM QUI MANDET HUMO, exactly as Apul. *Met.* 1. 13 (ed. Valpy) : “super-sit hic *saltem*, qui miselli huius corpus [*sic*] parva contumulet humo ;” and compare Plaut. *Rud.* 1. 3. 29 :

“ *saltem* aliquem velim, qui mihi ex his locis
aut viam, aut semitam monstret.”

RAPTUM PUGNA. — *I. e.* RAPTUM *ex* PUGNA.* Compare Ammian. 25. 1 : “infirmatus, et ipse humerum telo pallescentem morte propinqua, Machamaeum *extrahere pugna* viribus valuit magnis ;” Ovid, *Met.* 13. 450 : “*rapta sinu matris . . . virgo* ;” Id. *Fast.* 6. 494 : “et *cunis te, Melioerta, rapit.*”

* See, however, 12. 265, where the construction is very doubtful.

ABSENTI FERAT INFERIAS DECORETQUE SEPULCRO. — The part which Nisus wishes Euryalus to perform to him, in case of his perishing in the dangerous expedition he was undertaking, is exactly that which Aeneas performed to Deiphobus, 6. 505 :

“ tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo in littore inanem
constitui, et magna manus ter voce vocavi.”

FOR DECORETQUE SEPULCHRO compare the epitaph of Ennius :

“ nemo me lacrymis *decorat*, nec funera flendo
faxit;”

also 6. 217 : “ *decorantque* [pyram] super fulgentibus armis;”
and 11. 24 :

. . . “ egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
hanc patriam peperere suo, *decorate* supremis
muneribus.”

QUAE TE SOLA, PUER, MULTIS E MATRIBUS AUSA PERSEQUITUR.—SOLA AUSA, NOT SOLA PERSEQUITUR.

230-245.

CASTRORUM—AMNEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 241).

ET MOENIA **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.*; “ In antiquis ET,” Pierius. **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III**
Ven. 1470; Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt;
Ribb.

AD MOENIA **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** *Princ.*; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.;
N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 244).

OBSCURIS PRIMAM SUB **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **III** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** *Serv.* (OBSCURIS
PRIMAM); Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.
(1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.
ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 244).

MOEN

VALLIBUS ■ Pal. (VALLIBVS, with VALL crossed out, the alteration being modern). ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

CASTRORUM ET CAMPI MEDIO (vs. 230).—*In the open space which is in the middle of the camp*; and so Servius.

ALACRES (vs. 231).—*Agog, full of their own idea.*

AUDITE O MENTIBUS AEQUIS (vs. 234).—See Rem. on “*quicunque oculis haec aspicit aequis*,” vs. 209.

BIVIO PORTAE (vs. 238).—Where, having gone out of the gate, you may go either to the right or to the left; where just outside the gate there is a *bivium*, i. e., a road to the right and a road to the left. At every door opening into a street or on a road, there is a *bivium*: you may go either of two ways; either to the right or to the left. When you arrive at such a position by means of a third road the position is no longer a *bivium* but a *trivium*, the third road being the road by which you have arrived. Compare Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 729:

- OED. εδοξ' ακουσαι σου τοδ', ως ο Λαῖος
κατασφαγειη προς τριπλαις [*in trivio*] αμαξιτοις.
IOC. ηυδατο γαρ ταυτ', ουδε πω ληξαντ' εχει.
OED. και που 'σθ' ο χωρος ουτος ου τοδ' ην παθος;
IOC. φωκισ μεν η γη κληζεται, σχιστη δ' οδος
ες ταῦτο Δελφων καπο Δαυλιας αγει

[“*scissa autem via in unum a Delphis et a Daulia coit*”]; *ibid.* 1398 (Oedipus speaking):

ω τρεις κελευθοι και κεκρυμμενη ναπη
δρυμος τε και στενωπος εν τριπλαις οδοις.

INTERRUPTI IGNES (vs. 239).—“*Partim extincti*,” Cynth. Cenet. “*Nulla est ignium frequentia, nam multi INTERRUPTI h. e. extincti*,” Lemaire. “*Hie und da ist nur noch eine flamme, wie, v. 189: ‘lumina rara micant,’*” Thiel. This is, as I think, all incorrect. The meaning is, *there is here* (viz.

IN BIVIO PORTÆ) *a breach in the ring of fires with which the city is surrounded.* INTERRUPTI IGNES, *the fires are broken, there is a breach in the ring of fires, exactly as Tacit. Hist. 1. 70: "Interruptis fluminum pontibus," the bridges being broken; i.e., breaches being made in the bridges; Id. Annal. 3. 31: "plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistratuum interrupta et impervia."* Interruptus always expresses breach of continuity, either with respect to time or place. In our text the breach is with respect to place; at verse 88 of Book 4 it is with respect to time: "pendent opera interrupta."

SI FORTUNA PERMITTITIS UTI (vs. 240).—*If you permit us to take our chance.* So Liv. 26. 7: "bene gerendae rei fortunam datuos esse;" not "occasionem" (Walker), i. e. *opportunity*, to succeed or do the thing well, but a *chance* of doing the thing well, a *chance* of success.

QUAESITUM AENEAN AD MOENIA PALLANTEA (vs. 241).—*"Pergemus quaesitum, hoc est ad inquisitionem Aeneae ad Pallanteam civitatem,"* Donatus. "QUAESITUM, *ut quaeramus*, Servius; and so Heyne (1st ed.), Thiel, Forbiger, Ladewig, Wagner (*Praest.*). "CERNETIS AFFORE quaesitum a nobis AENEAM," La Cerda, Heyne (2nd ed.), Voss, preceded by Ascensius, whose words are: "CERNETIS AENEAM quaesitum, *id est investigatum a nobis* (Servius dicit, quasi sit supinum, *id est, ut quaeramus*) AD MOENIA PALLANTEA, AFFORE MOX HIC CUM SPOLIIS, *et hoc ingenti caede peracta. s. ab ipso nobiscum.* I agree with Ascensius in understanding quaesitum to be the participle, and with both Ascensius and Donatus in reading AD, (1), because either construction, PERMITTITIS UTI FORTUNA quaesitum, or PERMITTITIS UTI FORTUNA, (*permittitis*) quaesitum is forced and awkward—not to say that in the latter form the coordinate conjunction of PERMITTITIS, first with the infinitive and then with the supine, seems quite intolerable. (2), because (vs. 565) we have the participle "quaesitum" placed *exactly as here*, in the accusative, before its verb, first word in the line and sentence, and before a word beginning with a vowel. Compare Sil. 1. 7:

"*quaesitumque diu, qua tandem poneret arce
terrarum Fortuna caput.*"

(3), because *AFFORE CERNETIS* in the beginning of a line and at the same time at the end of a sentence is too emphatic (see Rem. on 2. 247) to be with propriety applied by the young men to themselves. (4) because the very word "*afforet*," in the same position in the line is applied to Aeneas, *Aen.* 1. 580. (5), because the "*spolia*" and the "*caedes*" appear to have been an afterthought; and if they were not, were not of sufficient importance to be held out by the young men as an inducement to the chiefs to permit them to go—nay, were so exceedingly unlikely to be the result of their attempt, so sure on the contrary to bring ruin and defeat on their enterprise, as to render the permission they sought little likely to be granted. (6) because it not only was not silly of the young men to promise the return of Aeneas with spoils and great slaughter of the enemy ("*ineptum erat promittere, AENEAN MOX CUM SPOLIIS, INGENTI CAEDE PERACTA, AFFORE*," Wagner), but this was precisely the mission which the young men had proposed to themselves, viz. to bring back Aeneas, in order that he might relieve the camp from the state of siege, which was only to be effected by making a great slaughter of the enemy. (7) this is exactly what happened on the actual return of Aeneas: he did make a great slaughter of the enemy (see Book 10, *passim*), and actually erected a trophy of the spoils (11. 4, *et seqq.*). (8), because *MOX HIC CUM SPOLIIS INGENTI CAEDE PERACTA, AFFORE (nos) CERNETIS*, had not been a proper apodosis to *PERMITTITIS QUÆSITUM*, for the young men might have returned with spoils, and after great slaughter, and yet not found Aeneas nor even reached Pallanteum. The proper apodosis and protasis would have been *permit us to try and we shall succeed, permit us to go and we shall arrive*; and this is the protasis and apodosis which Virgil has actually given us, only in still stronger form—*permit us to try our fortune, and ye shall see Aeneas QUÆSITUM (actually sought and found) arrive and relieve your camp with great slaughter of the enemy, and loaded with spoils. PERMITTITIS QUÆSITUM* had been the doubting request of a wise Ulysses or Nestor; *PERMITTITIS UTI FORTUNA et CERNETIS QUÆSITUM AFFORE CUM SPOLIIS* is the confident

demand and promise of the dauntless daring youths. (9) HIC thus acquires a peculiar property, CERNETIS AFFORE HIC AENEAN, *QUAESITUM AD MOENIA PALLANTEA*. (10) the immediately subsequent expression of NOS in the clause NEC NOS VIA FALLIT EUNTES is in itself sufficient proof that not *nos* understood, but AENEAN is the object of AFFORE. CERNETIS AFFORE AENEAN, NEC NOS VIA FALLIT EUNTES. (11) we have, Claud. *Mall. Theod. Cons.* 9: "In mediis consul *quaesitus* aratris," corresponding exactly to

QUAESITUM AENEAN AD MOENIA PALLANTEA.

And finally, because the participle passive of *quaerere* is as frequently, as the supine is rarely, used; and while the latter has never been even so much as once used by Virgil elsewhere, the former has been used by him no less than seven times.

OBSCURIS SUB VALLIBUS (vs. 244).—"Nos in *OBSCURIS VALLIBUS positi*," Servius, Heyne, Wagner (1861), Forbiger. This is certainly not the meaning. OBSCURIS SUB VALLIBUS belongs to URBEM, and describes not the precise situation of Pallanteum, which was on a hill (8. 53), but the *direction* in which Pallanteum lay, as if Virgil had said: *e regione obscurarum vallium*. So also Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5. 8: "Caesar *cursum* non tenuit, et longius delatus aestu, orta luce, *sub sinistra* Britanniam relictam conspexit," i.e. *e regione sinistra*, or as we say: *on his left hand*.

VIDIMUS PRIMAM URBEM (vs. 244).—"H. e. PRIMAM partem urbis," Servius, Thiel, Wagner (*Praest.*). This is indeed the literal translation of the words, but by no means expresses the author's meaning, which is not that they had had a view of any particular part of the city, but that they had had a glimpse of the city, had got a peep of the city. Thus PRIMAM modifies VIDIMUS, as SUB modifies VALLIBUS, and thus the account which the young men give of their view of Pallanteum is precisely what it should be.

VENATU ASSIDUO (vs. 245).—"Dicunt VENATU ASSIDUO spectare et ad URBEM, et ad AMNEM. Vix ad URBEM spectare posse credo, Semel URBEM vidisse sufficiebat, ut scirent ubi esset. In VENATU videre poterant, assiduus venatus ad id

non requiritur," Peerlkamp. Nay, it was precisely "assiduus venatus" which was necessary to bring the young men within view of Pallanteum. It was not so near that they should come within view of it the first time they went out to hunt; it was only in the course of their frequent hunting, and going sometimes farther than at other times, or in different directions, and becoming acquainted with the whole topography of the river, that they happened (on one occasion only, perhaps) to come within view of the city. The result of their assiduous hunting was that they were thoroughly acquainted with the river, and had even had a distant view of Pallanteum.

PRIMAM (vs. 244), *distant* because the first view of a city, especially of a city on a hill, is naturally, nay almost always, a distant one.

251-283.

VULTUM—CADAT

VULTUM LACRYMIS ATQUE ORA RIGABAT (vs. 251).—So Sil.
6. 294:

"iamdudum *vultus lacrymis atque ora rigabat*
Serranus, medioque viri sermone profatur"

[his own (Serranus's) face].

VULTUM (Gr. *ομμα, οψιν*), the looking or regarding part of the face, the look, the eyes, as contra-distinguished from ORA, the speaking part of the face, the mouth; his eyes were wet with tears which ran down over his face. Compare 12. 70:

"illum turbat amor, figitque in virgine *vultus*;"

2. 538:

. . . "qui nati coram me cernere letum
fecisti et patrios foedasti funera *vultus*."

[i. e. *has* polluted the father's look, the father's eyes, with the sight of the son's death]; 10. 821:

"at vero ut *vultum* vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris"

(where vultus and ora are united again, the eyes and the mouth being not only the most expressive parts of the face, but the parts most changed by the approach of death); 1. 259:

“*vultu quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*”

[not with the countenance with which he serenest, but with the look of the eyes, with which he serenest]; 1. 714: “*flagrantesque dei vultus*” [not the glowing countenance, i.e. flushed face or countenance of the god, but the glowing expression of the god's eyes].

PULCHERRIMA PRIMUM DI MORESQUE DABUNT VESTRI (VV. 253-4).—See 1. 607.

QUAECUNQUE MIHI FORTUNA FIDESQUE EST IN VESTRIS PONO GREMIIS (VV. 260-261).—“*Quidquid casu, quidquid consilio egero, vobis committam. Nam per ‘fidem’ consilia significat; per ‘fortunam’ opes, imperium, et cuiuslibet rei possibilitatem. [Alii sic tradunt: FORTUNA, ut possit, FIDES, ut velit promissa persolvere. Alii ita: quantum habeo fortunae IN VESTRIS PONO GREMIIS, doque fidem, me ita animatum esse, et sic sentire; mihi inquit habeo coniunctam fortunam et fidem. Nam cum volumus ostendere quantum in nostra sit potestate, dicimus fortunam et fidem. Fortuna de nostris est possessionibus, fides, quantum nobis creditur ab inimicis],*” Servius (ed. Lion). These numerous attempts at explanation show how difficult to be explained the passage was even in the time of Servius. The true meaning, different from all the others, is, however, to be made out from a comparison of our author with himself, regard being had to the Roman ethics. Let us refer then to the very similar case of Evander, 8. 572, parting from his son Pallas. Evander parts with his son, hoping, trusting, believing that the gods will keep him safe, but fearing at the same time that some bad accident may happen him, and he may never see him again:

. . . “*si numina vestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,
sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,*” &c.

This belief and hope of Evander corresponds to the FIDES of Ascanius, that the young men's enterprise would be crowned with success, and his apprehension that some unlucky chance

might possibly interfere, corresponds to Ascanius's FORTUNA, with this difference only (a difference in perfect keeping with the different ages of the persons and the different ultimate results), that Evander's fear is strong, and his faith or hope weak, while Ascanius's fear is weak, and his faith or hope strong; and accordingly, while Evander dwells with emphasis on his fears, and is at last wholly overpowered, Ascanius scarcely at all alludes to them, and only in the single word FORTUNA, and dismisses the young men with confidence and joy, "Go: I trust the recovery of my parents to you; go and take with you my (good) fortune, that (good) fortune without which every enterprise is vain; and my faith and hope, that faith and hope which I have in the goodness and providence of the gods, and which inspire me with the feeling that you will succeed." This mixture of faith or hope in the future, joined with fear, belongs to all ages and all religions, and, I believe, to all men. We find *fatum* and *fortuna* joined by Evander, not only on the above cited occasion, but again, vs. 333, where he informs Aeneas that it was not Fate only, but omnipotent Fortune also, which had placed him on the Tiber—

" me pulsum patria, pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile *Fatum*
 his posuere locis ;"

and a little previously (vs. 127) Aeneas himself is brought, not by Fate only, but by Fortune, too, to this same Evander ("cui me *Fortuna* precari," &c.). Numerous other instances of the same kind might be cited, if these were not sufficient to show that this junction of FORTUNA and FIDES, this junction of mere chance with rational probability, is sanctioned by the frequent, though still more incongruous junction of mere chance with fixed inevitable fate—a junction in which, after all, there is no contradiction, because that which is fated and inevitable always *appears* to him who is ignorant of the necessary connexion of events to be the work or result of mere chance.

For the FIDES of our text compare 2. 162 :

" omnis spes Danaum et coepti *fiducia* belli
Palladis auxiliis semper stetit."

IN VESTRIS PONO GREMIIS.—I.e. *in vestra pono tutela*. Compare Suet. *Vesp.* 5: “quandoque proculcatam desertamque rempublicam civili aliqua perturbatione in *tutela* eius ac velut in *gremium* deventuram.”

OBTESTOR, QUAEcumQUE MIHI FORTUNA FIDESQUE EST IN VESTRIS PONO GREMIIS, REVOCATE PARENTEM (vv. 260, 261).—Not OBTESTOR, QUAEcunQUE, but OBTESTOR, REVOCATE, as if he had said: OBTESTOR, REVOCATE *vos* PARENTEM, *vos*, IN *quorum* GREMIIS PONO *quamcunque* *meam fortunam fidemque*. Voss says nothing about the passage, but at 10. 107, observes: “Ähnlich ist, 9. 260.”

REVOCATE PARENTEM (vs. 260), theme; REDDITE CONSPECTUM, variation. CONSPECTUM is not the participle, but the substantive: CONSPECTUM *eius*, as 6. 108:

“ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
contingat.”

ET TRIPODAS GEMINOS AURI DUO MAGNA TALENTA (vs. 265).—Heyne questions whether AURI belongs to TRIPODAS or to TALENTA, and decides in favour of TALENTA. The question is not of much moment, and is perhaps not to be decided, except by guess, inasmuch as no reliance whatever is on any occasion to be placed on the punctuation of MSS. From the reason of the thing, AURI would seem to belong better to TALENTA, inasmuch as tripods were less likely to be of gold. Servius, however, treats of DUO MAGNA TALENTA, without taking any notice of AURI.

CRATERA ANTIQUUM QUEM DAT SIDONIA DIDO (vs. 266).—“Promittit omnia duplicia, BINA POCULA, TRIPODAS GEMINOS, DUO TALENTA, unum nempe Niso, alterum Euryalo. In tali divisione locus esse non potest *uni crateri*,” Peerlkamp. Why not?—why not the single crater to Euryalus, counterpoise to the single horse for Nisus?

DAT = *dabat*, exactly as *δίδωσι*, Eurip. *Med.* 950 (ed. Porson) (Medea, speaking of the presents she intends for Glauce):

κράμον, ὃν ποθ' Ἥλιος,
πατρὸς πατρὸς δίδωσιν ἐκγονοῖσιν οἷς·

and as "educat, 10. 517 :

. . . "Sulmone creatos
quatuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos *educat* Ufens ;"

and "dat," 172 :

"magna tropaea ferunt, quos *dat* tua dextera leto ;"

and "mittit" and "dat," 9. 359 :

"Euryalus phaleras Ramnetis et aurea bullis
cingula, Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim
quae *mittit* dona, hospitio cum iungeret absens,
Caedicius ; ille suo moriens *dat* habere nepoti."

According to the theory of Köne, *Sprache der Römischen Epiker*, p. 184, Virgil has used the present for the past time on occasions, not of choice, or for the sake of a better expression, but compelled by the exigencies of the metre. The theory is altogether erroneous. The present tense is used in these relations of past acts, exactly as it is used in the common course of the narrative, very many—nay, most—of the acts of which are described in the present time, although the entire narrative is of events long since past. To make my meaning clearer by an example, DAT is here used of a present formerly made by Dido, and "mittit," vs. 361, of a present formerly made by Caedicius, and διδωσιν, Eurip. *Med.* 951, of a present formerly made by Ηλίος, not on account of any particular difficulty there was to say *dabat*, or *dedit*, or *dederat*, but in order to place the act more immediately under the eyes of the reader, and exactly as, vs. 364, "rapit" and "aptat" are used of the same present of Caedicius, although the acts described by "rapit" and "aptat" were acts past long ages before the time in which Virgil wrote. In other words, the presents made by Dido and Caedicius and Ηλίος are made in the presence of the reader with the same licence with which Caedicius's present is appropriated by Euryalus in the presence of the reader. The reader who has no objection to be transported back in imagination to the time of the appropriation by Euryalus need not make much objection to being transported back to the previous adventures of the appropriated objects.

IAM PECTORE TOTO ACCIPIO, ET COMITEM CASUS COMPLECTOR
IN OMNES (vv. 296-7), theme; NULLA MEIS SINE TE QUARERETUR
GLORIA REBUS, first variation; SEU PACEM, SEU BELLA GERAM,
TIBI MAXIMA RERUM VERBORUMQUE FIDES, second variation.

TIBI MAXIMA RERUM VERBORUMQUE FIDES (vv. 279-80).—
RERUM, sc. *meorum*; VERBORUM, sc. *meorum*. Ascanius promises
to treat Euryalus exactly as Achilles tells Ulysses he, Achilles,
will not treat Agamemnon, Hom. *Il.* 9. 374:

οὐδε τι οἱ βούλας συμφρασσομαι, οὐδε μὲν ἔργον.

ME NULLA DIES TAM FORTIBUS AUSIS DISSIMILEM ARGUERIT :
TANTUM FORTUNA SECUNDA HAUD ADVERSA CADAT (vv. 281-3).—
The Virgilian student is no doubt aware of the uncertainty of
commentators, not merely concerning the sense, but concerning
the reading of this passage—is no doubt aware that while some
commentators, *ex. gr.* Heyne and Ribbeck, follow Servius in his
reading AUT, and his interpretation: "Ab hoc officio et ab hac
audacia accessu temporis inferior non probabor, qualiscunque
fortuna comitetur;" others, *ex. gr.* Thiel, Voss, and Conington,
adopt the reading of the three first-class MSS., Medicean,
Palatine, and Roman, viz. HAUD or HAUT (as testified not only
by the respective editors of those MSS., but by Ribbeck, for
this is one of the few instances in which I have myself made no
collation of the MSS.), and understand the sense to be: "Let
but fortune be prosperous, not adverse," Conington;

. . . "nur falle zu glücklichem ausgang,
nicht abwendig, das loos." (Voss.)

"Er verspricht nehmlich TAM FORTIBUS AUSIS nie unwürdig zu
handeln. Da erinnern ihn eben die *fortia facta* selbst an die
nothwendige bedingung, die er zugleich als wunsch aufstellt :
wenn anders das glück der ausführung gunstig ist," Thiel.
Nay, the Virgilian student **may** have gone so far as to turn
his back on Servius and those who, with Servius, reading AUT,
understand Euryalus to thank Ascanius for the honour he has
conferred on him, viz. that of being from thenceforward his
"comes," whether in peace or war, and to pledge himself to the

young prince to be always in that capacity, as daring and undaunted as he was that night, no matter whether fortune favoured him that night or not; in other words, no matter whether he perished in that night's enterprise or not; **may** have adopted the reading of the three first-class MSS., viz. HAUD or HAUT, **and may** understand Euryalus to say: "Let only fortune be favourable to me this night—favourable, which I hardly hope, and not adverse—and I shall ever be as your *comes*, no less daring and undaunted than I am this moment." If the Virgilian student has gone so far, if such has been the outcome of his meditation on this passage, I congratulate him, am entirely with him, and doubt not but every one of my readers will be with him also, for this plain reason, that it was only in case of fortune being favourable, not adverse, SECUNDA HAUD ADVERSA, to Euryalus that night, that there was any possibility of Euryalus being the future "*comes*" of Ascanius. The whole passage has been imitated by Symmachus, writing to Ausonius, *Epist.* 1. 22: "*nec unquam dissimilem scriptis talibus dies arguerit, tantum fortuna munifica prosperorum, secundat optata.*"

TANTUM (vs. 282).—Compare Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 101:

"*tantum ne noceas dum vis prodesse videto.*"

294.

ATQUE ANIMUM PATRIAE STRINXIT PIETATIS IMAGO

"Conscientia ac cogitatio, adeoque IMAGO PIETATIS suae in patrem Aeneam (Aeneaeque in ipsum PIETATIS," Wagner, 1861): "acriter pungit animum Ascanii exemplo pietatis in Euryalo erga matrem percepto," Heyne, Wagner (1861). On which interpretation Peerlkamp observes: "IMAGO PIETATIS, pro *cogitatione*, ita posita, Latinum non est; nec, si esset, satis convenit. . . . Non cogitamus aut deliberamus in tali causa sed agimus, Pietas Ascanii iam in lacrymis se aperuit: *cogitatio* amoris parum est," and, not able himself to propose a better, expunges the

line. I disagree with Peerlkamp both on the necessity for expunging the line, and in the dictum "*IMAGO PIETATIS pro cogitatione, ita posita, Latinum non est.*" *Imago* is Latin for *cogitatio*, if not in the sense of *thinking* or *meditation*, at least in the sense of *thought* or *idea*; represents precisely the Platonic notion, that a thought, or, as we say, an idea, is an image or picture of the object which excites or calls it forth. Compare Locke, *Essay*: "The pictures in our mind are laid in fading colours;" Cic. *Fin.* 1. 6: "*Imagines, quae idola nominant, quorum incursione non solum videamus sed etiam cogitemus;*" Id. *Acad.* 4. 40: "*Imagines extrinsecus in animos nostros per corpus irrupere.*" For examples of the use of *imago* in this sense, viz. that of *εἰδωλον*, or *idea*, see Ovid, *Met.* 1. 754 (Epaphus to Phaethon): "*es tumidus genitoris imagine falsi*" [with the idea of], *Ibid.* 6. 585 (of Proene):

. . . "sed fasque nefasque
confusura ruit, poenaeque in *imagine* tota est"

[is entirely wrapt up in the idea of punishment]; *Ibid.* 8. 95:

. . . "Minos porrecta refugit,
turbatusque novi respondit *imagine* facti"

[with the idea of]; *Ibid.* 11. 427:

"aequora me terrent, et ponti tristis *imago*"

[the sad idea of the sea]; Id. *Fast.* 2. 753 (Lucretia speaking):

"mens abit, et morior, quoties pugnantis *imago*
me subit: et gelidum pectora frigus habet"

[the idea of him fighting occurs to me]. Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 58: "*Horret animus tanti flagitii imagine*" [the mind shudders at the idea of so great flagitiousness]. Plin. *Ep.* 7. 5: "*Magnam partem noctium in imagine tua vigil exigo*" [in the idea of you, in thinking of you, in imagining you]. Virgil himself, *Aen.* 2. 560:

. . . "subiit cari genitoris *imago*
ut regem aequaeuum crudeli vulnere vidi
vitam exhalantem"

(where "*genitoris imago*" can be nothing else than the image

or picture in the mind, idea, viz. of Anchises). **Also**, especially, Caesar's directions to his soldiers before the battle of Pharsalia, Lucan, 7. 320 :

"Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
ulla, nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
commoveant; vultus gladio turbate verendos,"

where "imago" is the image or picture neither of any object present before the eyes of Caesar's soldiers, nor of anything which had previously taken place and was brought back to their minds by memory, but the notion, thought, or idea (of tenderness, "pietatis") which would naturally arise in their minds when they saw their parents standing in the hostile ranks. "You are not," says Caesar, "to give way to any such notion, thought, or idea, but strike at once at their very faces:" "vultus gladio turbate verendos"—**and** *Aen.* 12. 560 (where see Rem.):

"continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago,"

where "imago" is the image or picture neither of any object present before the eyes of Aeneas, nor of anything which had previously taken place and was brought back to his mind by the power of recollection, but the image or picture which Aeneas formed to himself of the greater fight which was yet to take place, of that greater fight of which he had just received the suggestion from Venus, exactly as in our text (and at verse 824 of the tenth Book). IMAGO PIETATIS is not the image or picture of any pietas exhibited either now or previously by Euryalus or Lausus, but the image or picture which in the one case Ascanius, and in the other case Aeneas, forms to himself of the distress of the parent, whose amiable and beloved son, in the prime of youth and vigour, has met a violent death; that image or picture in the mind with which even Herod himself is described by the Pseudo-Egesippus (*de Ercid. Hierosol.* 1. 30) to have been so strongly struck as to have interceded with a parent still more barbarous than himself, to spare the lives of the seven children he was immolating: "Nullus pietati locus: quinetiam volens Herodes plerosque eripere neci, atque ad se confugiendi

fiduciam dare, avertit magis: ita ut nullus voluntarius Herodi adiungeretur, et si qui adigebantur, mortem praeferrent captivitati. Denique unus de senioribus, cui septem filii uxorque adessent, quorum saluti consulere posset, omnes eos tali occidit modo. Singulos quosque progredi iubens, ipse in ingressu stetit et procedentem de filiis interficiebat. Despiciens Herodes tam triste facinus ac miserabile, *paterna perstrictus necessitudine* [= *paternae perstrictus imagine necessitudinis*] arcebat manu, et verbis rogabat ut parceret liberis, impunitatem pollicens: at ille haud quaquam ullis inflexus vocibus, atque insuper regi convivatus, supra filios etiam uxorem peremit, praecipitatis ex alto cadaveribus filiorum, ad ultimum semetipsum in profundum praecipitem dedit."

Ascanius mentally apostrophizes the absent parent of Euryalus in the self-same strain in which Aeneas verbally apostrophizes the absent parent of Pallas, 11. 53:

"infelix, nati funus crudele videbis."

It is precisely in this sense, viz. that of *εδωλον* or *idea*, I hold IMAGO to be used in our text, and so far I do not differ very widely from Heyne and Wagner. But I entirely disagree with those commentators in the remainder of the gloss. In the first place, Euryalus has afforded no example of filial affection or duty towards his mother. On the contrary, he has deserted her, and without so much as asking her permission, or even taking leave of her, has transferred the care of her to others, and set out on an expedition from which it is in the highest degree probable he will never return. How is it possible that Ascanius should regard this conduct as an example of that first of all duties and charities, filial affection ("exemplo pietatis in Euryalo erga matrem percepto")? If Sir Walter Scott, writing in an age and country in which so much less store is laid by filial affection than was laid by that virtue, that duty, in ancient Rome, reprobates in the indignant language of outraged morality, St. Francis Xavier's conduct towards his mother (Scott, *Life of J. Dryden*, § 6: "It is well that our admiration is qualified by narrations so monstrous, as his [St. Francis

Xavier's] actually restoring the dead to life; so profane, as the inference concerning the sweating crucifix; so trivial and absurd, as a crab's fishing up Xavier's cross, which had fallen into the sea; and, to conclude, so shocking to humanity, as the account of the saint passing by the house of his ancestors, the abode of his aged mother, on his road to leave Europe for ever, and conceiving he did God good service in denying himself the melancholy consolation of a last farewell"), **how** is it possible that this so similar conduct of Euryalus can have been put forward by an ancient Roman as an example of filial affection? Euryalus **is** moved by love of fame ("magno laudum percussus amore;")

"istum
qui vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem");

by friendship ("solum te in tanta pericula mittam?"); by a spirit of daring and love of adventure

("Non ita me genitor, bellis assuetus Opheltes,
Argolicum terrorem inter Troiaeque labores
sublatum erudiit");

by patriotism, if you please

("nec tecum talia gessi,
magnanimum Aenean et fata extrema secutus");

but he is not moved by filial affection. So little has that motive to do with his conduct, that he never even so much as thinks of his mother till reminded of her by Nisus:

"neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris,
quæ te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa
persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae."

Only when he is thus reminded of his mother, of her who, in order to be with him, had turned her back upon the safe and quiet home of Acestes, and whom he now deserts, in order to accompany his friend on a most perilous adventure, does he think of recommending her to the care of Ascanius. No, no; a Roman, and especially a Roman poet of the Augustan age, and, above all Roman poets of whatever age, Virgil, knew too

well wherein filial affection and duty consist to make this great mistake. Euryalus is not put forward as an example of filial affection, neither does Ascanius take him as such. The “pietas,” the thought or idea (IMAGO) of which came across (STRINXIT) the mind of Ascanius, was the pietas, the natural affection of the parent for the child, his heart bled for the mother:

QUAM MISERAM TENUIT NON ILIA TELLUS
MECUM EXCEDENTEM, NON MOENIA REGIS ACESTAE.
HANC EGO NUNC IGNARAM HUIUS QUODCUNQUE PERICLI EST,
INQUE SALUTATAM LINQUO; NOX ET TUA TESTIS
DEXTERA, QUOD NEQUEAM LACRIMAS PERFERRE PARENTIS.
AT TU, ORO, SOLARE INOPEM, ET SUCCURRE RELICTAE:
HANC SINE ME SPEM FERRE TUI: AUDENTIOR IBO
IN CASUS OMNES.

The disconsolate, forlorn situation **it was** of this “inops” and “relicta” [compare the original after which Euryalus’s desertion of his mother has been drawn, viz. Jason’s desertion of his parents, and especially of his mother Alcimede, Apollon. Rhod. 1. 251:

δειλη Αλκιμεδη, και σοι κακον οψε περ, εμπης
ηλυθεν, ουδ’ ετελεσσας επ’ αγλαϊη βιοτοιο.
Αισων αυ μεγα δη τι δυσαμμορος· ητε οι ηεν
βελτερον, ει τοπαροιθεν ενι κτερεισσιν ελυσθεις
νειοθι γαιης κειτο κακων ετι νηις αεθλων·
· · · · ·
ηδη δε δμωες τε πολεις δμωαι τ’ αγεροντο·
μητηρ δ’ αμφ’ αυτον βεβολημενη· οξυ δ’ εκαστην
δυνεν αχος· συν δε σφι πατηρ ολοφ υπο γηρα
εντυπας εν λεχεεσσι καλυψαμενος γοαασκεν.
αυταρ ο των μεν επειτα κατεπρηνεν ανιας
θαρσυνων, δμωεσσι δ’ αρηϊα τευχε’ αιρειν
πεφραδεν· οι δε σιγα κατηφεις ηειροντο·
μητηρ δ’ ως τα πρωτ’ επεχενατο πηχες παιδι,
ως εχετο κλαιουσ’ αδιωωτερον, ηυτε κουρη
οιοθεν ασπασιως πολιην τροφον αμφιπεσουσα
μυρεται· η ουκ εισιν ετ’ αλλοι κηδεμονηες,
αλλ’ υπο μητρειη βιοτον βαρυν ηγηλαζει·
και ε νεον πολεεσσιν ονειδεσιν εστυφελιζειν·
τη δε τ’ οδυρομενη δεδεται κεαρ ενδοθεν ατη.
ουδ’ εχει εκφυλξει τοσσον γοον οσσον ορεχθει·

ὡς ἀδίων κλαίεσκεν εὖν παῖδ' ἀγκας ἐχούσα
 Ἀλκιμεδῆ, καὶ τοῖον ἔπος φάτο κηδοσυνῆσιν.
 αὐτ' ὄφελον κείν' ἡμάρ, στ' ἐξείποντος ἀκούσα
 δειλὴ ἐγὼ Πελῖας κακῆν βασιλῆος ἐφ' ἑτμῆν,
 αὐτικ' ἀπο ψυχῆν μεθεμὲν, κηδεὼν τε λαθεσθῆναι,
 ὅφρ' αὐτὸς μὲ τεγῆσι φίλαις τάρχυσσας χερσίν,
 τέκνον ἐμὸν· τὸ γὰρ οἶον ἦν ἐτι λοιπὸν εἰλδῶρ
 ἐκ σέθεν· ἀλλὰ δὲ πάντα παλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω·
 νῦν γὰρ μὲν ἡ τοπαρῶιδεν Ἀχαιῶδεςσιν ἀγῆτη
 δμῶις ὅπως κενεοῖσι λελειψομαι ἐν μεγάροισι
 σείο πόθῳ μινυθούσα δυσάμμορος, φ' ἐπὶ πολλῇν
 ἀγλαΐην καὶ κύδος ἔχον παρὸς, φ' ἐπὶ μόνῳ
 μίτρῃν πρῶτον ἐλυσά καὶ ὑστάτην· ἐξόχα γὰρ μοι
 Εἰλειθυῖα θεὰ πολέος ἐμεγῆρε τοκοῖο.
 ὦμοι ἐμῆς αἰτῆς, τὸ μὲν οὐδ' ὅσον οὐδ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ
 αἰσάμην, εἰ φίλος ἐμοὶ κακὸν ἐσσετ' ἀλυξας.
 ὡς ἦγε στεναχούσα κινυρετο· ταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
 ἀμφιπόλοι γοάσσκον ἐπιστάδον·]

and not the tender mercies of the son, who was the sole occasion of her being thus “inops” and “relieta,” **which** moved the Trojans, and especially Ascanius,

(PERCUSA MENTE DEDERE

DARDANIDAE LACRIMAS; ANTE OMNES PULCHER IULUS),

and raised in the mind of the latter the reflection (observe how accurately the word which thus presents itself unbidden answers to IMAGO), *how dear a child is to a parent!*

ATQUE ANIMUM PATRIAE STRINXIT PIETATIS IMAGO,

the very reflection which should naturally be produced by the appeal of Euryalus; the very reflection which should be the first to arise in the mind of Ascanius, himself the son of so good and kind (*pious*) a parent, a parent, too, separated from him at that very moment under somewhat similar circumstances; the very reflection which so happily informs the reader, just before Ascanius begins to speak, that the words of Euryalus have not been in vain, that they have succeeded in exciting in the mind of the young prince the tenderest sympathy for the forlorn mother, and that he will do for her all that he is asked to do,

and even more; to which effect he pledges himself on the instant, and in the very next line:

SPONDEO DIGNA TUIS INGENTIBUS OMNIA COEPTIS.
NAMQUE ERIT ISTA MIHI GENETRIX NOMENQUE CREUSAE
SOLUM DEFUERIT,

a pledge and promise, it will be observed, to which Euryalus's claim is not, as it ought not to be, his affection for his mother, but his great desert in sacrificing, primarily, himself, and secondarily, his mother, on the altar of the public weal,

(SPONDEO DIGNA TUIS INGENTIBUS OMNIA COEPTIS).

Yet this line, so necessary to inform the reader of the effect of Euryalus's address to Ascanius, so necessary to explain what it was that struck the minds of all hearers (PERCUSSA MENTE) to such a degree, that they even wept (DEDERE LACRIMAS), and most of all Ascanius (ANTE OMNES PULCHER IULUS): this line, so pregnant of moral sentiment, is expunged by Peerlkamp. And why? Because, in common with the other commentators, he neither understood the line, nor the bearing of the line, on the passage. Hear himself: "Motus est ANTE OMNES Ascanius, lacrimas fundit. Quis eum movit? Euryalus. Quare? Quia tam pius erat erga matrem. Pietas eum movit. Imo ipsa IMAGO PIETATIS quam . . . suis oculis cernebat. Vides, si Virgilius hunc versum fecisset, eum fuisse scripturum:

maternaeque ANIMUM STRINXIT PIETATIS IMAGO.

Quare credo huc esse translatum ex 10. 824." Virgilian students will, I think, not be very willing to expunge either this or any other line of Virgil, at the instance of a critic who does not even know the meaning of the very line he has himself composed, "Maternae PIETATIS" not only not meaning the affection of Euryalus for his mother, but actually meaning the very opposite, viz. the affection of his mother for Euryalus. Compare 11. 340: "materna nobilitas" [the nobility of his mother]; *Georg.* 1. 28: "materna myrto" [the myrtle of his mother]; *ibid.* 4. 349: "maternas aures" [the ears of his mother].

But I shall be asked, Why does Virgil, if it is really, as I insist, of the affection of the mother for the son he speaks, not use the very words suggested by Peerlkamp, and acknowledged, nay, proved by myself, to possess the very meaning required? Why does he say not *maternae*, but *PATRIAE*? Exactly because the meaning Virgil wants to express is not affection *especially* of the mother, to the exclusion of affection of the father, but the affection of the parent (any parent, whether mother or father) for her, or his, own offspring. To express this general feeling he uses not the word *maternae*, which would have excluded fatherly affection, but *PATRIAE*, equivalent to *parental*, the male gender including and, as our lawyers say, covering the female—compare Charisius, *Inst. Gram.* 1 (Keil, vol. 1, p. 102): “Heres, parens, homo, etsi in *communi sexu* intelligantur, tamen masculino genere semper dicuntur. Nemo enim aut secundam heredem aut bonam parentem aut malam hominem, sed masculine, tametsi de femina sermo habeatur . . . et apud Vergilium sic legimus :

‘ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis’?”

—**not** indeed to the degree asserted by Charisius, whose statement that parens, heres, and homo are always masculine, even when a female is meant, is contradicted even by his own quotation of 3. 341 (for few will go so far with him as his editor Fabricius, and read “amissi” in that passage, and still fewer so far with him as to forget the “alma parens” both of Virgil himself and Ovid), **but** to the extent very certainly, that as *οι παιδες* embraces all the children, female as well as male (Philostr. *Heroic.*, ed. Boisson., p. 224: *ο γαρ Πριαμος ηκων παρα τον Αχιλλεια, χειραγωγον αυτου την παιδα εποιετο, νεωτατην ουσαν ων η Εκαβη αυτω ετεκεν. Εθεραπευον δε αι το βαδισμα των πατερων οι νεωτεροι των παιδων*), so the adjective which strictly and properly expresses “belonging to the male parent” may be used, and in the case before us is actually used, in place of the more proper term *parentalis* (appropriated to express “belonging to dead parent,” and so become ill-omened), to signify *belonging to parent*, i. e. *parental*. See Facciol. *in voce*

Deceptus: "Si quando parentes, turbato mortalitatis ordine, iis essent superstites, quibus vitam ipsi dederant, *caritate patria* impulsu filiorum monumentis inscribebant 'contra votum.'"

PIETATIS IMAGO STRINXIT.—The idea how much a parent feels under such circumstances thrilled his mind. He did not himself experience the feeling (for he was not in the circumstances): it only occurred to him how poignant such feeling must be, and this thought, this IMAGO, thrilled (STRINXIT) his mind. Contrast Corippus, *Iohann.* 1. 157:

"ductorem ipse pater [Iustinianus] cernens discedere princeps
condoluit, *pietasque* animos concussit heriles,"

where, there being no *imago*, it is not the thought how tender the feeling must be, but the tender feeling itself ("*pietas*") which powerfully shook ("*concussit*") the mind of Justinian.

PATRIAE.—*Parental*. Compare (α) Liv. 2. 5. (of the elder Brutus): "Quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo *patrio* inter publicae poenae ministerium," where the feeling which was visible in the face of Brutus while administering the punishment of his son is the same parental (literally paternal) feeling, of which the idea or thought, raised in Ascanius's mind by what he saw and heard, STRINXIT (*griped, painfully affected*) the mind of Ascanius. Also (β) Stat. *Theb.* 1. 597 (of the monster sent by Apollo to Thebes to avenge the exposure of his infant Linus):

. . . "monstrum infandis Acheronte sub imo
conceptum Eumenidum thalamis, cui virginis ora
pectoraque; aeternum stridens a vertice surgit,
et ferrugineam frontem discriminat, anguis.
haec tam dira lues nocturno squalida passu
illabi thalamis, animasque a stirpe recentes
abripere altricum gremiis, morsuque cruento
devesci et multum *patrio* pinguescere luctu,"

where the hobgoblin which has devoured the baby batters on the parent's suffering, i.e. on the idea or thought of the parent's suffering, exactly as in our text Ascanius's mind is griped (painfully affected) by the idea or thought of the parent's

suffering. See Rem. 10. 450; and compare (e) Sil. 16. 473 :

“ inde, comam rutilus, sed cum fulgore nivali
corporis, implevit caveam clamoribus omnem
Eurytus; excelso nutritum colle crearat
Saetabis, atque aderant *trepidi pietate parentes.*”

where “*pietate*” is the tender affection of the parent for the child. (a) Mart. Capell. *de Nupt. Phil.* 1, § 33 (Apollo addressing Jupiter) :

“ sed te *parentis cura* si stringit pia,
par est deorum convooes coetum potens,”

where “*parentis cura pia*” is exactly the “*patria pietas*” of our text. (e) *Ibid.* 1, § 92 (Jupiter speaking) :

“ quae nec frustra mihi est insita caritas,
ut suevit *patria stringere pectora,*”

where the “*patria pietas*” and STRINXIT of our text are represented by “*caritas [quae] suevit patria stringere pectora.*” (f) Sil. 1. 185 (of the picture or image of his father Hamilcar’s valour, inflaming the Carthaginian army to appoint Hannibal general against the Romans) :

“ hinc studia accendit *patriae virtutis imago,*
hinc fama in populos iurati didita belli,”

where, in the almost identical phrase, we have both “*imago,*” signifying picture in the mind, *i.e.* thought, and “*patriae,*” signifying not *towards the father*, but *of or belonging to the father*; or, as it might be rendered in English, with a looseness similar to that of our text, *parental*. (g) Livy, 8. 7: “*imperii patrii,*” the command of the father, *i.e.* the parental command; and “*maiestatem patriam,*” the majesty of the father, *i.e.* the parental majesty. (h) Id. 4. 45: “*Quum parum decorum inter collegas certamen mirabundi patres conspicerent, Q. Servilius, ‘Quando nec ordinis huius ulla,’ inquit, ‘nec reipublicae est verecundia, patria maiestas altercationem istam dirimet.’*” (i) Sil. 15. 10 :

“ absterret iuvenem [Scip. Afr.] *patrios* patruisque piare
optantem manes, tristi conterrita luctu,
et reputans annos, cognato sanguine turba”

the manes of his father, viz., Publius Scipio. (*j*) Id. 1. 70 :

“ hanc rabiem in fines Italum Saturniaque arva
addiderat quondam puero [Hannibali] *patrius furor*” . . .

the fury of his father, viz. of Hamilcar. **And** (*k*) Val. Flacc. 2. 156 : “ adde cruentis quod *patrium* saevire Dahis,” it is the custom of the country for the Dahae to be cruel, custom inherited from their fathers. So also the Gr. *πατρως* is not *towards a father*, but *of a father*, as *πατρωι θεοι*, *father's gods*; *πατρωος δομος*, *father's house*; *πατρωα εστια*, *father's hearth*. Soph. Oed. Col. 1389 (Oedipus cursing Polynices) :

τοιαντ' αρωμαι, και καλω το Ταρταρου
στυγον πατρωον ερεβος, ως σ' αποκιση,

where *πατρωον* = Lat. *paternum* (*quod patrem meum Latium tegit*)
See likewise Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 9. 45 :

“ la *pietà del figliuol*, l'odio ch' aveva
a me, nè di nè notte il lascia mai.
ma perchè il pianger morti non rileva,
e la vendetta sfoga l'odio assai ;
la parte del pensier, ch' esser doveva
della pietado in sospirare, e in guai,
vuol che coll' odio a investigar s' unisca,
come egli m' abbia in mano, e mi punisca.”

where “*pietà del figliuol*” is not the filial affection of the son for the father, but the pity (or grief, or tenderness) of the father for the son who has been killed.*

STRINXIT.—*Painfully touched or affected, griped, pinched, made to smart*. So Liv. 22. 51 : “ Quos *stricta* matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera ;” Lucan, 4. 652 : *Iam pectora pigro stricta gelu.*”

PERCUSSA MENTE DEDERE DARDANIDAE LACRYMAS, ANTE OMNES PULCHER IULUS.—Let the reader compare this PERCUSSA MENTE DEDERE DARDANIDAE LACRYMAS with “*hoc fletu concussi animi, moestusque per omnes it gemitus*” (vs. 498,

* Prof. Balzano and Sr. Malanima both say “*del figliuol*” is = “*pei figliuol*,” and my explanation correct.

below), and this ANTE OMNES PULCHER IULUS with “multum lacrymantis Iuli” (vs. 501), and then say whether the sympathy of the same persons described in so nearly identical terms can by any possibility be in the one place “with the affection of Euryalus for his parent,” and in the other place “with the affection of his parent for Euryalus;” and whether it is not most certainly in both places with the one sorrow, viz. that of the parent for the son, here anticipated by the force of imagination (IMAGO), there presented visibly and audibly to the senses.

An exact pendant for the unfeeling (*impia*) desertion of his mother by Euryalus, for the sake of military glory (“magno laudum percussus amore”), is afforded by Parthenopæus’s desertion of his mother, from the same motive, “tantum nova gloria suadet,” Stat. *Theb.* 4. 246:

“tu quoque Parrhasias ignara matre catervas
ah rudis annorum (tantum nova gloria suadet),
Parthenopæe, rapis. tum saltus forte remotos
torva parens (neque enim hæc iuveni foret ire potestas)
pacabat cornu, gelidique aversa Lycæi.”

299-324.

CASUS—PREMIT

CASUS FACTUM QUICUNQUE SEQUATUR (vs. 299).—Plainly referring to the “adversa” of Euryalus, vs. 283, for he adds:—

QUAE TIBI POLLICEOR REDUCI, REBUSQUE SECUNDIS,
HÆC EADEM MATRI, &c. ;

whence it appears that “adversa” had been used emphatically as I have endeavoured to show (see Rem.), and as appears indeed from the position of the word “adversa” (see Rem. on 2. 247).

PER CAPUT HOC IURO (vs. 300).—Compare Whately, *Ragged Life in Egypt*, p. 13: “The Copt to whom it [the house]

belonged was a sly-looking fellow, but he promised *on his head* to have all done in seven days."

HUMERO SIMUL EXIIT EXSEM AURATUM (vv. 303-4).—The actual giving of the sword is omitted, and left to be inferred from the context, as 2. 105 (where see Rem.), the actual interrogating of Sinon is omitted, and left to be inferred.

EGRESSI SUPERANT FOSSAS, NOCTISQUE PER UMBRAM CASTRA INIMICA PETUNT (vv. 314-315).—"Vallorum FOSSAS EGRESSI, devenere in turmas hostiles," Cynth. Cenet.

"vor nun gehn sie die gräben hindurch, und im nächtlichen dunkel nahn sie dem lager des feinds."

(Voss).

"escono al fine. E già varcato il fosso
da le notturne tenebre coverti
si metton per la via, che gli conduce
al campo de' nemici."

(Caro.)

Heyne, Wagner, Thiel, Peerlkamp, and Forbiger have passed this passage over in dead silence, neither finding fault with this, the vulgar interpretation, nor proposing another. It is, however, neither the meaning, nor at all like the meaning. The "*fossae*" which the young men get over are not those of their own camp, but those of the enemy's. This appears not only from the whole tenor of the narrative, but from the very wording of our text itself. From the whole tenor of the narrative, because, vs. 308, the young men have been already escorted to the very gate by all the principal men of the camp :

QUOS OMNIS EUNTES

PRIMORUM MANUS AD PORTAS IUVENUMQUE SENUMQUE
PROSEQUITUR VOTIS.

The young men having gone out through the gate, EGRESSI, are already outside, have no *fossae* to cross. The same thing appears from the wording of our text, for they *SUPERANT* FOSSAS, i.e. *overcome the difficulty* presented by the *fossae*; but what difficulty could their own a *fossa* have presented to them, even if there had been *fossae* in front of the gate. They were well acquainted with it, and had nothing to do but to leap over

it, or go down into it, and up out of it. On the other hand, the fossae of the enemy presented a difficulty to be overcome, they were unknown to them, might be guarded, and even if not, the least noise, the least slip of the foot in the darkness, might have roused a slumbering sentinel. Therefore SUPERANT FOSSAS, *overcome the difficulty presented by the enemy's fossae*. Nor let it be objected that the enemy had no fossae, were lying asleep on the open plain, wholly unprotected by ditch or rampart of any kind. They had CASTRA, as appears by our very text, and the essence of CASTRA is a fortification, and the simplest and readiest of all fortifications is a fossa. A besieging army might have no murus, no palisaded vallum, but it must have at least a fossa. Hear Ovid, *Met.* 12. 148 :

“ dumque vigil Phrygios servat custodia muros ;
et vigil Argolicas servat custodia fossas,”

where we have, with Ovid's usual precision, the “muri” of the besieged, and the “fossae” of the besiegers. Add to all which that vs. 366 informs us that the young men, having committed such havoc as they could among the sleeping besiegers, “excedunt castris, et tuta capessunt,” *i. e.* go out (*ex*) of the enclosed place, where they were in danger, and get into the open country, where they were (except for an accident) safe.

SUPERANT FOSSAS, NOCTISQUE PER UMBRAM CASTRA INIMICA PETUNT.—The usual hysteron proteron, and equivalent to PER UMBRAM NOCTIS CASTRA INIMICA PETUNT *superando* FOSSAS, or PER UMBRAM NOCTIS CASTRA INIMICA PETUNT, *et* FOSSAS SUPERANT. Compare Liv. 5. 45 : “Concione dimissa corpora curant intenti quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi, haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum, intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti, cum ingenti clamore invadunt. Nusquam praelium, omnibus locis caedes est : nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur.”

CASTRA INIMICA.—Not *the enemy's camp*, but *the camp full of evil to them, the camp which shall work them harm*, as 12. 812 : “traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros” [*not the enemy's*

battles, *but* battles which should work the Teucri themselves harm]; 9. 355: "*Lux inimica propinquat*" [daylight, which shall do us harm, which is inimical to us]; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 611:

"cuius ab interitu *non ulla* Amphionis arces
vidit *amica* dies"

[no day which did not bring some calamity with it]. And so Servius: "CASTRA INIMICA. Non tantum *hostilia*, sed et *perniciosa*. Nam cum dolore dictum est INIMICA: unde scilicet *redituri non erant*."

MULTIS TAMEN ANTE FUTURI EXITIO (vv. 315-316).—"Haec per Latinitatem, imo per cuiusvis linguae rationem, non aliter explicari possunt, quam: CASTRA PETUNT *inimicorum*, prius TAMEN, quam illa CASTRA *peterent*, MULTIS EXITIO FUTURI *erant*. Talis autem sententia ab universa rei gestae historia abhorret," Peerlkamp; who accordingly amputates the offending member, so that the text may run:

CASTRA INIMICA PETUNT. SOMNO VINOQUE PER HERBAM.

Peerlkamp's mistake is double. INIMICA is not *belonging to the enemy*, but *inimical, unfriendly* (see above), and ANTE refers not to CASTRA, but to INIMICA, so as to afford the sense, *not* "before they arrive at the enemy's camp they shall destroy many of the enemy," but "before they experience the enmity of the camp," *i. e.* before they are destroyed themselves they shall destroy many. There are, indeed, the two defects in the passage—first, the somewhat unusual, and therefore, because not cleared up, deceptive and ambiguous sense in which the epithet "inimicus" is applied to CASTRA; and secondly, the incorrect reference of ANTE, not to the preceding point of time, PETUNT, to which the mind of the reader logically refers it, but to a mere epithet, INIMICA. Such defects, however, instead of showing that the passage is not Virgil's, and should, therefore, be eliminated from the text, rather show the contrary, Virgil being, like so many of his brethren in the Muse, always more solicitous about poetical effect than logical structure, and never not ready to sacrifice the latter to the former. See Rem. on "it mare prurptum," 1. 248. A better acquaintance with this so general

practice even of the best poets had not only spared a world of useless commentation, but saved from elimination many a verse the head and tail of whose offending was mere contumacity against grammarian intolerance. Peerlkamp's entire work is founded on the negation—shall I not rather say, on ignorance?—of this, it must be owned, not very laudable free-and-easy of poets.

CORPORA FUSA VIDENT, ARRECTOS LITTORE CURRUS (vs. 317).—ARRECTOS is contrasted with FUSA; the chariots usually extended lengthwise, stand upright, *i. e.* thrown back on their wheels, with their poles pointing upwards, and the men, usually upright, are extended at full length on the ground.

LATO TE LIMITE DUCAM (vs. 323).—Sil. 1. 266 (of Hannibal):

“et quoties campo rapidus fera praelia miscet,
qua sparsit ferrum, *latus* rubet aequore *limes*.”

The limes, or limit between adjoining lands or properties, being, as a matter of course, the part walked upon, the same word came to signify equally *limit* and *path*.

VOCEMQUE PREMIT (vs. 324).—“Aut *summissa voce loquitur*, aut *tacet*,” Servius. On which Heyne observes: “Praeferam prius, SIC MEMORAT *voce pressa*,” with which choice of Heyne, Thiel, Forbiger, and Wagner (1861) agree, while Wagner, in his ed. Heyn., and Gossrau prefer Servius's aliter, viz. *tacet*. This last is undoubtedly the true meaning. **Compare** Ovid, *Met.* 9. 762 (Iphis speaking):

“pronuba quid Iuno, quid ad haec, Hymenaeae, venitis
sacra; quibus qui ducat abest, ubi nubimus ambae?
pressit ab his *vocem*,”

ibid. 9. 691 (of Harpocrates):

“quique *premit vocem* digitoque silentia suadet;”

Sil. 2. 279:

“cuncta quidem, Patres, (neque enim cohibere minantur
irae se valuere) *premunt* formidine *vocem*,”

in not one of which passages can *premere vocem* be any-

thing else than *suppress the voice, altogether cease to speak*. But especially compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 778 :

“ inde sati Curibus, *tacitorum* more luporum,
ore *premunt voces*, et corpora victa sopore
invadunt,”

where not only does the “*premere vocem*” take place under precisely the same circumstances as in our text, viz. previously to the attack made on persons who are sound asleep, but where the elliptical expression, “*premere vocem*,” is completed by the addition of “*ore*,” understood, but not expressed in our text, and (happy concurrence of circumstances !) actually declared to mean entire suppression of the voice, by the express illustration “*tacitorum more luporum*.” Compare **also** our author’s own (6. 155): “*dixit pressoque obmutuit ore*” [not with half or partially closed mouth, but with closed mouth, mouth entirely closed], and Statius’s (*Theb.* 3. 647): “*hic presso gemuit simul ore sacerdos*” [groaned with closed mouth, i. e. ceased speaking, and groaned]; and (*ibid.* 1. 490, of Adrastus):

. . . “ stupet omine tanto
defixus senior, divina oracula Phoebi
agnoscens, monitusque datos vocalibus antris.
obtutu gelida *ora premit*, laetusque per artus
horror iit. sensit manifesto numine ductos
affore, quos nexis ambagibus augur Apollo
portendi generos, vultu fallente ferarum
ediderat,”

where the italicised words = *gazes in silence on*. See Rem. on “*ora tenebant*,” 2. 1; and on “*defixa obtutu tenet ora*,” 7. 249.

The meaning, therefore, is, not that the words are addressed to Euryalus in a low voice, the enemy being so near that a usual loudness of tone might have alarmed them, but that the words are addressed to Euryalus in the ordinary tone of voice, while the enemy were still out of hearing, and that, having uttered these words, Nisus said no more, but proceeded to work. Only in later Latinity do I find *pressa vox* used in the first sense ascribed to it by Servius. See Erasmus, *Naufragium*:

"tum ille, *voce iam pressiore* ne videlicet exaudiret Christophorus, 'Tace,' inquit, 'fatue! An credis me ex animo loqui?'" and even here it is not *pressa*, but "*pressiore*," less than *pressa*, and meaning *rather pressed, rather closed, somewhat closed*.

Exactly as *premere vocem* is not *to lower*, but *entirely suppress the voice*, *premere gemitum* is not *to lower* or *moderate*, but *entirely suppress a groan* (see 10. 464 :

"audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo
corde *premit gemitum* lacrimasque effundit inanes"),

and *premere curam* not *to moderate*, but *entirely keep down care, not let care be seen at all* (as 4. 331 :

. . . "ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
lumina et obnixus *curam* sub corde *premebat*").

Comprimere vocem is an intensive form of *premere vocem* (see Seneca, *de Vita beata* 26: "Ut, quotiens aliquid ex illo proferetur oraculo, intenti et *compressa voce* audiatis"), as *comprimere os* or *ora* and *opprimere os* or *ora* are intensive forms of *premere os* or *ora*. See Plaut. *Asin.* 3. 2. 40: "Opprime os; is est" [shut your mouth close (silence), It is he]; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 295:

. . . "voluit deus *ora* loquentis
opprimere: exierat iam vox properata sub auras."

See Rem. on *con-* in composition, and on "*premit ore*," 7. 103.

336-338.

MULTOQUE IACEBAT

MEMBRA DEO VICTUS FELIX SI PROTENUS ILLUM
 AEQUASSET NOCTI LUDUM IN LUCEMQUE TULISSET.

MULTOQUE IACEBAT MEMBRA DEO VICTUS.—DEO, “vel vino vel somno,” Servius. “Vino,” Heyne, Thiel, Voss, Forbiger, Wagner (1861), Peerlkamp. “Somno,” Heins. ad Tib. 1. 2. 2. Somnus and Bacchus being both gods alike, commentators seem to have thought themselves at liberty to understand our text of either according to their respective fancies or caprices. We are, however, as I think, bound by the rules of just criticism never to interpret any author at random, or, as it were, by casting of lots, or throwing of dice, but always, if possible, to find out a clue to the precise sense intended. On this principle, we are on the present occasion to inquire what clue the context affords to the precise meaning of “deus,” is it possible to ascertain from it what god in particular is meant. Examining the passage, we find that the whole party attacked are described as asleep after drinking wine. They are all sleeping—one so sound asleep as to be even snoring loud (TOTO PROFLABAT PECTORE SOMNUM). The god, therefore, who has conquered Serranus is not Bacchus, but Somnus. Serranus is, like his companions, sound asleep, and TOTO PROFLABAT PECTORE SOMNUM, and MULTO IACEBAT MEMBRA DEO VICTUS are but varied ways of saying the same thing; show in two different persons one and the same state, under two slightly different aspects. The soundness both of Serranus’s sleep and of Rhamnes’s was no doubt greatly increased by the depth of their potations (vv. 316 and 319); but the essential thing was their being asleep, and Virgil was too good a writer to mark out among a number of persons, all sound asleep after a carouse, one in particular as under the especial influence, not of sleep, but of wine. To

make my meaning still clearer: all these persons were sound asleep; they were, therefore all, in point of fact *victi somno*; in Homeric phrase *δεδμημενοι υπνω* (*Od.* 13. 119), and in Aeschylean *νικωμενοι υπνω*, or *κρατηθεντες υπνω* (*Aesch. Agam.* 912:—

τα δ' αλλα φροντις ουχ υπνω νικωμενη
θησει δικαιως συν θεοις ειμαρμενα.

Id. Eumen. 148, Chorus of Furies speaking:

υπνω κρατηθεισ' αγραν ωλεσα);

and if it is specially said of one, that he was *VICTUS DEO*, the "deus" by whom he was *VICTUS* can be no other than the *deus Somnus*, whose influence on him specially was great, "multus." Attention, therefore, to the context shows that the god spoken of is *Somnus*, just as *Ovid, Art. Amat.* 2. 85 (of the wings of *Icarus* melting in the sun), "*Cera deo propiore liquescit*:" attention to the context shows that the god spoken of is *Phoebus*, and just as *Sil.* 10. 165:

. . . . "ceu fulmine celsa
aesculus, aut quercus
cum fumat percussa Iovi, sacrosque per aevum
aethereo ramos populantur sulfure flammae,
donec victa deo late procumbit,"

attention to the context shows that the god spoken of is *Vulcan*.

Still further; that *Somnus*, not *Bacchus*, is the god meant is shown by *VICTUS*, a word commonly supposed indeed to be equally applicable to both gods ("*vino victus frequens*. Conf. ad *Tib.* 1. 2. 2," Heyne. "Dicitur utrumque, viz., *victus et vinctus*, et de *somno* et de *vino*," *Peerlkamp*), but which I find to be applied to *Somnus* alone in more than one text in which it has been hitherto supposed to be applied to *Bacchus* alone, *ex. gr.* *Tibull.* 1. 2. 1:

"adde merum, vinoque novos compesce dolores,
occupet ut fessi lumina victa sopor,"

where the meaning is not (with Heyne) *victa Baccho*, but *victa sopore*, the wine being merely the agent to bring on the sleep

which was to conquer the sensibility. Tibull. 4. 1. 57 (of the Cyclops) :

“ *victa Maroneo foedatus lumina Baccho.*”

Not (with Heyne and Forbiger) *victa Baccho*, **but** (as appears from Eurip. *Cycl.* 420 (Musgr.), where Ulysses, while relating how he plied the same Cyclops with this same Maronean wine, says :

ησθεντα δ' αυτον ως επρσθομην εγω,
αλλην εδωκα κυλικα γινωσκων οτι
τρωσει νιν οινος και δικην δωσει ταχα,

and Hom. *Od.* 21. 293, where Antinous says to Ulysses :

οινος σε τρωει μεληδης, οστε και αλλους
βλαπτει, ος αν μιν χανδον ελη, μηδ' αισιμα πινη.
οινος και Κενταυρον αγακλυτον Ευρυτιωνα,
αασ' ενι μεγαρφη μεγαθυμον Πειριβοοιο
ες Λαπιθας ελθονθ'. ο δ' επει φρενας αασεν οινφ,
μαινομενος κακ' ερεξε δομον κατα Πειριβοοιο).

Baccho foedatus lumina victa (sopore), the eyes being conquered by the sleep, which the wounding, injuring wine, οινος τρωων, produced. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 421 :

“ *nox erat ; et, vino somnum faciente iacebant
corpora diversis victa sopore locis,*”

where the production of the sleep by wine, and the conquest of the sensibility by sleep, are no less plainly set forth. Nor does there seem to be any excuse for a misunderstanding of either of the two last-cited passages, or of any other passage in which the eyes of a sleeper are said to be *victa*, the eyes being so specially sensible to sleep—the eyes being, if I may so say, the outwork of the fortress, the very first post to be invaded and conquered by the universal conqueror, παγκρατης υπνος, Soph. *Aj.* 675. Compare Orphica (ed. Hermann, p. 478) :

κειτ' αποδοχμωσας παχυν αυχενα, καθ δε μιν υπνος
ηρει πανδαματωρ.

See Rem. on “*lumina resignat*,” 4. 244, and *Somnus*, 5. 854,

drenching the eyes of Palinurus "Lethaeo rore." Compare also Catull. *Epith. Pelei*, 122 (of Ariadne):

. . . dulci devictam [al. devinctam] lumina somno,"

and Val. Flacc. 4. 18 (of Hercules):

" ille graves oculos et Hylan resonantia semper
ora ferens, ut nulla *deum* superare potestas,
procumbit. tandem fessis pax reddita silvis:
fluminaque, et vacuis auditae montibus aerae,"

and Sil. 7. 204:

" donec composuit luctantia lumina Somnus,
Somnus, Bacche, tibi comes additus,"

where, in the account of the orgies of the drinkers at the first constitution of the Falernian wine by Bacchus himself, it is Somnus, not Bacchus, who conquers the carousers; and Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 647:

" sunt quoque quae faciant altos medicamina somnos;
victaque Lethaea lumina nocte premant,"

where the structure is not "victa Lethaea nocte," but "victa [sopore] premant Lethaea nocte," and where we have medicines producing sleep, and sleep conquering, exactly as we have in our text wine producing sleep, and sleep conquering. Also Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 19:

" blanda quies victis furtim subrepat ocellis."

As well might one supply to "victis" in this last passage "umbrosis salicibus, volucrisque canoris," stated in the preceding verses to have been the causes which produced the "blanda quies," as understand the "deus" by which Serranus is overcome in our text to be Bacchus, or wine, either of them only the instrument by which the *overcoming* sleep was produced. Compare also Liv. 1. 7: "Ibi quum eum [Herculem] cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset," where we have Hercules in the precise condition of Serranus in our text, viz. first "cibo vinoque gravatus," and then oppressed, overcome, by sleep, "sopor oppressisset," Virgil's MEMBRA DEO VICTUS; and Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 22 (of the same Hercules), καὶ παντὶ τῷ

στερνῷ το ἀσθμα ἐφελκεται, χανδὸν ἐμπιπλαμενος τοῦ ὕπνου·
 αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ὑπνος ἐφেষτηκεν αὐτῷ ἐν εἰδει, μέγα, οἶμαι, ποιοῦμενος
 το αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλεους πτωματι. Add to all which,
first, that as victus ira is *iratus*, victus amore *amans*, victus
 verecundia *verecundus*, victus sopore *sopitus*; so, analogically,
 victus vino (and therefore its equivalent, victus Baccho) is by
 no possibility *sopitus*, but always and necessarily *ebrius*; and
 that, consequently, those who understand DEO (vs. 337) to mean
Baccho must, if they would be consistent, content themselves
 with the picture of Serranus, not asleep, but drunk, and must
 understand the words

FELIX SI PROTENUS ILLUM

AEQUASSET NOCTI LUDUM, IN LUCEMQUE TULISSET

to mean, not *happy if, instead of falling asleep, he had played on till morning*; but *happy if, instead of getting drunk, he had played on till morning*. And **secondly**, that we civilized of the nineteenth century—we who, perpetually under the influence of tea, or coffee, or tobacco, separately or all together, have perhaps never once in the whole course of our lives been soundly and deeply asleep, have little notion, if indeed we have any notion at all, what a sound, deep sleep is; how entirely the whole being is overpowered by the god (VICTUS DEO) on the one hand, unresisted either by tea, or coffee, or tobacco, and, on the other hand, helped by Bacchus.

ILLUM AEQUASSET NOCTI LUDUM (vs. 338), theme; IN LUCEMQUE TULISSET, variation, the variation, at the same time that it varies, crowning and completing the theme.

342-350.

NEC MINOR EURYALI CAEDES INCENSUS ET IPSE
 PERFURIT AC MULTAM IN MEDIO SINE NOMINE PLEBEM
 FADUMQUE HERBESUMQUE SUBIT RHOETUMQUE ABARIMQUE
 IGNAROS RHOETUM VIGILANTEM ET CUNCTA VIDENTEM
 SED MAGNUM METUENS SE POST CRATERA TEGEBAT
 PECTORE IN ADVERSO TOTUM CUI COMINUS ENSEM
 CONDIDIT ADSURGENTI ET MULTA MORTE RECEPIT
 PURPUREAM VOMIT ILLE ANIMAM ET CUM SANGUINE MIXTA
 VINA REFERT MORIENS HIC FURTO FERVIDUS INSTAT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 349).

PURPUREAM VOMIT, **II** *Rom. Pal.* (PURPUREAM) **III** *Med.* **III** "Ubi vidit hominem plena morte confectum, revocavit gladium," Donat; Servius's "alii" (see below); princ. Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; Julius Scal. (*Poet.* 3. 1 and 9); La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

PURPUREUM: VOMIT **III** *γ* (viz. Paris, 7930). **III** "ET MULTA MORTE RECEPIT PURPUREUM. Multi hic distinguunt ut sit sensus talis: eduxit gladium multo cruore purpureum. Alii MULTA MORTE RECEPIT, ut sit: eduxit gladium cum multo cruore, et sic inferunt: PURPUREAM VOMIT ILLE ANIMAM . . . RECEPIT; eduxit," Serv. (Lion); Voss.

SINE NOMINE PLEBEM (vs. 343).—SINE NOMINE, equivalent to Greek *ἄνωνυμος* (Eurip. *Hipp.* 1:

πολλή μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι, κοινὸν ἄνωνμος
 θεῶν κεκλημαὶ Κυπρίσ),

and to the English *nameless*, i. e. unknown to fame, ignoble. See Rem. on l. 613; 2. 554; 12. 514.

VIGILANTEM ET CUNCTA VIDENTEM.—The same two notions, viz. of being awake and seeing, are joined again, *Ecl.* 6. 21, where "iamque videnti [Sileno]" is equivalent to *no longer asleep, but awake and seeing*.

PECTORE IN ADVERSO TOTUM CUI COMINUS ENSEM CONDIDIT

ADSRGENTI ET MULTA MORTE RECEPIT (vv. 347, 348).—Those who with Donatus and Servius refer RECEPIT to ENSEM as its object, whether in the structure and sense *eduxit gladium purpureum multo cruore* (Voss), or *eduxit gladium cum multo cruore* (Heyne, Ladewig, Wagner, 1861), seem to have forgotten—**first**, that the sword not having been parted with, not having been let go out of the hand, could not be receptus (re-captus, *taken back into the hand*), as the spear, which has been let go out of the hand, is taken back into the hand (10. 383, *hastamque recepat ossibus haerentem*); and **secondly**, that even if the sword could, without having been let go out of the hand, be taken back into the hand, still *recipere ensem*, *receptus ensis* is never used in such sense, but always in the almost directly opposite sense, *accipere ensem*, *acceptus ensis*. Compare Cicero, *Tusc. 2. 17*, § 41 (Orelli): “Quis, cum decubisset, *ferrum recipere iussus*, collum contraxit?” Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer. 12*, § 33: “Quum ab eo quaereretur, quid tandem accusaturus esset eum, quem pro dignitate ne laudare quidem quisquam satis commode posset: aiunt, hominem, ut erat furiosus, respondisse, quod non totum *telum corpore recepisset*,” Cic. *pro Sext. 37*, § 80: “num defuit gladius? num repugnavit? num, ut gladiatoribus imperari solet, *ferrum non recepit?*” Sil. 2. 678:

“tunc rapiens letum, ‘tibi ego haec,’ ait, ‘optime coniux,
ad manes, en, ipsa fero:’ sic *ense recepto*
arma super ruit, et flammæ invadit hiatu;”

Quinct. *Declam. 9. 22*: “*Recepit pectore adverso ferrum*, ut quasi, quam emittebat animam, in meum pectus transfunderet;” Senec. *Ep. 57. 5*: “alii *gladium facilius recipiunt*, quam vident;” Senec. *Thyest. 740*:

. . . “at pueri statim
pectore *receptus ensis* in tergo exstitit;”

Id. *Troades, 46*:

. . . “cum ferox saeva manu
coma reflectens regium torta caput
alto nefandum vulnere ferrum abdidit;
quod penitus actum cum recepisset libens (Priamus),
ensis senili siccus e iugulo redit;”

Ovid, *Met.* 5. 138 :

. . . "media quae (hasta) nare *recepta*
cervice exacta est, in partesque eminet ambas ;"

Lucan, 6. 222 :

. . . "telumque irata [ursa] *receptum*
impetit, et secum fugientem circumit hastam ;"

Senec., *de Tranquill. Animi*, 11. 5 : "At tu et vives diutius, et morieris expeditus, qui *ferrum* non subducta cervice, nec manibus oppositis, sed animose *recipis*."

The structure and sense, therefore, being by no possibility either RECEPIT ENSEM PURPUREUM MULTA MORTE, or RECEPIT ENSEM MULTA MORTE, what is it? Why, plainly RECEPIT *eum* (Rhoetum) MULTA MORTE. *Received him* (Rhoetus) *with much death*, ἐξενισε πολλῶ θανάτῳ, the sentence being completed at RECEPIT, and the adjective no longer PURPUREUM, but, with the great weight of MS. authority, PURPUREAM, referred to ANIMAM in the next sentence, of which it is the first word—PURPUREAM VOMIT ILLE ANIMAM—and so Nonius (383. 29), however incorrectly wording his gloss, still referring RECEPIT to Rhoetus, "Recipere, *extinguere, prosternere*; Virg. lib. 9: . . . 'et multa morte *recepit*,'" and La Cerdà : "ut ille prope se Euryalum vidit cum gladio, assurrexit; sed puncto temporis obviam habuit mortem; ideo RECEPIT, *dira hospitalitate* . . . et MULTA propter copiam sanguinis," correctly, and placing in his text a period at RECEPIT.

MULTA MORTE RECEPIT (vs. 348).—As Ovid, *Met.* 14. 607 (of Aeneas):

. . . "quem turba Quirini
nuncupat Indigetem *temploque arisque recipit* ;"

Id. *Met.* 13. 632 :

"hunc Anius, quo rege homines, antistite Phoebus
rite colebantur, *temploque domoque recipit* ;"

Id. *Met.* 5. 423 :

. . . "icta viam tellus in Tartara fecit,
et pronos currus *medio cratere recipit* ;"

Id. *Fast.* 1. 463 :

"te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, *aede recipit* ;"

Id. *Art. Amat.* 2. 407 :

“ inde Thyestiaden *thalamoque animoque recepit* ;”

Id. *Heroid.* 7. 89 :

“ fluctibus electum *tuta statione recepi*.”

MULTA MORTE as “ multa nocte,” Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2. 89 :

“ obruta multa
nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis ;”

Sil. 10. 345 :

“ nec posco ut mollibus alis
des victum mihi, Somne, Iovem, non mille premendi
sunt oculi tibi, nec spernens tua numina custos
Inachiae multa superandus nocte iuvencae ;”

“ multo dente,” Apul. *Met.* 8. 5, p. 203) : “ eum furens aper invadit iacentem ac primo lacinias eius, mox ipsum resurgentem *multo dente* laniavit.”

MULTA corresponds to TOTUM, as RECEPIT corresponds to ADSURGENTI; the *reception* is given to Rhoetus, *getting up*, and the death is *much*, because it is produced by the plunging of the *whole* sword into his body.

PURPUREAM VOMIT ILLE ANIMAM (vs. 349).—PURPUREAM ANIMAM, and not PURPUREUM ENSEM—**first**, on account of the MS. authority; **secondly**, for the reasons assigned above against RECEPIT ENSEM; **thirdly**, because the whole sentence has been quoted *totidem verbis* by Pindarus Thebanus, 365 :

“ *purpuream vomit ille animam ; cum sanguine mixtam
ora rigat moriens*”

(where Müller conjectures : tum sanguine multo); **fourthly**, on account of the Homeric θυμόν φοινον, *Hymn. in Apoll.* 360 (of the Python) :

η δε καθ' υλην
πικρα μαλ' ενθα και ενθα ελισσεται, λειπε δε θυμόν
φοινον αποπνείουσ',

and the Sophoclean μελαν μενος, *Aj.* 1411 :

ετι γαρ θερμαι
συριγγες ανω φυσωσι μελαν
μενος.

both of them aptly quoted by Wagner (ed. Heyn.), to which I may add the *πορφυρεος θανατος* of Homer, *Il.* 5. 82:

τον δε κατ' οσσε
ελλαβε πορφυρεος θανατος και Μοιρα κραταιη

if, indeed, I may venture to understand the *πορφυρεος θανατος* of this verse to be—not with the interpreters, merely a black death, but—literally, a *purple*, i. e. *bloody*, or violent death, and so *πορφυρεος* in the verse itself not merely the rhythmical, but the rational pendant of *κραταιη*, and in Julian's application of the verse to himself, on occasion of his investment by Constantius with the purple (see Ammian, 15. 8. 17), expressive of the *purple* (i. e. *bloody*) death prognosticated to him by the purple mantle he was putting on. Compare also Coripp. *Johann.* 4. 957:

. . . “ruptis prae cordia venis
purpuream fundunt animam;”

and again, *id.* 5. 636:

“et ruptis inter prae cordia venis
purpuream fundunt animam;”

fifthly, on account of Ovid's (*Met.* 5. 83) so very similar “*rutilum vomit ille cruorem,*” and the almost identical “*animam purpuream vomeres*” of the epigrammatist, *Anth. Lat.* 4. 61 (Burm.):

“et tu, quae fuerim, si nosces, candide lector,
nunc animam quoque tu purpuream vomeres,
vivere quo rursus possem, et superesse daretur,
figere et innumeras nexa per ora animas.”

Sixthly, because *VOMIT ANIMAM* does not sufficiently express the idea intended to be conveyed, viz. that of pouring forth a liquid out of the mouth. In order to convey this idea, *ANIMAM* requires to have *PURPUREAM* joined with it: without some such adjective the words signify only *vomits the life*, not *vomits the purple life*. i. e. *the life-blood*. Compare 10. 908:

“undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore,”

where the insufficient expression “*animam diffundit*” is rendered complete and sufficient by the addition of “*undanti*

cruore," exactly as in our text the insufficient expression VOMIT ANIMAM is rendered complete and sufficient by the addition of PURPUREAM. Also Prudent. *Psychom.* 49 :

" tunc exarmatae iugulum meretricis [Libidinis] adacto
transfigit [Pudicitia] gladio. calidos vomit illa vapores
sanguine concretos coenoso,"

where the words "sanguine concretos" complete the notion of a liquid vomit, not at all sufficiently expressed by "calidos vomit vapores." Also Val. Flacc. 3. 106 (of Corythus expiring):

. . . "dedit ille sonum, compressaque mandens
aequora *purpuream* singultibus exspuit *auram*,"

where we have the very PURPUREAM of our text added to "auram," and for the self-same reason, in order perfectly to present the picture of vomiting blood.

369-380.

IBANT—CORONANT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 369).

REGI ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.*, *Ver.* ■■ $\frac{19}{10}$. ■■■ *Ven.* 1470; *Rom.* 1473;
P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.,
ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.; Ribbeck.

REGIS ■■■ "TURNO REGI: in omnibus bonis REGIS dicitur inventum."
Serv. (Lion; the passage is not in the Dresden Cod.); Heyne;
Brunck; Wakef.

IAMQUE PROPINQUABANT CASTRIS (vs. 371), theme; MUROQUE
SUBIBANT, variation.

CASTRIS . . . MURO, viz. of the besiegers. See Rem. on
verses 159 and 114.

CUM PROCUL HOS, &c. (vs. 372).—Peerlkamp observes: "Si Nisum et Euryalum ipsos procul cernerent, non opus erat galeam eos prodere," and proposes to read:

CUM GALEA EURYALUM SUBLUSTRI NOCTIS IN UMBRA
PRODIDIT IMMEMOREM RADIIQUE ADVERSA REFULSIT,
ET PROCUL HOS LARVO FLECTENTES LIMITE CERNUNT.

Peerlkamp did not perceive that the passage is constructed exactly according to our author's usual manner of *υστερον πρอตρον*, and as it stands presents exactly the sense which Peerlkamp seeks to obtain by an alteration of the text. The proposed alteration is, like most of Peerlkamp's proposed alterations, a mere modernisation of the original—a forcing of the ancient Roman poet to think like a Dutch schoolmaster.

HAUD TEMERE EST VISUM (vs. 375).—It was not seen *as a matter of course*, or (as one might say, using an ill-applied vulgar expression) *promiscuously*. The sight did not pass off *unnoticed* among other objects. The sight was selected out from among the other sights which presented themselves, and not allowed to pass unnoticed. The words, therefore, are not the words of Volsoens, but narrative.

CONCLAMAT AB AGMINE (vs. 375).—CONCLAMAT, *shouts as loud as he is able, shouts at the top of his voice*. See Rem. on 2. 52; 6. 634; and compare Livy, 8. 7: "circumactis deinde equis, quum prior ad iterandum ictum Manlius consurrexisset," *had risen with all his force*. Id. 7. 41: "Quinto collaudato," not merely praised, but *praised to the utmost*. Volscens shouts so loud, because the young men are far off (PROCUL), and he does not leave the troop with which he is marching (AB AGMINE).

NIHIL ILLI TENDERE CONTRA (vs. 377).—"Nihil contra responderunt," Servius; (nothing of any use in La Cerda); Heyne: "Aut cum Servio (quem Wagner et Gossrau sequuntur) vocab. *verbis* supplentes, explicare possumus, per: *nihil respondent*; aut etiam latiore sensu capere pro: *nihil contra eos moliri, non resistere conantur*," Forbiger. Both interpretations

are erroneous. **As** TENDERE, by itself, is *to go, to advance, to proceed onward, to march*, e. g. 6. 684 :

“isque ubi *tendentem adversum* per gramina vidit
Aenean.” . . .

Val. Flacc. 1. 833 :

“hic geminae aeternum portae: quarum altera, dura
semper lege patens, populos regesque recepat :
ast aliam tentare nefas, et *tendere contra* :
rara et sponte patet, si quando pectore ductor
vulnera nota gerens, galeis praefixa rotisque
cui domus, aut studium mortales pellere curas,
culta fides, longe metus, atque ignota cupido ;”

Sil. 9. 96, in his parallel account of the night adventure of Satricus and Solimus :

“nec longum celerarat iter, cum *tendere* in armis
aggere Sidonio venientem conspicit hostem,”

where “tendere” is *to move, to go* ; Liv. 10. 36 : “haec ipsa minitans, obstitit profuse *tendentibus* suis in castra.” Ammian. 19. 6. 8 : “Verum audito licet *levi tendentium sonitu*, gemituque caesorum discusso somno, excitatis multis, et ad arma pro se quoque clamitante, steterunt milites vestigiis fixis, progredi ultra non ausi,” *marching with a light step* ; and in Greek, Eurip. *Suppl.* 720 :

. . . οἱ δ' εἰσὶν ἐς πύλας

so TENDERE, with CONTRA, is *to go, to advance, to proceed onward, to march against*, and this equally whether the object marched against is added, as Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 332 :

“quos tamen impavidus *contra* spumantis ad Hebri
tendit aquas, sic ante tubas ferrumque precatus ;”

or whether the object marched against is only implied, as here, and on no less than three other occasions by our author, 5. 26 :

. . . “equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum, et frustra cerno te *tendere contra* ;”

9. 795 :

. . . "et neque terga
ira dare aut virtus patitur nec *tendere contra*,
ille quidem hoc cupiens, potis est per tela virosque;"

9. 768 :

"Iyncea *tendentem contra* sociosque vocantem
vibranti gladio connixus ab aggere dexter
occupat;"

on every one of which occasions, and especially on the two first, TENDERE CONTRA is contrasted with *retreat*, *tendere retro*, exactly as it is contrasted in our text: the young men do not advance against, do not confront their challengers, but retreat with all speed into the woods (SED CELERARE FUGAM IN SILVAS ET FIDERE NOCTI). TENDERE is sometimes used in a different, though nearly related sense, viz. to express *not* actual, or physical motion forward, *but* apparent, viz. the extending forward of a tract of country in any particular direction, the country appearing to stretch itself out, to go forward further and further still along with the eye, which takes a view of it, a sense expressed in English by *trend*. The following is an example:—Propert. 1. 6. 31: "Mollis qua *tendit* Ionia" . . . ; and such I think is the sense in which the same word is used, 2. 29 :

"hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus *tendebat* Achilles;"

and 8. 104 :

. . . "celsoque omnis de colle videri
iam poterat legio et latis *tendebat* in arvis;"

not at all (with Servius and Wagner) "*tentoria habebat*," but *spread wide, extended, trended*, if I may so say.

With this more literal use of TENDERE, viz. to express physical motion forward, whether real or apparent, corresponds its secondary use, viz. to express general motion forward, the *taking steps*, the *proceeding*, as, using the same figure, we say in English: Liv. 23. 14: "Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam *tenderent*, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse;" Id. 10. 6: "Minus autem *tetendere*, assueti iam tali genere certaminum vinci." To Peerlkamp's objection: "Neque

significare potest *non contra Rutulos proficiscebantur, non obviam ibant Rutuli*. Tunc enim legendum esset *non illi tendere contra*," I reply that *NIHIL ILLI TENDERE CONTRA* differs from "*non ILLI TENDERE CONTRA*" only in strength of expression, the former signifying not merely *not*, but *in no wise, in no manner*, do not make the smallest attempt. The young men not only do not *TENDERE CONTRA*, but do not so much as think *tendendi contra*, know nothing, think nothing, of *TENDERE CONTRA*. *TENDERE CONTRA* never so much as comes into their heads, is to them as if it did not exist, is to them a *NIHIL*. Compare Propert. 3. 3. 41 :

"*nil tibi sit raucos praeconia classica cornu
flare, nec Aonium cingere Marte nemus*,"

have thou nothing to do with trumpets or battles. Similar to *TENDERE CONTRA* is "*ire contra*," 6. 95 :

"*tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
qua tua te fortuna sinet*."

OBIICIUNT EQUITES SESE AD DIVORTIA NOTA HINC ATQUE HINC, theme; *OMNEMQUE ABITUM CUSTODE CORONANT* (vv. 379, 380), variation; the theme expressing more prominently the means, the variation more prominently the end.

381-385.

SILVA FUIT LATE DUMIS ATQUE ILICE NIGRA
HORRIDA QUAM DENSE COMPLEVERANT UNDIQUE SENTES
RARA PER OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES
EURYALUM TENEBRAE RAMORUM ONEROSAQUE PRAEDA
IMPEDIUNT FALLITQUE TIMOR REGIONE VIARUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 383).

DUCEBAT ■■ & ■■■ DUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES; legitur et LUCEBAT. Serv.
(cod. Dresd. and Lion); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.;
D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Pottier.

Lucebat ■ *Rom.* (LUGEBANT), *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■†. ■■■ Heyne; Brunck;
 Jacob (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 82); *Lad.*; *Haupt.*; *Ribbeck*; *Wakef.*;
 Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861).

DUMIS ATQUE ILICE NIGRA HORRIDA, QUAM DENSI COMPLERANT
 UNDIQUE SENTES (vv. 381, 382).—The wood did not consist of
 tall trees, such as pine, with straight, little, branching trunks
 (a sort of wood which had let more light in), but of ilex and
 other similar thick, dark, bushy trees (DUMIS), arbutus, sup-
 pose, and rhamnus, with a dense underwood of thorns. Ac-
 cording to the view hitherto taken of this passage by the
 commentators and translators, the explanation of RARA PER
 OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES is to be sought in the im-
 mediately preceding QUAM DENSI COMPLERANT UNDIQUE SENTES.
 "Semita quae raro ab ingressis inter sentes agnosci poterat,"
 Heyne, Wagner, Peerlkamp :

"sparsam schimmerte pfad.durch überwachsene staige" (Voss).

But if this view were correct, how was Euryalus to get on at
 all? It was night, the wood was thick and dark, and the path
 seldom visible; he was loaded with booty (ONEROSA PRAEDA),
 and he was besides afraid (TIMOR). Were not these difficulties
 enough? If, over and above all these difficulties, the path
 was, except in a few rare spots, thickly entangled with briars,
 how was he to get on at all? how was he to arrive at the
 second spot, where the path was visible, to surmount even the
 first impediment of briars, afraid, and in darkness, and heavily
 loaded? The very first twig would be sufficient to trip him up
 and throw him down. It is a sheer misconception of our
 author's meaning, a misunderstanding of the entire description.
 The clause QUAM DENSI COMPLERANT UNDIQUE SENTES belongs
 wholly to the preceding, and is in direct contrast with what
 follows. The wood, thick, dark, and choke-full (COMPLERANT) of
 briars, was, of course, itself wholly impassable; but there were
 (CALLES) cleared spaces in it, difficult indeed to be found (oc-
 CULTAS), but which, when found, afforded an unobstructed

passage, and in which there was besides a path trodden, though, owing to the darkness of the night and the shadow of the trees of the surrounding wood, only here and there visible.

RARA PER OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES (vs. 383).—RARA SEMITA, not few paths, but one sole path, appearing only now and then, *i. e.* in some few places; SEMITA *quae raro* LUCEBAT, “sparsam schimmerte pfad,” J. H. Voss. Compare (10. 122) “rara corona,” not few rings of persons, but a ring of persons standing at a distance each from the other. “Bari nantes” (1. 122), not few persons floating, but persons floating with wide intervals between them. Exactly corresponding to our author’s RARA PER OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES is Claudian’s (*Bell. Getic.* 413)

“rara per obscuras apparent cornua frondes.”

The horns of cattle appear *here and there at intervals* through the dark foliage.

LUCEBAT.—*Apparebat*, φαίνεται. Compare (11. 692) “qua colla sedentis *lucent*,” where “lucent” represents the φαίνεται of the Homeric original, *Il.* 22. 324 :

φαίνεται δ' ἡ κληΐδες ἀπ' ὤμων αὐχέν' ἔχουσι ;

also Apollon. Rhod. 1. 545 :

. . . μακρὰ δ' αἶεν ἀλευκαινόντο κελυθοί,
ἀτραπὸς ὡς χλοεροῖο διαιδόμενῃ πεδίοιο,

and *ibid.* 1280 :

ἦμος δ' οὐρανοθεν χάροπῃ υπολαμπεται ἥως
ἐκ περατῆς ἀνιούσα, διαγλαυσσοῦσι δ' ἀταρποι,
καὶ πεδία δροσοέντα φάειν λαμπεται αἶγλη.
τῆμος τοῦσδ' ἐνόησαν αἰδρῆσι λιπόντες.

LUCEBAT, not DUCEBAT—**first**, because however well DUCEBAT SEMITA might answer, RARA DUCEBAT SEMITA would afford no good sense at all, inasmuch as it cannot be supposed that there were more paths than one; **secondly**, on account of the superior MS. authority; **thirdly**, on account of the very similar use just referred to of the verb *lucere*, 11. 692, “qua

colla sedentis *lucent*," **fourthly**, on account of Statius's "lucet iter," Theb. 9. 363 :

"mergitur orba iterum, penitusque occulta sub undis
limite non uno, liquidum qua subter eunti
lucet iter miseri nequicquam funera nati
vestigat, plangitque tamen ;"

the "luceat orbita" of Nemesianus, *Cyneg.* 12 :

"et quamvis cursus se ostendat tramite noto,
obvia Calliope, facies insistere prato
complacito, rudibus qua *luceat orbita* sulcis ;"

and fifthly, because the identical words are used by Propertius (2. 14. 17, ed. Hertz.), not only in the same sense, but on a similar occasion—I mean where there was a similar difficulty of finding the way :

"ante pedes caecis *lucebat semita* nobis
scilicet insano nemo in amore videt."

Except *lucere*, the word commonly used to express the brightness of the moon and stars, torches, lamps, and other brilliant objects, the Romans seem to have possessed no word to express the appearance presented by an object seen indistinctly in a dull dim light—no word at all corresponding to our *glimmer*.

SEMITA.—A trodden path, Plin. *N. H.* 11. 30 : "silices itinere earum [formicarum] attritos videmus, et opere *semitam* factam." It is because it is trodden the *SEMITA* is here said "lucere," exactly as l. 422, a similar "*semita*" is for the same reason said "monstrare."

CALLES.—The opener spaces, or cleared parts in a wood, Anglicè *glades*, the German *lichtungen*. See Rem. on 6. 443.

OCCULTAS.—The glades, or open passages, were *OCCULTAS*, difficult to be discovered, not to be found without search, abstruse, occult. See Rem. on 12. 418.

RARA SEMITA, OCCULTOS CALLES.—The difficulty was double, the glades, or open and only passable parts, were difficult to be found, and the path through them, either because obscured by the shadow of the surrounding wood (*TENEBRAE RAMORUM*), or because, as may be inferred, little trodden, was seldom visible : **RARA LUCEBAT.**

386-407.

IAMQUE—IMPRUDENS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 386).

EVASERAT ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Ver.* ■■ 18. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.

A

EVASERIT ■ *Med.* (EUASERIT) (with the I crossed out).

VAR. LECT. (vs. 387).

LOCOS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.*, *Ver.* ■■ 16. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Voss; Ribbeck ("LOCI vocabulo significatur viculus," Wagner, *Lect. Virg.*, p. 410, where Wagner's dissertation on the word is good, and I think he is right).

LACUS ■■ 16. ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Wakef.; Thiel.

LUCOS ■■■ Brunck. (AD LUCOS); Ladewig (AC LUCOS); Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 399).

QUID FACIAT ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Ver.* ■■ 16. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

D

QUI FACIAT ■ *Med.* (QUI). ■■ 16.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 400).

HOSTIS, or HOSTES ■ *Rom.*, *Med.*, *Ver.* ■■ 16. ■■■ Serv.; Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Pott.; Lad.; Haupt.

ENSE ■ *Pal.* ■■ 16. ■■■ "quidam IN ENSES legunt," Serv. (Lion); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Ribb.; Coningt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 403).

ALTAM AD LUNAM ET SIC VOCE ■ *Rom.*

ALTAMLUNAMETSICVOCE ■ *Ver.* (VOCE very indistinct, and almost illegible).

Ribbeck's statement, that the reading of the MS. is ALTAMADLUNAMET, is incorrect. There is no AD.

ALTAM LUNAM ET SIC VOCE ■ *Pal., Med.* (FORTE written on margin, as correctly represented by Fogg.) ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and ed. 1861).

[*punct.*] ALTAM LUNAM, SIC VOCE ■■■ Ascens. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Lad. ; Haupt.

ALTUM, LUNAM SIC VOCE ■■■ Ribb.

[*punct.*] LUNAM, SIC VOCE ■■■ Ven. 1470 ; Pott.

LUNAM ET SIC VOCE ■■ §. ■■■ Philippe.

LUNAM ET SIC ORE. (Dr. Henry merely records this reading without comment.—L. C. P.)

IMPRUDENS (vs. 386).—"IAMQUE IMPRUDENS id est INPRUDENS et ignorans se evasisse. An IMPRUDENS, quod supra alterum felix, EURYALUM TENEBRAE RAMORUM ONEROSAEQUE PRAEDA IMPEDIUNT. Ergo imprudens morari Euryalum : hoc potius," Schol. ad Veron. Palimps. (Keil's ed. p. 101). "IMPRUDENS sciz. remanentis Euryali," Servius. "Euryalum remanere non animadvertens," Heyne. "Quippe immemor Euryali," Wagner (1861), Forbiger. IMPRUDENS is none of all these. It is simply *thoughtless, not thinking, not reflecting* (νηπιος, Hom. *Il.* 23. 88), literally *imprudent, not looking to what might happen*. Nisus is not represented as ignorant of what *has* happened, whether what has happened be "se evasisse," or "morari Euryalum;" neither is he represented as "immemor remanentis Euryali," or "immemor Euryali;" on the contrary, IMPRUDENS has its proper prospective force, and Nisus is represented neither as ignorant (ignorans), nor as forgetting (immemor), but the very opposite, as not looking forward (non providens). IMPRUDENS EVASERAT HOSTES, he had escaped the enemy, got out from amongst the enemy, "non providens," not foreseeing, not even so much as considering what might happen. Only when, having himself

escaped, he stops, and looks about, and misses his friend, does he become "prudens," regardful of consequences, and, returning on his steps, ascertains that those consequences which, in his previous imprudent haste, had not occurred to his mind, and which only now, when he has at last become prudent, occur to it, have actually taken place, and his friend is intercepted and surrounded by the enemy :

UT STETIT, ET FRUSTRA ABSENTEM RESPEXIT AMICUM :
EURYALUS INFELIX QUA TE REGIONE RELIQUI ?

Compare Aeneas's own exactly similar want of forethought with respect to Creusa, in his flight out of Troy, 2. 741 :

"nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi,"

where "nec animum reflexi" is exactly the IMPRUDENS of our text. Aeneas would not have remained so long without looking about towards Creusa, if he had thought, if it had occurred to him, if he had considered (animum reflexisset). Nisus would not have gone so far without looking back to see what had become of Euryalus, if he had not been without thought, without consideration, without reflexion, IMPRUDENS. The thought, the consideration, the reflexion, came to him, as it did to Aeneas, only when, being out of danger, he had leisure to think. Compare Ter. *Andr.* 1. 1. 103 :

. . . "interea haec soror
quam dixi, ad flammam accessit imprudens"

[rather thoughtlessly] ; Cicer. *de Harusp. Resp.* 17. 37 : "quod non solum curiosos oculos exclusit, sed etiam errantes ; quo non modo improbitas, sed ne imprudentia quidem possit intrare" [thoughtlessness] ; Liv. 42. 42 : "Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse, et, si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hac posse" [thoughtlessness] ; Ter. *Adelph.* 4. 5. 77 :

. . . "magnam mi iniicit sua commoditate curam
ne imprudens faciam forte quod nolit ; sciens cavebo"

[Aliter Bentley :

. . . "curam :
ne imprudens faciam forte quod nolit, sciens cavebo,"]

thoughtless; Ovid, *Met.* 10. 130:

“ hunc puer *imprudens* iaculo Cyparissus acuto
fixit’

[*the thoughtless boy*]; Ovid, *Met.* 10. 182 (of Hyacinthus):

“ protinus *imprudens* actusque cupidine ludi,
tollere Taenarides orbem properabat ”

[*thoughtless*].

ATQUE LOCOS QUI POST ALBAE (vs. 387).—“ Nisus fuit jusqu’ à la ferme que le roi Latinus avoit dans la forêt, appelée longtemps après *Forêt d’Albe*. J’avois d’abord trouvé de l’in vraisemblance à le faire courir jusqu’ à Albe, qui est au moins à dix-huit milles d’Ostie. Mais le nom même d’Albis moderne, prouve que la dénomination d’Albe s’étendoit bien loin en deça de la ville d’Albe, précisément du côté d’Ostie. On peut étendre indéfiniment cette forêt d’Albe, et sauver par là toute invraisemblance,” Bonstetten.

Madvig, *Advers. Crit. Latin.* (p. 40) conjectures LOCIS, and observes: “Hunc locum, quem Ribbeckius infeliciter tractavit (*proleg.* p. 81, de muris in vs. 371 graviter errans) nec Ladevicius mutando adiuvit, scita emendatione Cl. Geertzius, auditor meus expedit. Omnis enim res adhuc gesta erat ad castra Rutulorum prope mare longe ab Albana regione; itaque eam evadere Nisus, hoc est, ex ea abire non potuit. Tum et res ipsa ostendit locum a superiori diversum significari, in quem fugiendo pervenerit, et additu nominis diligens notatio apertissime hoc confirmat. . . . Apparet negligenter legendo LOCIS accommodatum esse ad *hostes*.”

TUM REX STABULA ALTA LATINUS HABEBAT (vs. 388).—Apollon. Rhod. 2. 1:

εὐθαδ' εἶσαν σταθμοὶ τε βοῶν αὐλὶς τ' Ἀμυκίοιο,
Βεβρυκῶν βασιλῆος ἀγῆνορος.

STABULA (vs. 388).—*I. e.* αὐλία. Compare Apollon. Rhod. 3. 592:

. . . βοτῆρων
αὐλία δυσκελαδοσὶν ἐπιδρομῆσι δαΐζαι.

ALTA.—*Not* because they were the king's, and, therefore, higher than other stables, nor because they were the king's, and, therefore, august; *but* ALTA, *high*, because the stables of the time were always high-roofed and airy, 7. 512:

“*ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum.*”

Alta is the perpetual epithet of stables, not only with Virgil, but with Ovid and the other Latin poets generally. See Rem. on 6. 179; 10. 723.

EURYALE INFELIX, QUA, &c. (vs. 390).—“*Melior hæc distinctio, ut infelicem dicat, quam ut ad se referat,*” Schol. Veron. Palimps. (Keil's ed., p. 102). “*Se infelicem dicit qui dolet, non illum propter quem dolet,*” Servius. I agree with the Veron. Scholiast against Servius. **First**, because of the better cadence; **secondly**, EURYALE, separated from INFELIX, addresses or calls Euryalus, whereas EURYALE joined with INFELIX is no more than an exclamation, a pathetic apostrophe, without any view or intention of being heard, and it is plain that it is in this sense, and this sense only, the words are uttered by Nisus; **thirdly**, the connexion of INFELIX with EURYALE is as easy and natural as its separation from EURYALE, and connexion with *ego* understood is forced and awkward, and, except at second thought, presents itself to the mind of no reader.

SESE MEDIOS MORITURUS IN HOSTES INFERAT, theme; ET PULCHRAM PROPERET PER VULNERA MORTEM, variation (vv. 400, 401).

SI QUA IPSE MEIS VENATIBUS AUXI, theme; SUSPENDIVE THOLO, AUT SACRA AD FASTIGIA FIXI, variation (vv. 407, 408).

411-413.

HASTA VOLANS NOCTIS DIVERBERAT UMBRAS
ET VENIT ADVERSI IN TERGUM SULMONIS IBIQUE
FRANGITUR AC FISSO TRANSIT PRAECORDIA LIGNO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 412).

ADVERSI **II** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **III** $\frac{p}{10}$, cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Serv. (ed. Lion); Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Voss (whose interpretation of the term is indeed of the subtlest: "Für sich selbst war Sulmo AVERSUS aber als theil des gewühls ADVERSUS. Er stand in der schaar ihm zunächst, gegen ihn hin. voran." In other words, Sulmo was both AVERSUS and ADVERSUS.

AVERSI **III** $\frac{r}{10}$. **III** La Cerdà; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

ADVERSI **III** Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 413).

FISSO **III** La Cerdà.

Servius observes that the spear, if broken in the shield, could not penetrate the breast, and that, therefore, FRANGITUR is to be understood not literally, or as meaning *broken*, but as equivalent to *colliditur*. "Tergum pro *tergus* dixit . . . ut intelligamus hastam in scutum venisse et illic esse collisam: ut FRANGITUR sit pro *colliditur*; FISSO scuti LIGNO etiam PRAECORDIA penetrasse; aliter non procedit. Nam si hastam revera fractam accipiamus, ratione caret quod dicit: FISSO TRANSIT PRAECORDIA LIGNO. Alii revera in tergum volunt esse percussum, quod falsum est. Nam quomodo ante fissum lignum esset, et sic praecordia penetrata. Sciendum tamen locum hunc unum esse de his quos insolubiles diximus supra." According to which interpretation, the spear coming in front (ADVERSI SULMONIS) clashes against and splits the shield, and penetrates

the *PRAECORDIA* from before, *TERGUM* being the shield, *FRANGITUR* *clashes* or *is clashed*, *LIGNO* the wood of the shield, and *FISSO* *split*. No wonder that Servius himself should be dissatisfied with an explanation, according to which *frangere* is *collidere*, and the wood of a shield is *split*, not *pierced* (or *bored*) by a spear. But Servius need not have despaired; there was another way out of it, which La Cerda, less bleary-eyed, if you believe himself, than Servius, found out. We have only to discard the reading of all the manuscripts, the sole reading known either to Nonius or Servius, and adopt a reading affording an exactly opposite sense: we have only to substitute, *ex conjectura*, *AVERSI* for *ADVERSI*, and all will be right, especially if we adhere to the vulgar *FIXO*, and reject, as it should be rejected, the puzzling and awkward *FISSO* of Servius and Pierius's "veteres." *TERGUM* will then be not the back of the ox which afforded the leather for the shield, but *the back of Sulmo himself*, against which the spear comes from behind, and in which the spear breaks, *FRANGITUR*, the *sticking* of the spear in the *PRAECORDIA* being described by *FIXO LIGNO*, or the *splitting* of the spear itself by *FISSO LIGNO*.

"Lego enim *AVERSI SULMONIS*, non *ADVERSI*. *Hasta* *frangitur* in eius *tergo* ita tamen ut non solum *ferrum* sed magna pars *ligni* penetraret *praecordia*, quod necessarium ad magnum *innixum*, quo *torta*. Aliqui hic legunt *FISSO LIGNO*. Possunt: nam, quia *FRANGITUR*, ideo *FISSO*; vel *FIXO*, quia *transiit*. Itaque insolubilis non est locus, ut male Servius, qui etiam in *mentione clypei blennus* est," La Cerda. If La Cerda is hard upon Servius, Heyne is in a downright passion with him. The blood boils in the veins of the Göttingen philologist, that not only all antiquity, but even his own more enlightened era, should pertinaciously adhere to an absurd notion—"Conturbat interdum *animum*, si videas totam antiquitatem absurdam opinionem *pervicaciter* tenere, et recentiores eidem *inhaerere*." *TERGUM* is indeed often a shield, as Heinsius, in his learned disquisition, has so well shown it often to be, but it can by no possibility be a shield here, and the text must be changed, no matter what the manuscripts may say to the contrary, and *AVERSI* read,

instead of ADVERSI. The spear penetrated Sulmo's back until the point, or iron end, appeared in front, when the shaft, on account of its weight and length, broke off. "Transadacta autem fuit hasta per Sulmonis tergum ita, ut per pectus emeretur, longum vero hastile, quod vulnere extat (IBI, in tergo, qua prominet hastile, ferro in interiora adacto), suo pondere inclinaturn frangitur: Homericoo more." To adopt which explanation would argue much more complaisance towards Heyne than Heyne has shown either towards Servius, or the confrères of Servius, whether ancient or modern, inasmuch as to adopt such explanation one must not only agree to the substitution of a mere conjectural reading for the consentient reading of the MSS., but must agree also to understand findere not in its recognised sense of *splitting*, but in the new and hitherto unheard-of sense of *breaking*, or as if *risso* were equivalent to *fracto*, and not only accord to Sulmo's unprotected back resistance sufficient to break the spear, but to the spear force enough to appear at the breast after it has been broken.

My complaisance at least does not go so far, and I look for another explanation. Neither is another explanation so very hard to be found. Let us accept the reading of the MSS., ADVERSI. Let us also accept consentient with the reading of the MSS., Servius's and Nonius's explanation of TERGUM, viz. that it is tergum bovis, i.e. *scutum* ("ut intelligamus hastam in scutum venisse," Servius: see above. Compare "TERGUM *scutum*," Virg. lib. viiii.; ET VENIT ADVERSI IN TERGUM SULMONIS. Idem lib. x. 718; "dentibus infrendens, et tergo decutit hastas," Nonius), and we are happily out of the first clause, without either difficulty or danger. Let us take FRANGITUR in its plain and usual sense of *broken*, and we are no less happily, and no less without danger, out of the second, and have before us only the third. Let us adhere to the same rule in this clause also; let us here also adhere to the MSS., and understand in their ordinary sense the words with which the MSS. present us, and we have *risso* meaning *split* or *splintered*, and the clause signifying "passed through the praeordia, the wood being split," i.e. passed through the PRAECORDIA with the splin-

tered wood, or the splintered wood passed through the *PRAECORDIA*. The entire meaning is thus : The spear comes against the shield of Sulmo standing with his face in the direction towards which the spear came, and is broken there, viz. in the shield of Sulmo, i. e. the head breaks off from the shaft of the spear, or the spear breaks off near the head, in its passage through the shield, and the splintered shaft (the shaft having a sharp point, because a splinter, with the iron head on it, has come off, and remained stuck in the shield) penetrates Sulmo's *PRAECORDIA*. We have thus no violence done to the text of the MSS., no violence done to *FRANGITUR*, its true proper sense assigned to *FISSE*, and a reason appears why it is not the *ferrum* which Euryalus has thrown, but the *LIGNUM*, the broken (*FRANGITUR*) and split (*FISSE*) wooden (*LIGNO*) shaft (*hasta*) of that *ferrum* (iron-pointed weapon) which penetrates (*TRANSIT*) the *PRAECORDIA* of Sulmo. The sentence is thus constructed after our author's usual manner. The breaking of the spear (*FRANGITUR*) occupies the emphatic position, on the one hand, ushered in, and preparation made for it by all the preceding words—

*HASTA VOLANS NOCTIS DIVERBERAT UMBRAS
ET VENIT ADVERSI IN TERGUM SULMONIS, IBIQUE ;*

and, on the other hand, first word of its own verse, and all the remaining words of its own verse, explaining particularly what kind of a *FRANGITUR* it was, viz. that it was a *FRANGITUR* with split wood (*FISSE LIGNO*) ; in medical parlance, a splintered fracture, and that the consequence of this splintered fracture was the penetration of the *PRAECORDIA* by the splintered end of the shaft, *FISSE LIGNO*.

In the very next verse we have a similar verb placed also first word in its own verse, and with the next verse, and half looking back to it, and therefore very emphatic, but less emphatic than the *FRANGITUR* of our text, inasmuch as not preceded by any introductory apparatus. See Rem. on "ora credita," 2. 247. There is a similarly posited, similarly emphatic *FRANGITUR*, 12. 731 :

. . . "at perfidus ensis
frangitur, in medioque ardentem deserit ictu,"

and l. 165, not merely a similarly posited, similarly emphatic FRANGITUR, but a FRANGITUR followed by a similar explanation, viz. that the fracture is of a particular kind, not indeed that of wood into splinters (FISSE LIGNO), but that of water into ripples, undulating backwards, *i. e.* in the direction from whence they came, of water "*scissa in sinus reductos.*"

417-481.

ECCE—ASPICIO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 417).

LIBRABAT **■** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **■** $\frac{1}{16}$. **■■■** Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

VIBRABAT **■** $\frac{1}{16}$.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 423).

RECLUSO **■** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **■** $\frac{1}{16}$. **■■■** Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; Ascensius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

REDUCTO **■■■** Burm. *e conject.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 432).

TRANSABIT **■** *Rom.* **■** $\frac{1}{16}$. **■■■** Rom. 1473; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.

G

TRANSADIGIT **■** *Pal., Med.* (TRANSADIBIT, with the B crossed out). **■** $\frac{1}{16}$. **■■■** Ven. 1470; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 454).

SERRANOQUE NUMAQUE ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

E

SARRANOQUE NUMAQUE ■ *Med.* (SARRANOQ.) ■■■ Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 455).

TEPIDAQUE RECENTEM ■ "In oblonga et quibusdam aliis TEPIDAQUE RECENTEM," Pierius. ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; G. Fabricius; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

TEPIDUMQUE RECENTI ■ *Pal.* ■■■ *Rom.* 1473; P. Manut.; Philippe; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670).

U

TEPIDUMQUE RECENTEM ■ *Rom.* (TEPIDAMQ. RECEN^UTE, with the A crossed out), *Med.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 456).

PLENO SPUMANTIS (OF SPUMANTES) ■ *Med.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Brunck; Wakef.

PLENOS SPUMANTI ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Wagn. (1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

PLENOS SPUMANTIS ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■ ‡. (PLENOSSPUMANTIS, with the first S crossed out).

PLENO SPUMANTES ■■■ Serv. (Lion).

PLENO SPUMANTI ■■ ‡.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 464).

SUOS ■ *Rom., Pal.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; G. Fabricius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670), Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Voss ("QUOIQUE SUOS statt QUIQUE SUOS. Auf QUOIQUE leitet die lesart QUIQUE").

SUAS ■ *Med.* ■■■ *Rom.* 1473; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Haupt; Lad.; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 469).

OPPOSUERE ACIEM **III** Priscian, *Gram.* 7. 68, cités: "MURORUM IN PARTE SINISTRA OPPOSUERE ACIEM"; P. Manut.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 471).

MOVEBANT **I** *Rom., Med.* ("in Romano, in oblongo, in Mediceo et quibusdam aliis pervetustis MOVEBANT legere est," Pierius.) **II** §. **III** N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.
VIDEBANT **I** *Pal.* **II** §. **III** Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.

ME, ME, ADSUM QUI FECI (vs. 427).—Contrast Lucan, 2. 315 (Cato speaking):

... "me solum invadite ferro,
me frustra leges et inania iura tuentem:
hic dabit, hic pacem iugulus, finemque laborum
gentibus Hesperiiis,"

spoken in the closet (the danger still only distant and theoretical), and as unlike the dramatic action of our text as anything could possibly be. Lucan is always the rhetorician, never the poet; a commentator on the action, never the actor. Nor does Milton himself—*Par. Lost*, 10. 934:

"the sentence, from thy head removed, may light
on me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
me, me only, just object of his ire"—

come much nearer to the life and spirit of his original. Seneca comes nearer, *Hippol.* 1159 (Phaedra apostrophizing Neptune):

"me me, profundus saevi dominator freti,
invade, et in me monstra caerulei maris
emitte."

SOLUMQUE PER OMNES VOLSCENTEM PETIT, theme; IN SOLO VOLSCENTE MORATUR, variation (vv. 438, 439).

QUEM CIRCUM. GLOMERATI. HOSTES, HINC COMINUS ATQUE HINC PROTURBANT (vv. 440, 441).—Xenophon, *Agesil.* 2. 12: *καὶ συμβαλοντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθουντο, ἐμαχοντο, ἀπὸ τελευτῆς ἀπὸ θύλακος. . . .*

DOMUS AENEAE (vs. 448).—"Gens Iulia. PATER ROMANUS Iupiter Capitolinus," Heyne. "PATER ROMANUS, Augustus, penes cuius familiam perpetuum orbis Romani imperium fore auguraretur," Wagner (ed. Heyn.). DOMUS AENEAE is not "gens Iulia," nor is PATER ROMANUS Augustus. Virgil truckles enough to Augustus elsewhere, and it is often enough impossible to save him. Let us not make him truckle where we are not forced to do so. Let us give him the credit of being here, this once, if nowhere else, elevated by his theme into a region above the Iulia gens and Augustus. DOMUS AENEAE can be very well the family of Aeneas, not in the narrow sense of Iulia gens, but of the Trojan or Roman nation, *i.e.* the people of Rome dwelling beside the Capitol, CAPITOLI IMMOBILE SAXUM ACCOLET; and PATER ROMANUS can be very well, without any affront to Augustus, neither Augustus himself, nor a descendant of Augustus, but the PATER of the Roman people, the chief, or head, in whom, as at present in Augustus, would be vested the authority of the Roman people to all time. I need, I think, make no observation either on Heyne's "PATER ROMANUS, Iupiter Capitolinus," or Peerlkamp's "Ego non satis intelligo." IMPERIUM; par excellence; *the* dominion, *i.e.* *the chief* dominion or authority in the world, dominion over the world.

VICTORES PRAEDA RUTULI SPOLIISQUE POTITI (vs. 450).—"Latini Nisum et Euryalum interfecerunt, non Rutuli. Imprudens, iudice Wagnero, fecit Virgilius. Ego pro RUTULI scribendum puto EURVALI" (*sic*), Peerlkamp. The argument is bad, inasmuch as it proves too much; proves that RUTULI is incorrect also, not only at verse 429, where the incorrectness might be explained to be a mistake of Euryalus, not well distinguishing between Rutuli and Latini in the dark, but at verse 442, where Volscens is denominated "Rutulius" by the poet himself.

TEPIDUMQUE RECENTI CAEDE LOCUM (vv. 455, 456).—The reading is TEPIDUMQUE RECENTI, not TEPIDAEQUE RECENTEM, because, 8. 195, it is the "humus," not the "caedes," which "tepebat," and the "caedes," not the "humus," which was

"recens." RECENTI, Fr. *fratche*, in the sense rather of *wet* than of *recent*. See Rem. on 8. 195.

SUDORE (vs. 458).—The eastern metaphor. *Gen. 3. 19*: "In the *sweat* of thy face shalt thou eat bread;" Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 287:

της δ' αρετης ιδρωτα θεοι προπαροιθεν εθηκαν;

Enn. ap. Cicer. *de Off.* 1. 18. 61:

"Salmaci da spolia sine sudore et sanguine."

IAM SOLE INFUSO (vs. 461), theme; IAM REBUS LUCE RECTIS, variation.

REBUS, the world, as 6. 272: "*rebus* nox abstulit atra colorem;" and see Rem. on 1. 465.

ACUUNT . . . IRAS (vs. 464).—Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 715:

τεθηγμενον τοι μ' ουκ απαμβλυνεις λογφ;

Eurip. *Hipp.* 689 (Valok.):

. . . οργη συντεθηγμενος φρενας.

QUIN IPSA ARRECTIS, &c. (vv. 465 *sqq.*).—Heyne and Peerkamp both object to the interposition of the words *et multo clamore sequuntur* between *capita* and *euryali et nisi*. "An hoc hemistichium [viz. *EURYALI ET NISI*] et interpretamento in margine ascripto subnatum?" Heyne. "Rectus ordo postulabat: *CAPITA EURYALI ET NISI HASTIS PRAEFIGUNT ET SEQUUNTUR*. Considera similitudinem literarum inter *ADRECTIS VISU* et *EURUALI ET NISI*. Fieri adeo potuit ut librarii corruerint quod Virgilius sic scripsit:

QUIN IPSA EURYALI ET NISI (MISERABILE) IN HASTIS
PRAEFIGUNT CAPITA, ET MULTO CLAMORE SEQUUNTUR,"

Peerkamp. This is all, as I think, mere ignorance of the style of Virgil, with whom nothing is more usual than thus to complete and follow out in the middle of a sentence the thought touched on or announced in a word towards the middle of the

same sentence, and only when the thought has been completed, to proceed to finish the interrupted sentence, *ex. gr.* 578 (where see Rem.):

. . . . "ergo alis allapsa sagitta,
et laevo affixa est lateri manus, abditaque intus
spiramenta animae letali vulnere rupit,"

where "et laevo affixa est lateri manus" is the complement of "alis allapsa sagitta," and where the connexion is "alis allapsa sagitta, abditaque intus spiramenta animae rupit." Another example will be found, 10. 262 (where see Rem.):

. . . . "clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris; spes addita suscitāt iras;
tela manu iaciunt,"

where "spes addita suscitāt iras" and "tela manu iaciunt" are added, in order briefly to complete the sketch presented in "clamorem ad sidera tollunt," before dwelling at full on the particulars of the "clamor." All attempts to rectify and set square such passages are attempts to force Virgil to write as we write now, nearly two thousand years after his death. A passage not very dissimilar to our text will be found only a very few lines above, vs. 367:

"interea praemissi equites ex urbe Latina,
. . . .
ibant, et Turno regi responsa ferebant,
tercentum, scutati omnes,"

where "et Turno regi responsa ferebant," the complement of "ibant," is thrown in between that word and "tercentum," pretty much as in our text ET MULTO CLAMORE SEQUUNTUR, the complement of PRAEFIGUNT, is thrown in between PRAEFIGUNT CAPITA and EURYALI ET NISI.

NAM DEXTERA CINGITUR AMNI (vs. 469).—Cingere is not necessarily to surround, or go all round; it is also to bound on one side, Liv. 40. 6: "latera reges duo filii iuvenes cingebant;" Plin. Ep. 9. 39; "nam solum templi hinc flumine et abruptissimis ripis, hinc via cingitur," and so in our text, *the right side is bounded by the river.*

SIMUL ORA VIRUM PRAEFIXA MOVEBANT (vs. 471).—ORA,

literally *the mouth*, and by common use *the whole face*, is here, by still further extension, *the head*, and PRAEFIXA ORA exactly the PRAEFIGUNT CAPITA of five lines previously. There is a precisely similar extension of the term, Silius, 11. 478 :

“ O dirae Ciconum matres, Geticique furores,
et damnata deis Rhodope ! tulit ora revulsa
in pontum, ripis utrinque sequentibus, Hebrus ”

[i. e. capita revulsa]; and another, Sil. 13. 477 :

“ exhausto instituit Pontus vacuare cerebro
ora virum, et longum medicata reponit in aevum.”

An exact parallel to ORA, first, the *mouth*, or opening, and then extended so as to mean the *face*, and even the *head*, is presented by caput, first, the *head*, and then extended to mean the *whole person*, the individual, 4. 640 :

“ Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.”

Servius should have known better than to interpret ORA literally : “NOTA NIMIS MISERIS . . . quoniam etiam abscissi vultus necdum agnitionis amiserant notas.” But grammarians will not cease to puzzle themselves how Dioreas could tread with his heel on the heel of Helymus, who was before him, and how the banks of the Hebrus could follow Orpheus’s face floating down the river (Sil. 11. 480), till grammarians cease to be mere grammarians, and succeed in seizing the spirit, as well as the letter, of poetical language. See Rem. on “calcemque terit iam calce Dioreas,” 5. 324.

REVOLUTAQUE PENSA (vs. 476).—“Resolvitur (sua sponte) quod modo texuit,” Wagner (*Praest.*). But how is it possible for what has been just woven to unweave itself ? and is not pensum the material to be woven, not the woven material ? As the pensum of the spinner is the bundle of flax, or wool, attached to the distaff, so the pensum of the weaver is the thread rolled on the spool, or bobbin, of the shuttle. EXCUSSE MANIBUS RADII, *the shuttle dropped out of her hands* ; REVOLUTAQUE PENSA, *and the thread, which was wound on it, unwound.*

HUNC EGO TE EURYALE ASPICIO (vs. 481).—Compare Stat. *Theb.* 12. 322 (of Argia finding the body of Polynices):

“hunc ego te coniux, ad debita regna profectum
ductorem belli, generumque potentis Adraſti
aspicio?”

the whole of which passage to the end is an imitation of this lament of the mother of Euryalus.

486-489.

NEC TE TUA FUNERA MATER
PRODUXI PRESSIVE OCULOS AUT VULNERA LAVI
VESTE TEGENS TIBI QUAM NOCTES FESTINA DIESQUE
URGUEBAM ET TELA CURAS SOLABAR ANILES

VAR. LECT. (vs. 486).

TE TUA FUNERA ■■■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ †‡. ■■■ Nonius; Princ. Ven. (1470); Rom. (1473); Ascens.; Aldus (1514); Fabric.; P. Manut.; Joseph Scaliger (*Comm. in Cat. Vet. Poet.*), quoting Enn. Epitaph.:

“nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu [fletum (Scal.)]
facit: quum volito vivu' per ora virum,”

and observing: “Funera est ea ad quam funus pertinet quales erant mater, avia, uxor, socrus, &c. Hae omnes vocabantur funerae, ex lege Solonis, qui vocat eas *επινηδειους* ad verbum . . . Unde Virgilius . . . Nec te tua funera mater.” La Cerda*; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Ribb.

TE TUA FUNERE ■■■ Bemb. (conj.); Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Voss; Haupt.

TE IN TUA FUNERA ■■■ Donat.; Jahn.; Thiel.

FLETU FUNERA ■■■ Peerlk. (conj.)

NEC TE TUA FUNERA MATER PRODUXI (vv. 486, 487).—FUNERA, the reading of the MSS., is correct, and there is no occasion

* Taking FUNERA in the sense of *praefica*.

either for the FUNERE of Bembo, or the IN TUA FUNERA of Donatus, or the FLETU of Peerlkamp. As little is there occasion to understand FUNERA with Servius, Fabricius, and La Cerda, as an adjective agreeing with MATER, and signifying *mourning*. The vulgar reading and vulgar interpretation are unobjectionable; TE, TUA FUNERA, *i. e.* TE, *vel potius* TUA FUNERA. TUA FUNERA is the mother's correction of the error she has committed in addressing her dead son as if he was alive. It is as if she had said: "*thee*, do I say? alas! not *thee*, but thy funeral." The whole lamentation of the mother for her son being almost an exact copy of Electra's motherly lament for Orestes (the younger brother, towards whom the elder sister had performed the part both of mother and nurse), it was only to be expected that there should have been, in the lament of Euryalus's mother, some parallel to that most touching stroke of Electra's grief (Soph. *Electr.* 1158):

ΑΝΤΙ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΗΣ
ΜΟΡΦΗΣ, ΣΠΟΔΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΙΑΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΛΗ,

and in the TE, TUA FUNERA, we have that parallel, a parallel equally absent from the passage, whether, with Servius, we regard FUNERA as epithet of MATER, or, with the emendators, substitute for the uniform tradition of the manuscripts FLETU FUNERA, or TE IN TUA FUNERA, or TE TUA FUNERE, or some such mere conjecture.

I am the more inclined to adhere to the MSS., and to reject all emendation as uncalled for—**first**, because in the case of another "*nec te*," viz. 8. 377:

. . . "nec te, carissime coniux,
incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,

we have a not very dissimilar explanation, or rectification, of "*te*" in "*tuos labores*;" in other words, we have at 8. 377, in "*nec te, tuos labores*," as close a parallel as the different circumstances of the case permit for NEC TE, TUA FUNERA; and **secondly**, because at 12. 935:

"et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine maris,
redde meis."

we have the same contrast between "me" and "spoliatum lumine corpus," as in our text between TE and FUNERA. Another example, and there are no doubt many more, of a similar structure is at 10. 791 :

"hic mortis duras casum tuaque optima facta
non equidem, nec te, iuvenis memorande allebo,"

where we have not only the same "nec te," but the same explanation of "te," viz. by "tua optima facta," and where the poet might as well have said, so far as the sense is concerned, "nec te, tua optima facta." In "nec te tua plurima Pantheu" (2. 429) also we have not only another "nec te," but, although in a different structure, another "nec te tua," and the identical metrical structure and cadence of NEC TE TUA FUNERA MATER.

PRODUXI (vs. 487).—*Duxi, prosecutus sum, comitatus sum, ωμαρτησα, προεπεμψα.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 746 :

"*funera ducebat* [mater] *mediam lachrymosa per urbem* ;"

Epist. ad Liv. August. 27 :

"*funera* pro sacris tibi sunt *ducenda* triumphis ;"

Stat. Theb. 2. 313 (of Antigone) :

. . . "namque una soror *producere* tristes
exulis ausa vias "

[to accompany the exile on his way] ; *Lucan, 2. 297 :*

. . . "ceu morte parentem
natorum orbatum, longum *producere funus*
ad tumulum iubet ipse dolor ; iuvat ignibus atris
inseruisse manus, constructoque aggere busti
ipsum atras tenuisse faces ; non ante revellar,
exanimem quam te complectar, Roma, tuumque
nomen, libertas, et inanem *prosequar umbram* ;"

Aesch. Sept. c. Theb. 1024 :

και μηθ' ομαρτειν τυμβοχοα χειρωματα,
μητ' οξυμολποις προσσεβειν οιμωγμασιν,
ειναι δ' ατιμον εκφορας φιλων υπο.

Ibid. 1068 (Semi-Chor. speaking) :

ημεις μεν ιμεν, και ξυμβαψομεν
αιδε προπομποι;

Ibid. 1058 (Ismene speaking) :

πως τολμησω μητε σε κλαειν,
μητε προπεμπειν επι τυμβον;

Aesch. *Choeph.* 8 (Orestes lamenting his not having been present at his father's funeral) :

ου γαρ παρων φμαξα σον, πατερ, μορον,
ουδ' εξετεινα χειρ' επ' εκφορξ νεκρου;

Ter. *Andr.* 1. 1. 90 : "Effertur, imus." . . .

VESTE (vs. 488).—*I. e.* *chlamyde*, 3. 482 :

"nec minus Andromache, digressu moesta supremo,
fert picturatas auri subtemine *vestes*,
et Phrygiam Ascanio *chlamydem*"

[where "*chlamydem*" is the "*vestes*" of the preceding verse],
4. 137 :

"Sidoniam picto *chlamydem* circumdata limbo.
cui pharetra ex auro; crines nodantur in aurum;
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula *vestem*,"

where "*vestem*" is the "*chlamydem*" of the verse but one preceding; 5. 111 : "*ostro perfusae vestes*," where "*vestes*" is the "*chlamydem auratam*" of verse 250. For *vestis*, in its more general sense of *a cover* for anything, see remark on "*veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis*," 2. 722.

TEGENS (vs. 488).—*Covering*, viz., in order that the ghastly, mangled, dead body might not shock the eyes of beholders. Soph. *Aj.* 915 (Tecmessa refusing to let anyone see the dead body of Ajax) :

ου τοι θεατος' αλλα νιν περιπτυχει
φαρει καλυψω τφδε παμπηδην, επει
ουδεις αν οστις και φιλος τλαιη βλεπειν
φυσωντ' ανω προς ρινας, εκ τε φοινιας
πληγης μελανθεν αιμ' απ' οικειας σφαγης.

The mother of Euryalus would have applied to this purpose, viz., that of hiding from the public gaze the mangled body of

her son, the splendid chlamys which she had been working as a present for him. Compare *Aen.* 11. 72 :

“tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis
extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
harum unam iuveni supremum maestus honorem
induit, arsurasque comas obnubit amictu.”

Even where there were no wounds to be hid from view, and the body not disfigured at all, it was not unusual, for the sake of greater honour, to dress it out in a splendid garment, either the deceased's own when alive, or presented by some friend or relative for the purpose. Cf. Epigr. Meleagri, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 468 :

υικτροτατον ματηρ σε, Χαριξενε, δωρον ες εδαν,
οκτωκαιδεκαταν εστολισεν χλαμυδι,

where it is doubtful whether the sense is: that Charixenus having died soon after he had come to the age of eighteen, and put on the chlamys, his dead body was dressed out in that chlamys which he had so lately put on; or that Charixenus, having died just when he arrived at eighteen years of age, his dead body was wrapped in the chlamys which had been prepared for being put on by him, but which his premature death had prevented him from putting on. The famous web of Penelope seems to have been a similar chlamys, but whether at first intended as a present for Ulysses on his safe return, and only when his return alive was despaired of turned to the purpose of a sepulchral dress, ταφήιον, or whether intended from the first as a ταφήιον φαρς does not appear with sufficient distinctness. Compare Hom. *Od.* 2. 96 :

κουροι, εμοι μνηστηρες, επει θανε διος Οδυσσευς,
μιμνετ' επειγόμενοι τον εμον γαμον, εισοκε φαρς
εκτελεσω—μη μοι μεταμωνια νηματ' οληται—
Λαερτη ηρωι ταφήιον, εις οτε κεν μιν
Μοιρ' ολον καθελησι ταηλεγεος θανατοιο·
μη τις μοι κατα δημον Αχαιϊδων νεμεσησιν,
αι κεν ατερ σπειρου κηται, πολλα κτεατισσας.

How little economy was used in the grave dresses, or funeral-pyre dresses of beloved, or rich, or illustrious dead, may be

deduced, independently of particular examples, from the general practice of throwing upon the blazing pyre, or burying along with the dead body in the sepulchral vault, not only his own clothes, but all manner of valuables, 6. 215:

“ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
intexunt latera, et ferales ante cupressos
constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
.
. tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
coniiciunt
.
. congesta cremantur
turea dona, daptes, fuso crateres olivo.”

490-500.

QUO SEQUAR—LUCTUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 500).

ACTOR ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ 7. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670);
Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed.
1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ANTON ■■■ Alciatus (*Parerg.* 7. 16).

AUCTOR ■ *Rom.*

ANTHOR ■■■ *Rom.* 1473.

QUO SEQUAR? theme; AUT QUAE NUNC ARTUS AVULSAQUE MEMBRA ET FUNUS LACERUM TELLUS HABET, variation (vv. 490, 491), itself divisible into three sub-variations, inasmuch as ARTUS, AVULSA MEMBRA, and FUNUS LACERUM are three varieties of expression for corpus lacerum.

FIGITE ME, theme; IN ME OMNIA TELA CONIICITE, first variation; ME PRIMAM ABSUMITE FERRO, second variation (vv. 493, 494).

HOC FLETU, &c. (vv. 498-502).—Fletus is a general expression, corresponding to the English *lament*, *lamentation*; fletus may be either as here with words; HOC FLETU, *with these words of lamentation*. Compare 4. 437:

“ talibus orabat, talesque miserrima *fletus*
fertque refertque soror,”

or it may be with tears, *Aen.* 6. 699:

“ sic memorans largo *fletu* simul ora rigabat.”

In our text three different kinds of fletus are found, viz.—(1) the fletus of the *mother* by *words*, and no doubt by *tears and groans also*; (2) the fletus of the *Trojans* generally, viz. by *groans* (vs. 499, GEMITUS); and (3) the fletus of *Ascanius*, by *tears* (vs. 501, LACRYMANTIS IULI). It would have been as improper to represent Iulus lamenting loud, as it was proper to represent him weeping, tears being consistent with his dignity as a prince; groans not, unless for a nearer and deeper loss, as that of his father would have been. Tears only testified his pietas. See 3. 10.

IT GEMITUS (vs. 499).—Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 964:

ANT. *ἴτω γοός.* ISM. *ἴτω θάμνα.*

INCIDENTEM LUCTUS (vs. 500).—Uti ardere dicuntur ea quae in magno motu sunt, agitantur, turbantur, versantur; sic incendere est *augere, excitare*,” Heyne, Forbiger, Thiel. Incendere is very much more than either “augere” or “excitare.” Literally, *to set burning, to set on fire*. It is here used metaphorically, and means *to set, as it were, burning; to set, as it were, on fire*. Whether literally used or metaphorically, it differs from accendere (our *kindle*), inasmuch as it signifies not only lighting or kindling a fire, but setting into a state of perfect fire, of complete burning. Its correlative is ardere, which expresses the condition of the *incensed* person or thing, Ovid, *Met.* 3. 424 (of Narcissus):

. . . “ ipse
se cupit imprudens; et, qui probat, ille probatur.
dumque petit, petitur, pariterque *incendit, et ardet*”;

Aen. 4. 54:

“his dictis *incensum* animum inflammavit amore”;

corresponding to vs. 101:

“*ardet* amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem”;

5. 455:

“tum pudor *incendit* vires et conscia virtus,
praecipitemque Daren *ardens* agit aequore toto.”

The first metaphorical use of *incendere* is to express the apparent firing of inanimate objects by light or fire, which yet they only reflect, Ovid, *Ex Pont.* 2. 1. 41:

“deque triumphate, quod sol *incenderit*, auro
aurea Romani tecta fuisse fori”;

Aen. 5. 87:

“Maculosus et auro
squamam incendebat fulgor”;

the second, to express the firing of the mind with various passions; the exciting in the mind of passions vehement as fire. Compare 2. 343:

“insano Cassandrae *incensus* amore”;

Sall. *Bell. Cat.* 49: “odio *incensus*,” Nep. *Lys.* 3: “dolore *incensus*,” Id. *Pelop.* 5: “*incensus* ira.” Also Ovid, *Met.* 3. 424; *Aen.* 4. 54; 5. 455, all quoted above.

Both in its literal and in its two metaphorical uses, *incendere* has its exact equivalent in the English verb *to fire*, except only that the metaphorical use of the English word is less extensive; e. g. we cannot say *fire the sky* or *the city with shouting*, i. e. shout so as to set the sky or the city on fire, though the Romans can say “*incendere caelum clamore*,” 10. 895, and “*incendere urbem clamoribus*,” 11. 147. Neither can we say *fire the mind with grief*, though the Romans can say, as in our text, *incendere luctus*, equivalent to *incendere animos luctu*, and the Greeks can say *δακρυα αναπρησαι*, Hom. *Il.* 9. 432:

οψε δε δη μετεειπε γερων ιππηλατα φοιριξ,
δακρυ' αναπρησας, περι γαρ διε νηυσιν Αχαιων

[where the Scholiast, *αναφυσησας, η αθροον αναβαλων*, and Apollon. (in Lex.) “*πρησαι incendere significat, et flare and spirare, Od. 2. 427* :

επρησεν δ' ανεμος μεσον ιστιον, . . .

οθεν και ημεις τους πεφυσημενους πεπρησμενους λεγομεν”]. See Rem. on 5. 87 and 11. 147. The similarly metaphorical use of the correlative *extinguere* is of no less usual occurrence—4. 682 :

“*extinxi te meque, soror, populumque patresque
Sidonios urbemque tuam*”;

Tryphiodor. 10 :

σβεννυτο θωρηκων ενοπη;]

Shakesp. *Othello*, 5. 2. 7 :

“put out the light, and then put out *the* light.”

508-567.

QUA RARA—AGGERE

QUA RARA EST ACIES, theme ; INTERLUCETQUE CORONA NON TAM SPISSA VIRIS, variation (vv. 508, 509).

PARTE ALIA HORRENDUS VISU QUASSABAT ETRUSCAM PINUM, theme ; FUMIFEROS INFERT MEZENTIUS IGNES, variation (vv. 521, 522).

TURRIS ERAT VASTO SUSPECTU (vs. 530).—*Immense to be looked up at*, i.e. whose size appeared immense when you looked up at it. It is impossible to express the idea in English with equal brevity.

OPPORTUNA LOCO (vs. 531).—*In a situation convenient*, i.e. *advantageous* to the Trojans, and therefore a desirable object of attack for the besiegers ; in other words, it was strategically desirable to the besiegers to destroy a tower from whence the

besieged were able to harass them. Liv. 33. 38: "Lysimachiam . . . nobilem urbem, et loco sitam opportuno," *advantageously situated*, well situated, viz. for safety, or trade, or for the enjoyment of its inhabitants; Ammian. 28. 2. 1: "At Valentinianus . . . Rhenum omnem . . . magnis molibus communibat, castra extollens altius et castella, turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo."

SUMMIS QUAM VIRIBUS OMNES EXPUGNARE ITALI (*certabant*), theme; SUMMAQUE EVERTERE OPUM VI CERTABANT, variation (vv. 531, 532).

CAVAS FENESTRAS (vs. 534).—*Loopholes*, the "cava" of Liv. 24. 34: "Murus ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus fere *cavis* aperuit; per quæ *cava* pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto petebant hostem." The Romans applied the term *cavus* to apertures which, either from want of means of shutting, or from whatever other cause, remained permanently open. Thus we have Ovid, *Met.* 12. 42, "*cavas aures*"; *ib.* 12, 435, "*cavas nares*"; *ib.* 13. 892, "*os cavum saxi*," the open mouth of the rock, i.e. the hollow opening of the rock. And so in our text CAVAS FENESTRAS, windows, which, for want of means of shutting, were always open. *Apertas fenestras* had been windows which, having been shut, were now open, i.e. opened windows. Our English *hollow* is not capable of a similar application, and we can come no nearer to "*cavas aures*," "*cavas nares*," and "CAVAS FENESTRAS" than "*open ears*," "*open nostrils*," and "*open windows*." The Romans were rich in this respect, for they also had "*patulas aures*," "*patulas nares*," and "*patulas fenestras*," exactly equivalent to "*cavas aures*," "*cavas nares*," and "CAVAS FENESTRAS."

LAMPADA (vs. 535).—"Intelligit epolim [qu. helepolim], est enim instrumentum factum ad similitudinem colli muliebris, quod iactum afferebat ignem," Cynth. Genet.

RETRO RESIDUNT (vs. 539).—"Recedentes simul cum turre recedunt," Peerlkamp, an explanation which I confess I do not understand. RETRO RESIDUNT is our English *fall back*, with the notion of *ceasing from action* added. GLOMERANT describes what they do *after* they fall back, for there is here our author's

usual *υστερον προτερον*; they not only fall back, but falling back severally collect into one and the same place.

HELENOR . . . ISQUE (vv. 545-549).—This passage has been uniformly both misinterpreted and mispunctuated by the editors, who, not observing the *anacoluthon*, place a full stop or a semicolon at ALBA, and commence a new sentence at ISQUE, so connecting HELENOR with ENSE LEVIS NUDO by means of *erat* understood. Thus, HELENOR [*erat*] LEVIS. There is, however, no *erat* understood; the sentence runs on past ALBA, where there should be a dash, not a period, and the structure is: PRIMAEVUS HELENOR QUEM LICYMNIA MISERAT, ENSE LEVIS NUDO PARMAQUE INGLORIUS ALBA—ISQUE. Compare 5. 704: “senior Nautes quem Pallas docuit, multaque insignem reddidit arte—haec responsa dabat . . . ordo—isque.”

MAEONIO REGI QUEM SERVA LICYMNIA FURTIM SUSTULERAT, VETITISQUE AD TROIAM MISERAT ARMIS (vv. 546, 547).—“VETITIS ARMIS . . . quia servi militia prohibebantur,” Servius. “VETITIS ARMIS: quae tractare nondum posset propter teneram adolescentiam,” Heyne. I think neither is correct, and that VETITIS refers to FURTIM: Helenor was reared in secret by Licymnia, and not acknowledged by his father, nor allowed by his father to be sent to the war, and so Peerlkamp correctly: “*inseio et invito patre.*”

FURTIM SUSTULERAT.—“E stupro educaverat: hinc est *et dulcia furta*,” Servius. This is not the meaning: FURTIM refers solely to the secret *rearing* of the child, not at all to the secret connexion of the parents; and no words can be plainer than FURTIM SUSTULERAT. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 3. 313 (of Bacchus):

“*furtim illum primis Ino matertera cunis
educat,*”

where Ino, who rears Bacchus, “*furtim*,” is not the mother, but only the nurse. On account of this private rearing of the child, he is, when he grows up, forbidden by his father to go to the war, lest the incognito should be discovered.

IUVENIS MEDIOS MORITURUS IN HOSTES IRRUIT, theme; ET QUA TELA VIDET DENSISSIMA TENDIT, variation (vv. 554, 555).

TECTA.—“Pro valli superiore parte,” Heyne. “Pinnae

muri," Wagner (*Praest.*), Forbiger. "Mirum, *tecta* appellari summas murorum partes. . . . Fortasse scribendum est PRENDERE *TUTA MANU*," Peerlkamp. This is incorrect. TECTA is equivalent to *turres*. Lycus endeavours to get in at the window of a turret, similar to that whose fall had precipitated him to the ground; his friends inside endeavour, with outstretched hands, to help him up. Compare 12. 596 :

"incessi muros, ignes ad tecta volare,"

where "tecta" can be nothing else than the towers which formed part of the enclosure of the town, that enclosure consisting of towers at regular intervals, and united together by wall, properly so called. These towers being *roofed*, i. e. covered, are with great propriety called TECTA, in order to distinguish them from the open or uncovered part of the wall, and being either wholly or in great part of wood, were usually attacked with fire. Therefore, "ignes ad tecta volare" in the attack on Laurentum in the 12th Book: and, therefore, here, first the burning, and then the fall of the tower, by whose fall Lycus had been precipitated to the ground. The following are examples of tecta used in the same manner, viz., to signify the towers, i. e. the roofed, or covered parts, of the defences of a fortified town. Liv. 1. 15: "obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de *tectis* moenibusque dimicaret"; Stat. *Theb.* 10. 877 (of Capaneus tearing down the walls of Thebes):

. . . "simul insultans, gressuque manuque
molibus obstantes cuneos, tabulataque saevus
destruit; abaliunt pontes, *tectique* trementis
saxea frena labant, dissepitoque aggere rursus
utitur, et truncas rupes in templa, domosque
praecipitat, frangitque suis iam moenibus urbem";

Stat. *Theb.* 11. 359 (of Antigone from the top of the walls, seeing Polynices attacking the walls of Thebes):

"utque procul visis paulum dubitavit in armis,
agnovitque (nefas!) iaculis, et voce superba,
tecta inoessentem, magno prius omnia planctu
implet, et e muris ceu descensura profatur:
'comprime tela manu, paulumque hanc aspice *turrim*,
frater, et horrentis refer in mea lumina cristas,'"

where the *turris* specified is one of the *turres* previously mentioned under the more indefinite term “*tecta*.”

QUAESITUM AUT MATRI MULTIS BALATIBUS AGNUM MARTIUS A STABULIS RAPUIT LUPUS (vv. 565, 566).—“Est prothysteron. Nam post raptum quaeritur; vel requirendum, *ποθῆτρον*,” Servius, on which Peerlkamp remarks: “Non intellexit *a stabulis*, quod est *procul a stabulis errantem*.” Servius is much nearer the truth than his censor. Why may it not be a prothysteron? and is not the prothysteron (if by “prothysteron” Servius means *υστερον προτερον*) almost the rule with Virgil?

AGGERE (vs. 567).—*I. e.* earth, stones, rubbish, or whatever material used for the purpose of filling up; *stuff*, as we would say. Compare Ammian. 17. 7. 5: “Nonnulli enim superuentium rudерum vi nimia constipati, sub ipsis interiere ponderibus. Quidam collo tenus aggeribus obruti, cum superesse possent, si qui iuissent, auxiliorum inopia necabantur.”

575-585.

SUMMIS—PALICI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 584).

MARTIS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ ††. ■■■ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Pottier.

MATRIS (small *m*) ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Voss.

MATRIS (large *M*) ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Klausen, who (“*Aeneas u. die Penaten*,” 1. p. 473) quotes Macrobius, Sat. 5. 19, MATRIS, and observes: “Für MATRIS spricht der Dienst der Mütter zu Enguium und an diese ist zu denken, nicht an die Ceres von Enna”; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 585).

UBI ET PLACABILIS ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ †. ■■■ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

UBI PLACABILIS ■■ †.

SUMMIS STANTEM PRO TURRIBUS IDAN (vs. 575).—PRO TURRIBUS. "Aut pro defensione turrium, aut sic magni ut turres putares," Servius. "Pro defensione turrium," La Cerda. "Stantem in summa turri," Heyne, Wagner (1861). **Not** "pro defensione turrium;" first, because, so understood, the words are a mere filling up of the verse, and add nothing to the picture; and secondly, because, if such had been the meaning, the expression would have been, not SUMMIS STANTEM PRO TURRIBUS, but STANTEM PRO TURRIBUS, inasmuch as it was not the *top* of the wall specially, but *the whole wall*, the wall itself, which was to be defended. **Not** "sic magni ut turres putares;" first, because the reference is to Idas individually, not to the whole number of persons mentioned (STANTEM, not STANTES); and secondly, because, whether the reference is to Idas individually, or to Idas along with the other persons mentioned, it is little according to Virgil's usual manner to describe a size so gigantic with a single expression. On the contrary, where mention is made of an extraordinary size, it is our author's habit to dwell upon it, and adorn it with all the trappings of poetry. Compare the description of the size of the Aetnean brothers (3. 677), and of that of Bitias and Pandarus (9. 677), to the "pro turribus" of which latter description, more properly than to the PRO TURRIBUS of our text, belongs indeed the whole gloss of Servius; "aut pro defensione turrium aut sic magni ut turres putares."

To neither of these objections is Heyne's interpretation, "stantem in summa turri," liable. On the contrary, while, on the one hand, the picture is improved by the singling out of Idas, and placing him conspicuously on the top, no matter whether, as I think (see below), of the wall, or literally, and as Heyne thinks, of the tower; it is, on the other hand, our author's usual manner thus to add to the name of the last-mentioned of a number of personages some distinctive peculiarity of his position, dress, action, personal appearance, or history. Compare l. 89:

"una Eurisque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus;"

1. 514 :

“Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum;”

8. 6 :

. . . “Messapus et Ufens
contemptorque deum Mezentius;” . . .

8. 425 :

“Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon;”

6. 650 :

“Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.”

STANTEM, **not** merely *standing*, i. e. standing idly and at his ease, **but** *standing as a combatant*, standing being the position of a warrior, as sitting is that of a judge; Act. Apostol. 7. 55 (of Stephen the Martyr): *υπαρχων δε πληρης πνευματος αγιου, απενισας εις τον ουρανον, ειδε δοξαν θεου, και Ιησουν ιστωτα εκ δεξιων του θεου*, on which—the single occasion on which Christ is represented standing, not sitting, on the right hand of God—S. Gregory observes (*Homil. 29*, ed. Migne, lxxvi. p. 1218): “Sedere iudicantis est, stare vero pugnantis vel adiuvantis . . . Stephanus in labore certaminis positus stantem vidit quem adiutorem habuit.” And, accordingly, Adam of St. Victor, *Hymnus de S. Stephano* (Trench’s *Sacred Latin Poetry*, Lond. 1864, p. 215):

“en a dextris Dei *stantem*
Iesum *pro te dimicantem*,
Stephane considera.”

A similar meaning, viz. of combating, will be found traceable in many of the compounds, whether Latin or Greek, of the root, *ex. gr.* in *astare*, see Rem. on 9. 677, *παραστατειν, ανθισταναι, προιστασθαι*, &c. Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 407 :

*εγω δε Τυδει κεδνον Αστακου τοκον
τονδ’ αντιταξω προστατην πυλωματων*

(defender of the gates), as well as in the expression *προσθε ιστασθαι*. Hom. *Il.* 4. 54 :

ταμν ουτι εγω προσθ’ ισταμαι, ουδε μεγαιρω.

PRO TURRIBUS (vs. 575).—On the towers (i. e. on the wall, see below), exactly as “pro rostris,” on the rostra: “pro tribunali,” on the tribunal. Compare Liv. 24. 22: “Ibi pro Con-

cordiae ara, quae in eo sita loco erat, . . . Polyaeus concionem et liberam, et moderatam habuit," where "*pro Concordiae ara*" means standing *on* the altar, as shown by the sequel: "*Ibi in aram Concordiae, ex qua pridie Polyaeus concionatus erat, escendit.*" Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 17: "Consultatum inde, *pro rostris*, an in senatu, an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur," *from* the rostra, standing *on* the rostra. *Ibid.* 1. 29: "*Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est,*" addressed them *from* the steps of the palace. *Ibid.* 3. 74: "*Stantem pro gradibus palatii Vitellium, et preces parantem, pervicere ut abisteret,*" *on* the steps, *on the top of* the steps. Id. *Annal.* 2. 81: "*regressusque (Piso), et pro muris modo semet adficiendo, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vocans, seditionem coep- tabat,*" *on* the wall. *Ibid.* 14. 30: "*stabat pro littore diversa acies,*" the opposite army was standing drawn up *on* the shore. Sall. *Jug.* 67: "*mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere.*" Sil. 1. 304 (of Hannibal):

. . . "verba ocius acer
intorto sancit iaculo, figitque per arma
stantem pro muro, et minitantem vana Caicum.
concidit exacti medius per viscera teli,
effusisque simul praerupto ex aggere membris
victori moriens tepefactam retulit hastam,"

where, as proved by the immediately subsequent "*praerupto ex aggere*," "*pro muro*" is *on* the wall. Seneca, *Troad.* 1094 (of Astyanax standing *on* the tower before he leaped from it):

. . . "ut summa stetit
pro turre, vultus huc et huc acres tulit,
intrepidus animo."

Val. Flacc. 4. 107:

. . . "sic undique in omnes
prospiciunt cursantque vias, qui corpora regi
capta trahunt: ea Neptuno trux ipse [Amycus] parenti
sacrifici *pro rupe iugi*, media aequora supra,
torquet agens,"

he himself, Amycus, standing *on* the top of the precipice, flings them to Neptune, i. e. into the sea. An array of examples

with which Heyne might have triumphantly replied to Voss, when criticizing Heyne's "in summa turri," that jealous and bitter philologist so insultingly exclaimed:—"Vor soll heissen auf! Er stand vor dem giebel des thurms abwehrend auf einer brücke."

TURRIBUS (vs. 575).—**Not** with Heyne, *turre*, nor meaning a single tower, **but** plural, used expressly to signify that not one tower is meant, but *the towers*, i. e. *the towers (row of towers) enclosing the fort*; in other words, *the wall*. See Rem. vs. 677. Compare Stephanus: πυργηρεω in turri sto, vel turrem custodio. Hesychius πυργηρουμεν exponit φυλαττομεν τα τειχη. itemque πυργηρουμενοι τα τειχη φυλαττοντες. apud Suidam." SUMMIS TURRIBUS, *on the top of the wall*. The addition of SUMMIS to TURRIBUS has the double effect, first, of indicating what part of the wall is meant; and secondly, of determining, and placing beyond the possibility of doubt, the meaning of PRO, inasmuch as, however PRO TURRIBUS **might**, taken separately, or in another context, mean *as huge as towers*, or *in defence of the towers*, or, as in this very book, vs. 677, *instead of towers* (vice turrium), PRO SUMMIS TURRIBUS **can** mean only *on the top of the towers*; in other words, *on the top of the wall*.

ERGO ALIS ALLAPSA SAGITTA, &c. (vv. 578-580).—"Oratio non eleganter procedit: sagitta allapsa est, manus affixa est, et intus abdita rumpit spiramenta. Nisi ineptum foret, diceres manum intus abditam," Peerlkamp. Virgil follows his usual manner. ET LAEVO AFFIXA EST LATERI MANUS is the complement added to ALIS ALLAPSA SAGITTA, as "magno clamore sequuntur," vs. 466, is the complement added to "praefigunt capita," and the direct connexion passes from ALIS ALLAPSA SAGITTA to ABDITAQUE INTUS RUPIT. See Rem. on vs. 465.

FERRUGINE CLARUS IBERA (vs. 582).—Ferrugo is the colour of the violet. Compare Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 93:

"dulci violas ferrugine pingit."

"Qui color est prorsus ater et funestus. Itaque non bene lectum epitheton *clarus*," Peerlkamp. CLARUS being understood, not in its primary sense of *clear* or *bright*, but in its

secondary, of *remarkable, distinguished, conspicuous, plain*, by contrast amongst others: the epithet is not only not incongruous with FERRUGINE, but in the highest degree suitable, inasmuch as the Iberian ferrugo being a foreign, rare, and expensive colour, rendered its wearer CLARUS, or *remarkable, and the object of admiration*. That this is the real meaning of CLARUS, as here used, is further shown by the terms EGREGIUS and INSIGNIS, applied in the context to the arms and appearance of the same Arcens. As Arcens here, so Chloereus, 11. 772, is "clarus ferrugine," *plain to be seen, remarkable* by the contrast of the colour of his dress to that of the other combatants; and again, like Arcens here, is "insignis," *remarkable, distinguishable* amongst all the rest, viz. by his fulgent Phrygian arms. CLARUS FERRUGINE, *distinguished, rendered remarkable by the ferruginous colour of his clothes*, as Philammon, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 317, by his fine voice and instrumental performance:

"carmine vocali clarus, citharaque Philammon;"

as Peleus by his goddess wife, *Ibid.* 11. 217: "coniuge Peleus clarus erat diva;" and compare *Ibid.* 6. 85 (of the web woven by Pallas in her contest with Arachne):

"quatuor in partes certamina quatuor addit,
clara colore suo"

[not necessarily of a brilliant colour, but *plain to see, noticeable* by their colour]. Also Stat. *Theb.* 4. 270 (of Parthenopaeus):

"electro pallens et iaspide clarus Eoa."

GENITOR QUEM MISERAT, ARCEUS (vs. 583).—I entirely agree with Servius, that Arcens belongs to STABAT, not to MISERAT, and that a comma should therefore be placed at MISERAT.

PINGUIS UBI ET PLACABILIS ARA PALICI (vs. 585).—See Rem. 7. 764.

597-599.

IBAT ET INGENTEM SESE CLAMORE FERERAT
 NON PUDEAT OBSIDIONE ITERUM VALLOQUE TENERI
 BIS CAPTI PHRYGES, ET MARTI PRAETENDERE MUROS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 597).

INGENTEM ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* ■■ ‡. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473;
 N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier;
 Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

INGENTI ■■ ‡. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 599).

MORTI ■ *Rom., Pal., Med.* (It is doubtful whether the last vowel was originally I or E. It is now certainly I. Both Foggini and Ribbeck quote it as E, the former observing: "Littera E in I commutatur.") ■■ ‡. ■■■ Donat.; Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; Ascens.; Fabric.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Pott.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Thiel (in his note); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.

MARTI ■ "In odd. aliquot antiquis MARTI legitur," Pierius; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Jahn; Thiel (in his text).

BIS CAPTI (vs. 599).—First by Hercules, and then by Agamemnon. Compare 11. 402, "bis victae," where the meaning is the same. Gossrau, therefore, is wrong in understanding the meaning to be once by Agamemnon, and once now by us.

ET MARTI PRAETENDERE MUROS (vs. 599).—All the commentators and translators, both those who read MARTI and those who read MORTI, understand PRAETENDERE to be equivalent to *obviare*, and the walls to be presented *against* the assaulting Rutuli: those who read MARTI, understanding them to be presented *against* the Mars, *i. e.* the battle, or fighting, or assault of the Rutuli; those who read MORTI, understanding them to be presented *against* the death which the assaulting

Rutuli would inflict upon the Trojans. "Vulgo *MORTI* lectum, etiam in *Medic.*, et sic Servius cum Iul. Sabino nec hoc male; magis tamen epicum illud (*viz. MARTI*). . . . Est enim eleganter et docte dictum *PRAETENDERE MUROS MARTI*, bello, pugnae, vallum et muros ducere quo inclusi latere et pugnam detrectare possint," Heyne. "*Morti* melius cum sententia convenit. - Muros praetendunt *morti*, qui certo sciunt, si muros relinquunt, sibi esse moriendum," Peerlkamp. "Revocavi *morti*; similiter peccatum a librariis, 11. 115; nec probabile est, lectionem tam facilem, qualis est *Marti*, in hanc, a vulgari loquendi usu longius remotam, transisse," Wagner, Forbiger, Thiel. "Und tod abwehret mit mauern," Voss.

. . . "e pur col vostro muro,
e co i vostri ripari, or da la morte
vi riparate?" (Caro).

I am bold to say, that both interpretations alike assign a false sense to the word *praetendere*, which is never to hold up *against*, or present *against* an object in the dative case, but always to hold up *before*, or present *before*, an object in the dative case; *i. e.* is never to screen from the object in the dative case, but always to screen the object in the dative case. Compare Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 79: . . . "*vestem tumidis praetendit ocellis*;" Virg. *Georg.* 1. 270: . . . "*segeti praetendere sepem*;" Suet. Claud. 10: "*inter praetenta foribus vela*;" Liv. 39. 16: "*deorum numen praetenditur sceleribus*;" Claud. *de Bell. Get.* 416:

"venit et extremis legio *praetenta* Britannis,
quae Scoto dat fraena truci, ferroque notatas
perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras;"

Sil. 15. 44:

"dum cineri titulum, memorandaque nomina bustis
praetendit;"

In every one of these instances, and I believe in every instance which can be adduced, the dative case is of the object screened or protected, not of the object *against* which the screen is held up. When this last object is mentioned it is put into the accusative with *adversus*, *ex. gr.* Liv. 37. 54: "*Licet ergo vobis,*

. . . meminisse, quem titulum *praetenderitis* prius *adversus* Philippum, nunc *adversus* Antiochum belli;" Ambros. Ep. 76 (ed. Migne, xvi. p. 1263): "Postremo quasi bonum bellatorem sumere arma Dei, ac *praetendere* semper, non solum *adversus* carnem," &c.

The reading *MORTI*, therefore, no matter by what MS. authority supported, is to be rejected as incompatible with *PRAETENDERE* (for the sense it affords in conjunction with that word is no other than *screen*, or *protect death*, quod absurdum), and *MARTI* is to be adopted, which, in connexion with *PRAETENDERE*, affords the unobjectionable sense, *set up the screen of a wall before*, not the Mars of the Rutuli, but before *your own Mars*, i. e. fight like cowards from behind walls, under the protection of walls. Compare vs. 46, above:

"armatique cavis expectant turribus hostem."

Even in those cases in which *praetendere* is joined with *adversus*, *praetendere* has still, according to the proper force of its preposition, the meaning of holding *before*, or *in front of the holder*, not at all that of holding before or against an object, that meaning belonging solely to the *adversus*, and not being at all shared by the verb. That this is so, is placed beyond doubt by the fact that *praetendere* alone, and without either dative or preposition governing accusative, is never to hold against, but always *to hold before* (viz. the holder). Tacitus, *Annal.* 14. 21: "Pluribus ipsa licentia placebat: ac tamen honesta nomina *praetendebant*" [held up honest names, not against anyone, or anything, but *in front of themselves*]; Sil. 6. 76:

"procedit, renovata focus et paupere Vesta
lumina *praetendens*"

[holding the lamp, not against anything, but *before himself*]; Ammian. 16. 11. 14: "dum castrorum opera mature consurgunt, militisque pars stationes *praetendit* agrarias, alia frumenta insidiarum metu colligit caute;" as if he had said "castris *praetendit* stationes agrarias." Still further, *praetendere* being, as appears from the passages just cited from Claudian

and Ammian, the technical term in Roman strategy for setting or posting soldiers outside, for the defence of a camp, city, or other position, and bodies of soldiers so posted being even technically denominated *praetenturae*—compare Ammian. 14. 3. 2: “Et quia Mesopotamiae tractus omnes crebro inquietari sueti, *praetenturis* et stationibus (*pickets and outposts*) servabantur agrariis”—it may not be quite absurd to find in our text the innuendo, “Fie on you, cowards, who are not ashamed, MARTI PRAETENDERE MUROS, when you should ‘*praetendere Martem muris*,’ to fight behind walls, when you should fight before and for them.” The Latin *praetendere*, with the dative, is thus the Greek *προσθεν εχειν* with the genitive. Hom. *Il.* 20. 162: . . . *απαρ ασπιδα θοορην προσθεν εχει στερνοιο*.

MARTI, precisely as “Mars,” 10. 280:

“in manibus Mars ipse, viri,”

and Claud. *de Bell. Gild.* 85:

“muro sustinui Martem, noctesque cruentas
Collina pro turre tuli,”

where the sense is the opposite of our text, and precisely that which is assigned to our text by the commentators; viz., sustained, by means of our walls, the attack of the enemy.

601-674.

QUIS—RUMPIT

VAR. LECT. [*punct.* mostly] (vs. 603).

DURUM AB STIRPE GENUS · NATOS ■■■ Donatus; La Cerda; Brunck;
Wakef.; Voss.

DURUM AB STIRPE GENUS NATOS ■■■ Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861);
Lad.

DURUM AB STIRPE GENUS · GNATOS ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Burm.

DURUM A STIRPE GENUS · NATOS ■■■ Donat.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.

DURUM A STIRPE GENUS NATOS ■■■ Ribb.

SILVAS FATIGANT.—Give the woods no rest, no peace, with their continual hunting; weary the woods with their hunting. We may compare, for the converse, Valer. Flacc. 4. 18 (of Hercules):

“ ille graves oculos, et Hylan resonantia semper
ora ferens, ut nulla deum superare potestas,
procumbit; tandem fœnis reddita silvis,
fluminaque et vacuis auditæ montibus auræ.”

VERSAQUE IUVENCIUM TERGA FATIGAMUS HASTA (vv. 609, 610).—For **TERGA**, see Rem. on “terga suum,” l. 639.

FATIGAMUS.—See Rem. l. 284 B.

DEBILITAT VIRES ANIMI (vs. 611), theme; **MUTATQUE VIGOREM**, variation.

HABENT REDIMICULA (vs. 616).—Have appendages resembling the redimicula of the Roman women. Festus: “Redimiculum vocant mulieres catellam, qua maxime utuntur ornatus causa.”

IPSE TIBI AD TUA TEMPLA FERAM SOLENNIA DONA, theme; **ET STATUAM ANTE ARAS AURATA FRONTE IUVENCIUM**, variation (vv. 626, 627).

ADDUCTA SAGITTA (vs. 632).—Because the arrow was drawn so far only as to reach the person, viz. to the ears; on the other hand, “*reducta hasta*,” because the spear was drawn *back*, so as to pass the person, as far back behind the person as the hand that held it would reach.

PERQUE CAPUT REMULI VENIT (vs. 633), theme; **CAVA TEMPORA FERRO TRAHIT**, particularizing variation.

MACTE NOVA VIRTUTE, PUER (vs. 641).—Reminds us of Jupiter’s famous *eu uie* on seeing Bacchus kill his adversary in the battle of the giants.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA (vs. 641).—Compare Cicer. *Sonn. Scip.* 15: “*ea vita via est in coelum.*” **SIC ITUR AD ASTRA** is intimately connected with **DIS GENITE, ET GENITURE DEOS**. It is as if he had said: Thou, who art descended from gods, and art to have gods for thy descendants, shalt, by following on in this way, thyself become a god. This is the road of the hero to heaven. See Remark on “qua sola sidera

adibam," 4. 322, and compare Sil. 7. 16 (apostrophizing Fabius):

"summe ducum, qui regna iterum labentia Troiae,
et fluxas Latii res, maiorumque labores,
qui Carmentis opes, et regna Evandria servas,
surge, age, et emerito sacrum caput *insere caelo*."

PRIMAM HANC TIBI MAGNUS APOLLO CONCEDIT LAUDEM, ET
PARIBUS NON INVIDET ARMIS (vv. 654, 655).—Compare Theocr.,
Idyl. 7. 100:

. . . ον ουδε κεν αυτος αιδεν
φοιβος αν φορμιγγι παρα τριποδεσσι μεγαραι.

PARIBUS ARMIS, *i. e.* a bow and arrow *as sure as* his own.

TUM SCUTA CAVAEQUE DANT SONITUM FLICTU GALEAE (vv. 666, 667).—"Inducitur comparatio ut ostendatur quanta vis telorum fuisset, et quemadmodum resonabant, quae percutiebantur telis," Donat. "FLICTU, *percussionibus*," Cynth. Cenet. "SCUTA et GALEAE CAVAE quibus s. repulsa erant tela, nam aliter non sparsa essent per terras, sed infixae corporibus," Ascensius. "Das geschoss schlägt an die helme an," Thiel. "SCUTA et GALEAE sonant iaculorum ictibus," Forbiger. It is *not* the striking of shields and helmets with swords or spears which is here spoken of, *but* the clashing of shield with shield, and of helmet with helmet. Sil. 9. 322:

. . . "galea horrida flictu
adversae ardescit galeae, *clipeusque fatiscit*
impulsu clipei, atque ensis contunditur ense;"

Sil. 10. 318:

"fractaque *conflictu parmarum* tegmina;"

Sil. 4. 357:

"exoritur rabies caedum, ac vix tela furori
sufficiunt, teritur *innotis umbonibus umbo*,
pesque pedem premit, et nutantes casside cristae
hostilem tremulo pulsant conamine frontem;"

and Pacuvius, in his play of Teucer, as quoted by Servius:
"fictus navium," the dashing of one ship against another.

FLICTU, not AFFLICTU : if it were only on account of Silius, 9. 322 (where the reading can by no possibility be AFFLICTU), and Pacuvius, just quoted.

672-678.

PANDARUS ET BITIAS IDAEO ALCANORE CRETI
 QUOS IOVIS EDUXIT LUCO SILVESTRIS IAERA
 ABIETIBUS IUVENES PATRIIS ET MONTIBUS AEQUOS
 PORTAM QUAE DUCIS IMPERIO COMMISSA RECLUDUNT
 FRETI ARMIS ULTROQUE INVITANT MOENIBUS HOSTEM
 IPSI INTUS DEXTRA AC LAEVA PRO TURRIBUS ADSTANT
 ARMATI FERRO ET CRISTIS CAPITA ALTA CORUSCI

ABIETIBUS IUVENES PATRIIS . . . AEQUOS (vs. 674).—Compare *Ballad of Sir James the Ross* :

“ his growth was as the tufted fir
 that crowns the mountain's brow.”

QUAE DUCIS IMPERIO COMMISSA (vs. 675).—“ *Melius est ut commissam dicamus clausam, quam creditam Pandaro et Bitiae,*” Servius. “ *Quae eis commissa fuerat,*” Cynth. Cenet., Voss, Heyne, Forbiger, Wagner (*Praest.*), Thiel. I agree with Servius, **first**, because the boldness of Pandarus and Bitias is better shown by their opening the gate, which was closed by order of the commander-in-chief, than by their opening the gate which was merely committed to their charge ; and **secondly**, because the strong expression DUCIS IMPERIO, used of the mere appointment to a post, savours of the mountain in labour, while, on the contrary, it is in a high degree appropriate, being understood of an express command, not only mentioned, but dwelt on at length before (40-46), and on which the safety of the State depended. Compare Liv. 38. 4 : “ *per nondum commissam*

inter se munimenta urbem intravit;" *ibid.* 38. 7: "*commissis operibus*," the works being *closed in*, brought to meet at the two extremities. Ovid, *Met.* 6. 178 (of the walls of Thebes): "*fidibusque mei commissa mariti moenia*."

DUCIS, *i. e.* Aeneas.

DUCIS IMPERIO COMMISSA PORTA, exactly parallel to 716, below, "*Iovis imperiis imposita Inarime*."

ULTRO (vs. 676).—*Proprio motu* (see Rem. on "*miserescimus ultro*," 2. 145); not only are prepared to resist if the enemy attempt to enter the city, but dare them to attempt to enter it.

DEXTRA AC LAEVA PRO TURRIBUS ASTANT (vs. 677).—"ASTANT, hoc est non ante turres aut pro ipsarum defensione tantummodo, sed ad vicem turrium, quoniam ii excoelsi fuerunt et fortes. Ut iam non homines dextra ac laeva, sed turris astare videretur. Inducitur comparatio stantium, et proceritas monstratur," Donatus; and so Macrobius, *Sat.* 5. 11. 29 ("*et geminos heroas modo turres vocat, modo describit luce cristarum ooruscos*"); Cynthius Cenetensis ("*tamquam turres*"); Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (*Comm. on Dante*, translated into Italian by Tamburini, 1855, vol. 1, p. 54); La Cerda; Heyne ("*tanquam binae turres*"); Voss, and Wagner (1861). This interpretation is, I think, inadmissible—**first**, because, however good the picture might have been of Pandarus and Bitias standing huge as towers (*Stat. Theb.* 3. 13: "*et nostris turribus aequi Thespiadae*"), and in front of the gate, the picture had been very bad of them standing huge as towers *inside* the gate; and **secondly**, because the size of the two champions, compared only three lines previously to pines and mountains, and to be compared on the next line but one to oaks, had been too much insisted on by a fourth comparison.

Another interpretation is the second of Servius's: "*aut pro defensione*," *i. e.* "*ad defendendas turres*," an interpretation adopted by Wagner (1832) and by Thiel. To this interpretation I object that, **although** the words PRO TURRIBUS, taken by themselves, and apart from the context, might very well bear such meaning, and actually do bear such meaning, *Stat. Theb.* 11. 218

(Eteocles apostrophizing Jupiter, and thanking him for his (Jupiter's) personal intervention in defence of Thebes):

. . . "ceu regia caeli
 attentata tui, sic te *pro turribus altis*
 vidimus urgentem nubes, lateque benignum
 fulmen, et auditos proavis agnovimus ignes ;"

Claud. *de Bello Gild.* 15. 85 (personified Rome speaking):

"muro sustinui Martem, noctesque cruentas
 Collina *pro turre* tuli,"

still, such is not their meaning in the context in which they stand, inasmuch as in this sense the words are equally applicable to the young men, whether they keep the gates closed or open them; whereas it is quite plain that the author intends to say that the young men stand *PRO TURRIBUS* only *after* they have thrown the gates open, and *because* they had thrown the gates open.

Neither explanation of the words, therefore, satisfies me, although either explanation might suit them in another context, and I look for a third explanation, which shall suit not merely the use of the words separately taken, but their use in this particular context also; and such explanation immediately presents itself. The young men "astant" neither with Donatus "huge as towers," nor with Servius's second explanation, "*pro defensione turrium; ad defendendas turres;*" but they stand, to use the two first words of Donatus (without, however, understanding those two words as Donatus himself has explained them), "*vice turrium,*" *in place of towers*, performing the part of towers, defending the city, which, its gates being now open, was no longer defended by its towers. Ammian. 14. 2. 9: "*et cum . . . ad supercilia venissent fluvii Melanis alti et vorticosi, qui pro muro tuetur accolae circumfusus, . . . quievire paulisper lucem opperientes;*" not, surely, the river as high as a wall, but the river which *answered in place of a wall*, the river which defended the wallless city. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1. 555 (of the cave of Caos):

"*proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens,*
abditæ, vix ipsis inveniendæ feris;"

Sil. 16. 17:

. . . "proque omnibus armis
et castrorum opibus dextrisque recentibus unum
Hannibalis sat nomen erat ;"

Claud. *Laud. Stilich. 2. 12*:

"haec dea [Clementia] pro templis et ture calentibus aris
te [Stilichone] fruitur ;"

Callim. *Hymn. in Del. 23*:

κειναι μεν πυργοισι περισκεπτεσθιν ερυνναι,
Δηλος δ' Απολλωνι. τι δε στιβαρωτερον ερκος ;

Claud. *Epigr. in Jacobum (27. 3)*:

"sic tua pro clipeo sustentet pectora Thomas ;"

Sil. 12. 162:

"campo Nola sedet, crebris circumdata in orbem
turribus, et celso facilem tutatur adiri
planitiem vallo ; sed, qui non turribus arma
defendenda daret, verum ultro moenia dextra
protegeret, Marcellus opem auxiliumque ferebat ;"

Id. 7. 743 (of Fabius):

. . . "muri quo Urbis stant pectore in uno ;"

Id. 7. 6:

. . . "tot millia contra
Poenorum invictumque ducem, tot in agmina solus
ibat (Fabius) et in sese cuncta arma virosque gerebat ;"

Id. 16. 68 (of Larus, fighting with his battle-axe):

"qui postquam murus miseris ruit, agmina concors
avertit fuga confestim dispersa per agros ;"

Tzetz. *Proem. in Iliad. 684*: Αίας ο Τελαμωνιος, πυργός ο
των Ελληνων ; Johann. Gramm. *Tzetz. Theogon. 399*: τον
Εκτορα τον προμαχον, τον πυργον τον της Τροιης ; *ibid. 485*:
η δε (Rhea), το ποθεν, εγγυος, ουκ οιδα, γενομενη, Ρωμον Ρωμυ-
λον τε γεννα, δυω της Ρωμης πυργους ; and 608: Αίας ο
Τελαμωνιος πυργος επιψυχωμενος ; Pind. *Pyth. 5. 51*, Disson:

ο Βαττου δ' εσται παλαιος ολβος εμπαν τα και τα νεμων,
πυργος αστειος ομμα τε φαεινοτατον
ξενουσι.

Let not, however, the reader suppose that the meaning is, that Bitias and Pandarus presented themselves as two towers (each as a tower) to the enemy. This had been a very poor picture, indeed. The wall of defence of a city or fort consisted of wall, properly so called, and of towers; in other words, the city, or fort, was surrounded by a ring of towers at regular intervals, the intervals being filled up by wall, properly so called. This ring of defence was, on account of its structure, called indifferently by the Romans *mur* and *turres*, and indifferently by the Greeks *τειχος* and *πυργοι*, and even *πυργος*. Thus Pind. *Ol.* 8. 37, Dissen (of the *wall* of Troy) :

γλαυκοὶ δὲ δράκοντες, ἐπεὶ κτισθὴ νέον,
 πύργον ἐσπυρομένοι τρεῖς, οἱ δύο μὲν καπέτων,
 αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοζόμενοι ψυχὰς βαλόν·
 εἰς δ' ἐσπύρουσε βοάσας·

Eurip. *Hecub.* 1208 :

. . . ὅτ' εὐτυχεῖ
 Τροία, περὶ δὲ πύργου εἶχ' ἐτι πόλιν,
 εἴη τε Πριάμος, Ἑκτορος τ' ἡνθεί δαρυ.

Id. *Troad.* 4 (Neptune speaking) :

ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῆνδε Τρώϊκην χθονά
 Φοῖβος τε, καὶ γῶ. λαῖρους πύργους περὶ
 ὀρθοῖσιν ἐθέμεν καρούσιν, . . .

Id. *Androm.* 8 (Andromache of herself) :

ἦ τις ποσσὶν μὲν Ἑκτορ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλεύου
 θανόντ' εἰσίδον, παιδά θ', οὐ τι κτῶ ποσει,
 ριφθέντα πύργων Ἀστύνακτ' ἀπ' ὀρθίων.

Id. *Rhesus*, 389 (Rhesus to Hector) :

χαῖρ', ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλοῦ καὶ, τυράννε τῆσδε γῆς
 Ἑκτορ' παλαίῃ σ' ἡμέρᾳ προσεννεπῶ.
 χαῖρ' δὲ σ' εὐτυχούντα, καὶ προσήμενον
 πύργοισιν ἐχθρῶν· συγκатаσκάψων δ' ἐγὼ
 τείχη παρεῖμι, καὶ νέων πρῆσων σκαφή,

where *τειχη* and *πυργοῖσιν* are merely different terms for the same thing, viz. *the wall* (or rampart, with towers at intervals in it, for additional strength) which the Grecians had thrown

up for the protection of their fleet. *Ibid.* 448 (Rhesus to Hector) :

εμοι δε φως εν ηλιου καταρκεσει,
 περσαντι πυργους, ναυσταθμοις επεισπεσειν,
 κτειναι τ' Αχαιους,

where the same wall, or rampart, is meant ; *Id. Troad.* 9 :

ο γαρ Παρνασιος
 Φωκευς Επειος μηχαναισι Παλλαδος
 εγκυμον' ιππον τευχων συναρμοντας
 πυργων επεμψεν εντος, ολεθριον βαρον.

Aesch. Sept. c. Theb. 216 :

πυργον στεγειν ευχεσθε πολεμιον δορυ,

where *πυργον* is not *turrem*, but *murum*, *moenia*. *Id. Agam.* 826 (of the Trojan horse) :

ιππου νεοσσοι, ασπιδηστροφος λεως,
 πηδημ' ορουσας αμφι Πλειαδων θυσιν
 υπερθωρων δε πυργον ωμηστης λεων
 αδην ελειξεν αιματος τυραννικου,

overleaping, not the tower of Troy, but *the wall*. *Lycophron, Cassandr.* 469 :

δοθεισα πρωταιχμεια τη πυργοσκαφη,

where the schol. *τη Τελαμωνι*· *Ιστορει γαρ Ελλανικος, οτι πρω του Ηρακλειους εισελθων εις την Τροιαν ο Τελαμων, μερος τι του τειχους καταβαλων, &c.* And, accordingly, *Apoll. (Lex.)* :
 “ Πυργος οτε μεν κυριως (*Homer, Il.* 6. 373) :

πυργη εφειστηκει (γροωσα τε, μυρομενη τε) .

οτε δε, τειχος. (*Hom. Il.* 3. 154) :

οι δ' ως ουν ειδονθ' Ελεην επι πυργον ιουσαν,

και (*Hom. Odys.* 6. 262) :

(αυταρ επην πολεις) επιβησομεν ην περι πυργος
 υψηλος (καλος δε λιμην εκατερθε πολης,
 λεπτη δ' εισιθμη).

οθεν και την ατειχιστον, απυργωτον λεγει:" "cp. Hom. *Odys.* 11. 263:

οι πρωτοι Θηβης εδος εκτισαν επταπυλοιο,
 πυργωσαν τ'· επει ου μεν απυργωτον γ' εδυνατο
 ναιεμεν ευρυχορον Θηβην, κρατερω περ εορτε."

(note ed. Villoison.)

So far, therefore, is Virgil from instituting in our text a comparison either in point of size, or in point of strength, between Pandarus and Bitias and two towers, that he is not even speaking of towers, strictly so called, at all, but only of the city wall, the *λαινοι πυργοι*, generally, and Virgil's *PRO TURRIBUS* is exactly Ammian's "pro muro," and the "pro muro" of Sallust, as quoted by Nonius (p. 242): "*Audacia pro muro habetur*," and the young men are *a wall of defence for the city*, *PRO TURRIBUS* ASTANT, in the same way as Cyrus's *οπλιται* are a wall of defence, *ωσπερ τειχος*, for the lighter-armed troops, outside which they encamped, Xenoph. *Cyr.* 8. 5. 11: *οπλιτας δε και τους τα μεγαλα γερρα εχοντας κυκλω παντων ειχεν, ωσπερ τειχος*: in the same way as the gods are a wall of defence for Thebes, *πυργοφυλακες*. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 168:

ω παραλκεις θεοι,
 ω τελειοι τελειαι τε γας
 ταςδε πυργοφυλακες

[i. e. towers guarding the land, a guard of towers for the land]; in the same way as Priam's sacrifices are a wall of defence for Troy. Aesch. *Agam.* 1167 (Cassandra prophesying):

ω πονοι πονοι πολεις ολομενας το παν.
 ω προπυργοι θυσιαι πατρος
 πολικανεις βοτων ποιονομων,

where Aeschylus's adjective, *προπυργοι*, is the exact equivalent of Virgil's preposition and substantive, *PRO TURRIBUS*; in the same way as Aesch. *Suppl.* 190:

κρεισσον δε πυργου βωμος, αρρηκτον σκακος,

an altar is an impenetrable shield, a better wall of defence than a tower; **and** Aesch. *Pers.* 857 :

πρωτα μεν ευδοκιμου στρατιας απεφαινομεθ' ηδε νομισματα πυργια
παιτ' επευθυεν

tower laws, *i. e.* laws as sure and strong and reliable as towers directed everything. Compare Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion*, *Canto 5, Introd.* :

“ ne’er readier at alarm-bell’s call
thy burghers rose to man thy wall,
than now, in danger, shall be thine,
thy dauntless voluntary line ;
for fosse and turret proud to stand,
their breasts the bulwarks of the land.”

What wonder that our author’s PRO TURRIBUS ASTANT should have given commentators some trouble, expressing, as it does, in three short words the entire thought which Sir Walter Scott was unable to express in less than a couplet ?

PRO TURRIBUS = *vice turrium*, exactly as “pro domino” = *vice domini*, in Macrobian *Sat. 1. 11. 16* : “Qui (Urbinus) cum iussus occidi in Reatino lateret, latebris proditis, unus ex servis, anulo eius et veste insignitus, in cubiculo, ad quod irruebant qui persequabantur, *pro domino* iacuit, militibusque ingredientibus cervicem prae-buit, et ictum tanquam Urbinus excepit.” Exactly similar to Virgil’s PRO TURRIBUS in our text is Lucan’s PRO VULNERE (9. 809), where that author, describing the poisonous effects of the bite of the hemorrhoids, says :

. . . “omnia membra
emisere simul rutilum *pro sanguine* virus.
sanguis erant lacrimae : quaecumque foramina novit
humor, ab his largus manat cruor : ora redundant,
et patulae nares ; sudor rubet ; omnia plenis
membra fluunt venis : totum est *pro vulnere* corpus,”

i. e. as we say, *the whole body is one wound*, or is as good as a wound. So common, indeed, is the form of expression, that we have it twice in this one passage of Lucan, “pro sanguine” being *vice sanguinis*, exactly as “Proconsul” is *vice consulis*,

"Propraetor" *vice praetores*, and PRO TURRIBUS in our text *vice turrium*; performing the office of, without resemblance being at all implied. In like manner Ovid, *Met.* 12. 509:

"silva premat fauces; et erit *pro vulnere* pondus."

[the weight will serve the purpose of a wound, will be as good as a wound]. Ter. *Andr.* 1. 1. 118:

. . . "comperisse Pamphilum
pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam."

ADSTANT.—Not merely = *stant*, but meaning *stand by, ready to hand, ready to help*. *παρὰστατοι* (Aesch. *c. Theb.* 669); and see Rem. on "stantem," vs. 575. See also Rem. on "adstant," 1. 156 B.

681-723.

CONSURGUNT—RES

CONSURGUNT GEMINAE QUERCUS, theme; INTONSAQUE CAELO ATTOLLUNT CAPITA, first variation; SUBLIMI VERTICE NUTANT, second variation (vv. 681, 682):

TERGA DEDERE (vs. 686).—The expression is preserved in the Italian: Dante, *Infern.* 31. 7:

"Noi demmo 'l dosso al misero vallone."

SARPEDONIS ALTI (vs. 697).—ALTI, as the son of Jupiter. See Rem. on "altus Orodes," 10. 737.

SPECUS (vs. 700).—Shakesp. *Rom. and Jul.* 3. 1. 99 (Mercurio, of his wound): "'Tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve."

CONTORTA PHALARICA VENIT (vs. 705).—Compare Ammian. 19. 1. 7: "quem ubi venientem iam telo forte contiguum contemplator peritissimus advertisset, *contorta ballista* filium eius primae pubis adolescentem, lateri paterno haerentem, thorace

eum pectore perforato, profudit, proceritate et decore corporis aequalibus antestantem."

COLLAPSA RUUNT IMMANIA MEMBRA DAT TELLUS GEMITUM ET CLIPEUM SUPER INTONAT INGENS (vv. 708, 709).—Commentators disagree whether the construction be INGENS (Bitias) INTONAT SUPER CLIPEUM, or INGENS CLIPEUM INTONAT SUPER (Bitiam); the propugners of the **former** construction being Burmann: "Ingens Bitias cadens intelligendus;" La Cerda: "Agnosco genus masculinum, ut dicat gigantem cecidisse super clypeum;" and Peerlkamp: "Bitias per clypeum et lorica vulneratus est in pectore. Ergo corruit in vulnus et in clypeum, non clypeus super ipsum. Si supinus cecidisset, tum clypeus super ipsum intonisset:" of the **latter**, Servius (ed. Lion): "Aut ipse ingens super clypeum intonat, aut ingens clypeum super ipsum tonat. Nam lectum est etiam *hoc clypeum*, ut probat Caper; quod magis debemus accipere;" Heyne: "Doctior est Serviana ratio, ut *clypeum* neutro genere dixerit: hoc clypeum ingens intonat super, sc. super immania membra collapsa;" Wagner: "Firmat hanc explicationem (sc. Heynianam) Donatus, 'Magna clipei species magnum fecerat sonitum;'" and J. H. Voss: "ihn umkracht der gewaltige heerschild."

The arguments in favour of the **former** construction are—(a) that it leaves CLIPEUM in undisturbed possession of its usual masculine gender, and (b) that it represents Bitias as falling in the usual manner in which a man falls who receives his death-wound in front. Compare 10. 488 (of Pallas killed by Turnus with a similar thrust of a spear):

"corruit in vulnus, sonitum super arma dedere,
et terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento;"

Liv. 1. 58 (of Lucretia): "Cultrum quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit, prolapsaque in vulnus, moribunda cecidit;" Lucret. 4. 1049:

"namque omnes plerumque cadunt in vulnus, et illam
emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu,
et si comminus est, hostem ruber occupat humor."

The argument in favour of the **latter** is, that the Virgilian

passage is an imitation of the Homeric (*Il. 4. 504*), ἀραβησαι δε τευχ' ἐπ' αὐτω.

For myself, while entirely agreeing with Servius and his party, that it is not Bitias, but *Bitias's shield* which INTONAT, I dissent so far from both parties as to hold that the SUPER of our text expresses not the relative position of one thing with respect to another, but merely the *addition*, or *accession*, of one thing to another, viz, the sound of the heavy shield falling, to the sound of the heavy man falling, the exact structure being not CLYPEUM INTONAT SUPER (Bitiam), but CLYPEUM, SUPER, INTONAT, and SUPER being equivalent to praeterea (*besides, furthermore, over and above* what has been already mentioned), exactly as it is equivalent to praeterea in the twin passage already quoted, 10. 488:

“corruit in vulnus, sonitum super arma dedere,
et terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento,”

where by no possibility can the meaning be, his shield clanged over him, his shield not being over him, but *under* him, because he has not only collapsed on his wound, i. e. forwards or on his face, but because he bites the ground under him. The following are examples of SUPER taken thus adverbially:—*Georg. 3. 262*;

. . . “nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,
nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo;”

Aen. 7. 461 :

“saevit amor ferri, et scelerata insania belli,
ira super;”

Ovid, *Heroid. 13. 113* :

“thura damus, lacrymamque super;”

Id. Met. 4. 703 :

“accipiunt legem, (quis enim dubitaret?) et orant,
promittuntque super, regnum dotale, parentes;”

ibid. 15. 307 :

“plurima cum subeant, audita et cognita vobis,
pauca super referam;”

ibid. 12. 205 :

. . . “nam iam voto deus aequoris alti
annuerat; dederatque super, ne saucius ullis
vulneribus fieri, ferrove occumbere posset.”

Further argument, equally independent of, and apart from *SUPER*, that it is not Bitias, but *Bitias's shield*, which *INTONAT* will be found in Silius's very close imitation, 4. 295 :

“procumbit lata porrectus in arma ruina,
et percussa gemit tellus ingentibus armis.
haud aliter, structo Tyrrhena ad littora saxo
pugnatura fretis subter caecisque procellis
pila, immane sonans impingitur ardua ponto;
immugit Nereus, divisaque caerulea pulsu
illium accipiunt irata sub aequora montem,”

where there is, on the one hand, no *intonare* of the second Bitias, and where there is, on the other hand, the most express and unmistakable *intonare* of the second Bitias's shield; nay, where Virgil's imitator, as if for the very purpose of rendering it impossible for anyone thenceforward for ever to refer Virgil's *INGENS*, not to Bitias's shield, but to Bitias himself, has chosen that term, above all others, wherewith to describe, not his second Bitias himself, but his second Bitias's shield :

“percussa gemit tellus ingentibus armis.”

Should any of my readers, sufficiently convinced by the preceding argument that the *intonare* is entirely of Bitias's shield, not at all of Bitias himself, **still doubt**—notwithstanding the “*corruit in vulnus*,” and “*terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento*” of the twin passage of the tenth Book : notwithstanding the “*omnes plerumque cadunt in vulnus*” of Lucretius, and notwithstanding the fall of the “*pila*” to which Bitias is likened, “*prona*,” or on its face—that the fall of Bitias on his shield may, after all, not have been face downwards, but face upwards, and find a forlorn refuge for his doubt in Silius's (4. 465) ambiguous, almost unintelligible

. . . “sternit super arma iacentum
corpora et auctorem teli,”

such doubt will most probably be routed from its last shelter by Lucan's not-to-be-mistaken (7. 571)

“nox ingens scelerum, et caedes oriuntur, et instar
immensae vocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi
pectoris arma sonant, confractique ensibus enses.”

MAGNIS QUAM MOLIBUS ANTE CONSTRUCTAM PONTO IACIUNT (vv. 711, 712).—See Rem. on “celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem,” 5. 439. For the construction of a PILA, and putting it into the water, see Vitruvius, 5. 12.

SIC ILLA RUINAM PRONA TRAHIT, theme; PENITUSQUE VADIS ILLISA RECUMBIT, variation (vv. 712, 713).

NIGRAE (vs. 714).—To be understood literally, the sand of the bay of Baiæ being of a *black* colour, because formed out of lava.

STIMULOS (vs. 718).—The figure is the same as at 6. 101, viz. that of the gods mounted on the backs of the Latins, and spurring them on.

IMMISITQUE FUGAM TEUCRIS ATRUMQUE TIMOREM.—The figure is sustained. Whilst the god himself rides the pursuing Latins, he sends on before him two of his comitatus (12. 336) to overtake and mix with the Trojans. IMMISIT, *let slip*; as we would say, *set on*, *hounded on*. Shakespeare, *Jul. Cæs.* 3. 1. 270:

“and Cæsar’s spirit, ranging for revenge,
with Ate by his side, come lot from Hell,
shall in these confines, with a monarch’s voice,
cry Havock, and *let slip* the dogs of war.”

QUO SIT FORTUNA LOCO (vs. 723), theme; QUI CASUS AGAT RES, variation.

731-746.

CONTINUO—VENIENS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 731).

EFFULSIT ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ 7. ■■■ Ven. 1470; Rom. 1473; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

OFFULSIT ■ *Rom.* ■■ 7. ■■■ P. Manut.; Heyne.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 733).

CLYPEOQUE (or CLIPPEOQUE) . . . FULMINA ■ *Rom.*, *Med.* "In Romano, Mediceo, et in Porcio FULMINA, et verbum MITTIT in numero variat." . Pierius. ■■ §. ■■■ Ven. 1470; *Rom.* 1473; Heyne [CLIPPEUSQUE MICANTIA FULMINA MITTIT, Heyne, *ex conj.*]; Brunck; Pott; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

CLIPPEIQUE . . . FULMINA ■ *Pal.*

CLYPEOQUE . . . FULGURA ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Wakef.

MITTIT ■ *Med.* (originally MITTET). ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

MITTUNT ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* ■■■ Heyne.

NUTANT ■■■ Voss.

CONTINUO NOVA LUX OCULIS EFFULSIT (vs. 731).—The commentators understand the light here spoken of to be light emitted from the eyes of Turnus. "Non agitur de luce quæ offulgeat oculis aliunde, sed emissa oculis fulget illa," Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger, Thiel. I think such interpretation erroneous; because it is morally impossible that expressions so nearly identical as CONTINUO NOVA LUX OCULIS, and "hic primum nova lux oculis," would be used here of light shining *from* the eyes, and at vs. 110 above, of light shining *on* the eyes, even although, to diminish the impossibility, we should read in this place EFFULSIT, and at vs. 110 OFFULSIT. That the light here spoken of is light shining *on* the eyes, is shown not only by the almost identity of expression with vs. 110, where the meaning can be no other, but by the additional circumstance, that the light here spoken of is accompanied by a sound to which the epithet HORRENDUM is applied; exactly as the light spoken of at vs. 110 is accompanied by a sound to which the identical epithet is applied:

CONTINUO NOVA LUX OCULIS EFFULSIT, ET ARMA
HORRENDUM SONUERE;

vs. 110:

"hic primum nova lux oculis effulsit . . .
 . . .
 . . . tum vox horrenda per auras
 excidit,"

as well as by the still further circumstance, of the similarity of structure :

. . . EFFULSIT, ET ARMA
HORRENDUM SONUERE ;

and vs. 110 :

. . . "effulsit, et ingens
visus ab aurora caelum transcurrere nimbus."

I understand, therefore, the meaning to be a *new* light (scil. a *miraculous* light) shone on their eyes, and there was an *awful* sound (viz. a *miraculous* sound) of arms, and they saw Turnus, with his crimson plumes dancing on his crest, and his shield emitting lightnings. Need I add, that Turnus's eyes were not likely to flash any extraordinary light when he found himself shut in alone inside the enemy's gates ; and that in the very similar description of the terrors of Aeneas's Vulcanian armour there is not one word of light being emitted by his eyes. 10. 270 :

"ardet apex capiti, cristisque ac vertice flamma
funditur, et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignes."

Flashing of the eyes in either case had been just so much useless expenditure. Even if it had made its way through the eyelets of the visor, it had been lost in the blazing splendours of the brazen helmet and the lightnings of the brazen shield. The miraculous light and miraculous sound of arms are the manifestations of Juno, who is not far off, vs. 764 :

. . . "Iuno vires animumque ministrat ;"

vs. 802 :

"nec contra vires audet Saturnia Iuno
sufficere ; aeriam caelo nam Iupiter Irim
demisit, germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem
ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis,"

as the miraculous light and miraculous sound of arms, 8. 524, are the manifestations of Venus, and both manifestations are followed by a recognition—the former by the recognition of the presence of Turnus :

AGNOSCUNT FACIEM INVISAM ATQUE IMMANIA MEMBRA
TURBATI SUBITO ÆNEADAE,

and the latter by that of the promised sign :

. . . "sed Troius heros
agnovit sonitum, et divae promissa parentis."

The only differences between the two manifestations are that this of Juno is limited to the amplification of the terrible appearance; that it is his arms which make the awful super-human sound; his arms which emit the surprising, dazzling light, a sort of manifestation which requires no special announcement of the god by whom it is effected; while, in the case of Venus, both the sound and the light coming from the sky require to be explained and to have their author assigned. See Rem. on vs. 110, above.

MORTIS FRATERNÆ IRA (vs. 736).—As "*ereptae virginis ira*," 2. 413, where see Rem.

MEDIA ARDEA (vs. 738).—*The middle of Ardea, the very heart of Ardea.* See Rem. on "*mediae Mycenae*," 7. 372.

CASTRA INIMICA VIDES NULLA HINC EXIRE POTESTAS (vs. 739).—See Rem. on "*castra inimica petunt*," 9. 315.

EXCEPERE AURAE VULNUS (vs. 745).—**VULNUS** belongs not to **DETORSIT**, but to **EXCEPERE**: first, because the pause pleases the ear so much better after than before **VULNUS**; secondly, because **VULNUS** not being the emphatic word, should end the sentence **EXCEPERE AURAE**, not begin the following sentence; and thirdly, because **SATURNIA IUNO** being the emphatic words, should be placed first in the sentence. **EXCEPERE VULNUS**, as Ovid, *Met.* 12. 375 :

"*excepit ille ictus galea clipeoque sonantes.*"

VENIENS (vs. 746).—"Incertum **IUNO VENIENS**, an **VULNUS VENIENS**," Peerlkamp. **VULNUS VENIENS**, most certainly. 11. 801 :

. . . "nihil ipsa nec aurae,
nec sonitus memor aut *venientis* ab aethere teli;"

5. 444 :

. . . "ille ictum *venientem* a vertice velox
praevidit;"

5. 504 :

“ *et venit, adversaque infigitur arbore mali ;*”

9. 412 :

“ *et venit aversi in tergum Sulmonis, ibique
frangitur.*”

 752-754.

FIT SONUS INGENTI CONCUSSA EST PONDERE TELLUS
 COLLAPSOS ARTUS ATQUE ARMA CRUENTA CEREBRO
 STERNIT HUMI MORIENS

The fall of the wounded man, and the concussion and noise produced by the fall, are interposed in the middle of the description of the wound. To have proceeded directly from IMPUBISQUE IMMANI VULNERE MALAS to ATQUE ILLI PARTIBUS AEQUIS would have tantalized the reader impatient to arrive at the result. The result having been stated, the reader is in a proper frame of mind to dwell upon the minutiae of the wound.

This is only according to Virgil's usual manner of hurrying to the catastrophe, and then returning to fill up and complete the antecedent picture (compare vs. 27, above, and Rem.), a manner point-blank opposite to that of Ariosto, who takes pleasure in first raising to its greatest height, and then disappointing the expectation of the reader, exactly at the very moment it is so raised to its greatest height. A remarkable instance of this kind occurs in his *Orl. Fur.* 8. 66, where we have Angelica exposed on the rock to the sea-monster. We hear her cries, and momentarily expect her fate ; but, on the instant, our author leaves her there, and goes off to another wholly unconnected scene of the drama—one, too, which he had on a former occasion similarly left, and which, at the moment

of his return, has so entirely passed out of the mind, that it is not without difficulty the reader brings it back sufficiently to understand what the author thinks it proper now to tell him about it; worse still, one which is re-introduced to his bewildered reader only to be, in like manner, broken off and abandoned at the height of the interest, while the author goes off to a third scene, formerly in like manner broken off and abandoned, and long ago forgotten both by author and reader. The contrast between Virgil and Ariosto, great indeed and striking in every respect, is perhaps in no respect so great and striking as in this. Virgil has contrived to tell a long story, an entire epos, from beginning to end, without ever letting his hero out of his or your sight, even for a single moment. Aeneas is in personal danger of drowning in the storm with which the poem opens; lands with difficulty, collects his scattered vessels, kills game for his ship's provisions; encourages by example and precept his despairing crews, reconnoitres the country; has an interview with his disguised mother in the wood; hears from her the story of Dido; walks into Carthage; presents himself before the queen, seated on her throne in the temple of Juno; is invited to the palace, entertained; after the entertainment relates the story of the last night of Troy (a story of which he is himself the hero); gives an account of his wanderings for seven years after his flight from Troy; of his landing in Thrace; of his sacrificing to Jupiter, breaking the branches which dripped blood, hearing the voice of murdered Polydorus from the tomb, and leaving Thrace, according to his warning; of his consulting Apollo's oracle in Delos, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, going to Crete, and meeting the pestilence there; of his seeing the Penates in his sleep, and leaving Crete by their directions; of his falling in with the Harpies in the Strophades, fighting with them to no purpose, and receiving a warning prophecy from them; of his celebrating games on the shore of Actium, visiting King Helenus and Queen Andromache at Buthrotus, interchanging presents with them, and receiving instructions from the former concerning his further voyage; of his crossing to Italy, coasting

its Adriatic shore, landing at arx Minervae, and being deterred from settling there by an omen; of his continuing to coast along past the Bay of Tarentum, and across the straits, and within hearing of Charybdis; of his landing, and passing a night at the foot of Aetna; of his taking on board Achemenides; of his running away from, and being pursued by, Polyphemus; of his losing his father by death at Drepanum; and, finally, of his being driven on shore at Carthage.

At Carthage Aeneas lends Dido a helping hand at the building of her city and the founding of her new kingdom; hunts with, captivates, seduces, and finally deserts her; sets sail, sees from shipboard the flames of her blazing pyre, arrives in Sicily, institutes and presides at games in honour of Anchises, has four of his ships burned by his own women, sets sail with the remainder, after founding temples to Venus and Anchises; is furthered on his voyage by Neptune, Thetis, and a choir of sea-nymphs; loses his steersman; lands at Cumae; worships in, and admires the carvings on the doors of, the temple of Apollo; has an interview with the Sibyl, learns from her his fates in Italy, receives from her a mysterious inkling of the death of his trumpeter, at whose funeral he assists personally, and, escorted by her, goes down to Hades, not in spirit alone, as St. Paul went to heaven, but substantially, bodily, and with all his senses about him; sees and hears everything which is going on there, with the exception of the tortures of the damned, which (more trustful than his successor in our so-called dark ages) he is content to take at second-hand, from the lips, however, of an eye-witness, his guide and companion, and who had been inducted into the mystery by no less a person than Hecate herself. In Hades our hero is more than ordinarily favoured; sees **not merely** the standing show of Charon, and Charon's boat and pushing pole, and ill-trimmed beard, the black Styx, the three-headed Cerberus, and the darkness, and the ghosts, and the bright Elysian fields, and happy spirits singing, dancing, eating and drinking, and making merry there, and their guitars, and chariots, and horses, and spears; **but** his own lately drowned steersman, and his own seduced, deserted, and by her own hand

slain Dido, who, very properly, refuses to hear any more of his palaver, and turns her back on him without saying a single word. His father, however, with equal propriety and verisimilitude, is delighted to see his amiable and dutiful son, whose only business in Hades is to pay his respects to him, and happening to be engaged in a review of the Anchisean posterity, shows him one by one the Roman worthies, stopping, with great prudence, though a little abruptly, at Augustus, and ignoring all the rest. Let out at the gate by which lying dreams are sent to this world for the edification of our highly-favoured race, our hero rejoins his fleet, buries his nurse at Caieta, coasts by the Circæan promontory, hears the transmuted men and women howling, growling, and roaring in their beastly forms; makes the mouth of the Tiber; lands; renders the ominous prophecy of the Harpy of none effect by an ingenious evasion; sends a wheedling embassy to Latinus, the king of the country, informing him of his relationship, through Dardanus, both to the king himself and to Jupiter, and that he had come in obedience to the will of heaven to settle there, and having gone through the form of asking leave, sweetens all he has said by costly presents. The king, who has, of course, on his side, been prepared, by omens and prophecies, for the arrival of a son-in-law, welcomes him, sends him reciprocal presents, and promises him his daughter, an only child, in marriage; and all would have gone smooth, and the Trojan runaway not only have found a quiet home on the Tiber, but an easy succession to the chief crown of the country, if Jupiter had happened to be a bachelor god, not hampered with a wife, who, having a separate will, was always driving plans of her own, even in the palace and under the very nose of her omniscient and omnipotent liege lord and master. Now, one of the favourite schemes of the royal consort being to secure the dominion of the whole human race for her *protégé* on the other side of the Mediterranean, the settlement of Aeneas in Italy, and the Trojan succession to the Latian throne was to be hindered, *per fas atque nefas*, by which of the two, provided only the end could be gained by either, it was of as little con-

sequence then as it would be, in like case, at present. A Fury therefore, *i.e.* in modern parlance a devil, of the female sex, however, is employed to set the old inhabitants at sixes and sevens with the newcomers; to excite the jealousy of the lady's first-betrothed, and force the Latin king to break his hastily-pledged word to the Trojan adventurer. War, of course, is the consequence. The native chieftains gather in force; Aeneas, the worst-used man in the world, follows the advice of the local divinity Tiberinus—his mother cannot be always on the spot to help him—and rows up his river to Pallanteum, the capital of the Arcadian king Evander, personally to solicit aid from that prince, who, as the god informs him, is opportunely at feud with those very neighbours of his who have treated our hero so ungenerously. If Evander turns out to be too petty a prince, a mere Duke of Coburg of the day, a mere Fürst of some ancient Reuss, Schleitz und Lobenstein, which might have crept into a mausloch hinein, to lend us much effectual assistance—four hundred horsemen, with his only son Pallas at their head, is the most he can afford—still, after all, there is some good in old Tiberinus's advice. Arriving at Pallanteum during the celebration of the festival of Hercules, Aeneas comes in for a share of the festivities; is told the whole story of Cacus; shown, in verification thereof, the monster's den, as it had been tumbled about his ears by the great Quixote of antiquity; assists at the worship of the new god as cordially as if it had been the staple of the faith handed down to him by his grandfather and grandmother—an example to us, who like everything new, except precisely a new god; who, while we mix shouts of welcome for the new king with our tears of sorrow for the old, have nothing for the new god but threats, and execrations, and fisticuffs, stonings, *auto-da-fes*, and crucifixions; and, best of all, hears that the great neighbouring Tuscan nation has collected an army for the very purpose of invading the enemies of Aeneas, and waits only for the appointed of heaven—no other, of course, than Aeneas himself—to put himself at its head. Aeneas, therefore, with the Arcadian heir presumptive and his four hundred horse, sets out for the ready-

provided, equipped, and expectant army; joins and takes the command of it, where it is encamped on the banks of the Caeres, and where, that he may enter on his command with the greater *éclat*, his mother (ah! your mothers were always kind and good to their sons, and no mother ever kinder or better than Aeneas's) presents him with a suit of arms and armour, specially manufactured by the sooty blacksmith god (gods were more enamoured of and considerate towards their wives in those days than either gods or men are now) for his bewitching wife's favourite bastard; manufactured, too, so elaborately, that the embossings of the shield alone, not merely represent the principal future exploits of the truant goddess's posterity in the line of Aeneas, but occupy, without, after all, full justice being done to them, a large share of a book in their description. Thus miraculously armed, and with these scarcely less miraculously-provided soldiers, our hero sails from the Tuscan shore on his return to his infant city and settlement, sorely pressed, and reduced to the last extremity, in his absence, by the united forces of the old king and the old king's first chosen son-in-law, Turnus, son, no less than Aeneas, of a goddess, but, unlike Aeneas, of a goddess who seems to have cared little about him, and done less for him. Pity that he had not returned a day or two sooner, or at least sent word that he was coming, for his delay, and the total absence of all news concerning him, cost both Nisus and Euryalus their lives, for which our only compensation, though, after all, even that compensation is something, is, that we have through them, and at their expense, not merely the most charming episode of the *Aeneis*, but perhaps—nay, certainly—the most charming episode that ever adorned prose work or poem, reality or fiction—an episode with even more of human interest than the story of Joseph and Benjamin, even more of the tender and touching than the parting of Hector and Andromache. Charming, too, is our interest concentrated on our hero, even during his short night's voyage from the shore of Tuscany to that of Latium: youthful Pallas, never stirring from his left side as he sits on the poop, asks him numerous questions about the stars, by which the ship's

course is directed in the dark, and about his previous adventures both by land and sea; and in the middle of the passage he receives a visit, half ovation and half serenade, from sea-nymphs, who, after they have waltzed awhile round the vessel, inform him, in the first place, who they are, viz. his own ships left in dock at the mouth of the Tiber when he rowed up that river to Pallanteum, and saved from the firebrands of the enemy only by the special intervention of Berecynthia herself, of whose sacred grove on Ida they had been the produce, and who had, at the critical moment, converted them into so many sea-nymphs; and, in the second place, that if he would save his camp from being taken and destroyed, he must bestir himself, and put in immediate requisition those arms which he had just received from heaven, as it would seem, for the special purpose. Having given her old captain this important information, and his vessel a woundy push with her adroit hand, the spokeswoman nymph, with her sisterhood, takes leave, and the other vessels also accelerating their course, the fleet comes at sunrise into view of the besieged camp, when Aeneas, raising high his refulgent shield, is greeted with joyful shouts by the distressed garrison, and the enemy have already, even before he lands, a foretaste of his arrival in the increased vigour and increased effect with which the besieged discharge their missiles from the walls. Landed, Aeneas sweeps all before him. Theron, Lycas, Cisseus, Gyas, Pharus, two of the seven sons of Phorcus, three Thracians of the race of Boreas, Idas's three sons, all fall, one after the other, either by his sword or his spear. It is he who kills Lausus with a blow aimed at Mezentius, and then Mezentius himself. In the short interval necessarily allowed to Pallas to distinguish himself before he is killed by Turnus, Aeneas is brought to your mind by the intimation that, while Pallas is reserved for a greater hand than that of Lausus, Lausus himself is reserved for a greater hand than that of Pallas, *i.e.* for the hand of Aeneas. Even before Turnus has well completed the act of killing Pallas, you are reminded of Aeneas by the information that Pallas pays forfeit with his life for the hospitality shown by his father to

Aeneas. Even while Turnus is stripping Pallas's corpse, Aeneas is placed before you by the announcement that the day will come when Turnus will repent that he ever touched those spoils. Single combat of Aeneas succeeds single combat of Aeneas, and chieftain after chieftain falls, and so hard does he press the foe, and even Turnus himself, that Juno, alarmed and distressed, humbles herself before Jupiter, and thinks herself well off to obtain for her *protégé* even a short reprieve from his impending fate. Turnus in safety for the moment, we have Aeneas so impatient to render to the god of battles the honour due for the vouchsafed victory, as to put off even the very urgent business of burying his slain until that first of all duties is performed. He presents at daybreak to the grim deity the promised trophy of the arms of Mezentius, and takes the opportunity of the presentation to address his soldiers, and bid them prepare for the final contest, and now at last is at leisure to attend to, and does attend to, the obsequies of those who have lost their lives fighting his battles, amongst whom, first and principal, is hapless young Pallas. Nowhere is our author so supreme, so unrivalled master as in these pathetic sketches. To no cold menial hand is the care committed of laying out the corpse of the prematurely-blighted soldier; to no hired mourner deputed the utterance of the last adieus to the ward who has perished almost in the very hour in which he is entrusted to his care. With his own hands he puts on him the funeral dress; with his own feet follows in the funeral train; with his own voice bids farewell for ever, and turns sad round to perform the same offices to those others whose similarly mute claims come next in order. If we lose Aeneas for the short space necessary to Evander for his reception of and lamentation over the dead body of his son, we not only know how Aeneas is employed in the meantime, but have him set vividly before our eyes by the mourner's message to him from beside the corpse, that on him who had received him from his father in charge, and in whose cause he had prematurely perished, falls the sacred duty of revenge. Even Diomedes's reply to the Latin ambassadors, asking help against Aeneas, is all a pane-

gyric of Aeneas. To him take your presents, says Diomedes; with him make your peace as fast as you can; I can tell (*experto credite*) how strong his arm; with what a whirl he flings his spear; it was his resistance and Hector's which spun out the war of Troy to ten years; had there been but two more Aeneases in the city, the united force of Greece had never triumphed over it; nay, the tables had been turned, and Argos, not Troy, laid in ashes—but that was a bounce. In the debate of the Latins on the reply it is still Aeneas, Aeneas alone, who is prominent both before us and the debaters. The whole question between the invaded and their invaders is to be resolved by single combat of the chief aggressor with the chief aggressed; after all, perhaps, as equitable a decision of dispute as the ingenuity of mankind has ever yet invented; briefer, at least, and no less trenchant than any of our modern decisions, whether by court of law, with its appeals and cassations, or by high court of parliament, or by low court of universal suffrage, the majority in every case deciding, and the majority being, in its very nature, in every case the major force—in single combat the major force of a single uplifted arm; in a legal, or constitutional judgment, the major force of a thousand right arms, only not uplifted, because submitted to and cowered beneath. The remorse of Latinus, the confusion and embarrassment of Lavinia,

“ *causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros;* ”

the prayer of the women in the temple of Pallas,

“ *frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis et ipsum
pronus sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis,* ”

all keep Aeneas bodily before your eyes. If it is necessary that Aeneas and Camilla should not come into collision; that the devoted heroine should not simply succumb to the superior force of the hero, but bestow perhaps its most exquisite charm on the romance by perishing, like Blanche of Devan, by a cowardly arrow. Aeneas's having the open plain, and surprising the city by a short forced march through the mountains, affords an opportunity for the exploits alike and sad catastrophe

of the magnanimous amazon. If we are interested for Turnus in the last Book, it is only that that interest, the heaven-sent misfortunes, final defeat, and death of the Rutulian prince may set off, exalt, and magnify to the utmost the hero of the *Aeneis*, as the defeat and death of Troy's former stay and bulwark, Hector, sets off, exalts, and magnifies to the utmost the hero of the *Ilias*.

Never, perhaps, was the **unity** of a poem so well preserved; so well preserved alike in the great features and in the most minute, most trivial particulars. That which it is the glory of Shakespeare to have done so naturally, so unobtrusively, in a short play, our author has done no less naturally, no less unobtrusively, during the entire length of a great epic. Even during the short intervals in which the Hamlet of the *Aeneis* is absent from the stage he is still present in the mind's eye of the spectators. The stage looks lonely without him; we wander away from it, and see him wherever he is. On the contrary, it is only in the eleventh canto of the *Furioso* we are introduced to Orlando. Up to the eleventh canto the drama is without a chief actor, without a hero; say, rather, every successive character who enters is, for the nonce, the hero of the piece, struts about for awhile, exits, and makes room for another to strut about awhile in the same manner, exit, and be forgotten, until, after an interval, returning, he claims acquaintance with you as an old friend who, after a lapse of time, comes accidentally across you, and whose features you recognize not without effort.

In the deep, smooth, majestic stream of the *Aeneis* there is, however, **one rough spot**; one awkward hitch; one inconvenient, inopportune, embarrassing rapid. In the very middle of the decisive final struggle, in the very heat and brunt of the duel between Aeneas and Turnus, you are suddenly carried away to heaven, leaving the two heroes, at the close of their first round, rallied, face to face, and just ready to begin their second (12. 789, 790):

“hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta
assistunt contra certamine Martis anhelii.”

Exactly in this position you leave them, and are taken to heaven, to be present at a rather wordy discussion between Jupiter and Juno, less concerning the duellists than concerning a new state to be formed out of the ruins of the two old ones, of which the duellists are the representatives. Not until this business has been deliberately despatched, the conference broken up, and the high contracting parties gone each his own separate way, are you brought back to earth and to the lists, where great, indeed, is your surprise to find the combatants whom you left

“ *hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta* ”

in the identical position in which you left them. Not a blow has been struck, not a step forward has been made by either. With the single exception, that Turnus has had his eyes and ears well buffeted by a Fury in the disguise of an owl, and Juturna, being so grievously frightened by the said buffeting as to dive away into the river, and leave her brother to his fate, the action of the drama has proceeded no single jot in the long interval of your absence. Here stand your two heroes, face to face, as you left them,

“ *hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta.* ”

They are waiting for you, and the moment you appear they proceed (12. 887):

“ *Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat.* ”

It is impossible that anything could be worse than all this, nor has Ariosto himself ever broken off the thread of his narrative more inopportunately, or tacked the broken ends together again with a more clumsy knot. If the single combat between the two heroes was a sufficiently interesting and important catastrophe for the winding up of the whole poem, it was too interesting and too important to be broken in the middle, and split into halves, for the sake of a mere dialogue between gods in heaven, a great part of that dialogue not even directly concerning the combatants. If you could go with pleasure and

interest from the very middle of the combat to heaven, to be present at diplomatic arrangements there, the combat was not sufficiently interesting and important to constitute the closing, winding-up, last scene of the *Aeneis*.

768-817.

LYNCEA—UNDIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 786).

DEORUM ■ *Med.* (Foggini) ■■■ Serv. (Lion); Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; Heyne; Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel (quoting Liv. 3. 17: "si vos urbis, Quirites, si vestri nulla cura tangit; at vos veremini deos vestros, ab hostibus captos"); Ribb.

PARENTUM ■■■ Wakefield (quoting 5. 39, 10. 280, and Hom. *Il.* 15. 663).

LYNCEA TENDENTEM CONTRA (vs. 768).—*Facing up to him, making towards him, making for him.* Compare 9. 795:

"nec tendere contra
ille quidem hoc cupiens, potis est per tela virosque;"

Tacit. *Annal.* 4. 3: "Nam Drusus impatiens aemuli, et animo commotior, orto forte iurgio, intenderat Seiano manus, et contra tendentis os verberaverat."

UNGUERE TELA MANU (vs. 773), theme; FERRUMQUE ARMARE VENENO, variation.

CUI CARMINA SEMPER ET CITHARAE CORDI, theme; NUMEROSQUE INTENDERE NERVIS, variation (vv. 775, 776).

EQUOS (vs. 777).—See Rem. on "caput acris equi," 1. 448.

TANTAS STRAGES IMPUNE PER URBEM EDIDERIT? theme; IUVENUM PRIMOS TOT MISERIT ORCO? variation (vv. 784, 785).

ET FLUVIUM PETERE, AC PARTEM, QUAE CINGITUR AMNI (vs. 790).—See Rem. 9. 469.

